THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

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A MONTHLY REVIEW

FOUNDED BY JAMES KNOWLES

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No. CCCCVII—January 1911

THE GENERAL ELECTION AND AFTER

DECORATED as it certainly has been by a number of speeches reaching a respectable level of sense, balderdash, and nonsense, his election has, on the whole, been an indifferent, anæmic affair. A friend in the North Riding wrote to me on the 16th of December hat the resignation of Lord Zetland as a master of foxhounds was more engrossing topic than the elections; and the *Times* half-way through the pollings declared that 'in spite of exhortations o take it seriously, in which we have played our part, it has not been taken seriously by a number of electors, and much less so by other people.' We must console ourselves with the fact that here has been much bright Christian feeling in the air. I refer eaders to Mr. Douglas Buchanan's article in the *Outlook* of the 7th of December, where he cites a stirring and seasonable ppeal to the electors: 'To hell with the Dukes and the Lords

to the Devil. Vote for Christ.' Then there was the 'Men of England Election March':

> **Tyrant House that ever bleeds us!**
> **You shan't tax the corn that feeds us!**
> **One of us is he who leads us!**
> **Asquith, God, and Right.**

As Mr. Buchanan says, this leaves us in some doubt as to who is the real leader of the Liberal party.

Sir Edward Carson, who can express himself with a Georgian fire, described it the other day as a 'fraudulent election.' But why? A more transparent seat-hunting dissolution and election can hardly be conceived. Granted that the Government's methods in the House of Lords were so arrogant as to savour of sharp practice, the final issue put before the country was direct and unperplexed. Ministers appealed for more authority to go on with and to carry the Parliament Bill, and for more power to deal with the Veto of the Lords under that Bill, and in no other way. 'The Veto of the House of Lords has been referended,' said Mr. Churchill at Swindon on the 8th of December. His audience appeared to have thought this funny; perhaps it was the way it was said—inimitably, no doubt; for in the *Times* report a 'laughter' greeted the announcement. This was not, perhaps, the effect Mr. Churchill intended should reward the series of sonorous platitudes leading up to it, but it shows the easy-going way the constituencies had taken the chief issue put before them by the Government.

Only the hot and strong speeches of the bravoes have kept the pot boiling at all. What, indeed, are we to say of the Moderate men, who were confidently expected to exert themselves upon this supreme occasion; to break through their habits and to desert their firesides? It was a case for *videant consules* at Cheltenham; the State was in a danger; here was surely one of the strongholds of moderation; yet the pass was sold to the enemy. In spite of the almost daily *Times* letters, in large print, of Professor Dicey and 'Pacificus,' the moderate men have shown a complete disregard for the 'wise, firm, and gentlemanly tones of their exhortations'—to quote an early tribute of Mr. Disraeli to Murray's (the publisher) persuasive powers. One begins to wonder whether the species even exists.

Mr. Bottomley told us the other day that in his own constituency an impression was abroad that the Veto was a vegetable. It really might be for all the political interest that it has excited. The election has been a dull affair throughout, and has ended in a tame result, but after all it makes it clear that for the moment the constituencies prefer the Liberals to the Tories, or at any rate

do not prefer the Tories to the Liberals. When the boroughs had polled, Mr. Long, 'speaking frankly,' told his friends that the result of the election was of a negative character. On the same night Mr. Bonar Law predicted that the final result would be 'stalemate.' This prophecy, like Mr. Churchill's *finale*, was greeted with 'laughter.'

My own impression is that the result has not been much influenced by the Lords' Veto Question, or even by Second Chamber considerations. Free Trade, Chapel, and the specialised taxation of the well-to-do have again tacitly served the Government. A vague dread of food taxes and of any increased cost in the necessaries and the odds and ends which mean comfort and convenience, and which the wage-earners associate with free imports, has had most to do with it. The great majority of work-people cannot be expected to share the splenetic ardours of Sir Edward Grey for Second Chambers; but anything which means an increased cost of living rouses their apprehensions to quite the 'disaster, death, and damnation' pitch of Sir Edward's surely rather ridiculous tirade.

But be this as it may, the election was ostensibly fought on the Veto issue, and the burden of the next step to be taken lies upon Mr. Asquith and his friends. What will they do? The seat-hunting adventure has not come off. 'Stalemate' is not a convincing form of the emphasis Mr. Asquith sought, or of the additional power Sir Edward Grey declared to be necessary a month ago. If the Government did not feel justified in going on with the Parliament Bill in November, are they in any better position to do so now?

We ask the question with some interest; for we have been constantly told in the House of Lords during the last year or two, by Lord Crewe, by the Lord Chancellor, and by minor Ministers, that unless the House of Lords came to heel terrible things would happen—the formula being that 'nothing could ever be the same again.' In a sense this is true. I shall not easily forget the disagreeable impression made upon me by the attitude and by the language of the Government speakers on the 21st of November, when Lord Lansdowne moved the adjournment of the House for the discussion of his resolutions. Judgment, we were informed by Lord Crewe, had already been entered against us by default, and the statement was cordially supported in a weighty speech by the Lord Chancellor. The desire of the Lords to discuss the Parliament Bill fully would be regarded as an aggravation of our offences. Lord Beauchamp, speaking for the first time as a Cabinet Minister, with heat and rhetoric declared the motion for adjournment to be an impertinence to the Government; Lord Pentland, in milder and more deliberate accents, following suit.

And this stifling of debate, this concerted action to burke discussion, was the line taken by a Liberal Government! To this extent I agree that things can never be the same—at least for some of us. Lord Crewe certainly made the concession that those of us who happened not to agree with the Government, or only partially to agree, might discuss their points of view amongst themselves; but that the Government's mind was made up. The Bill must be taken or left. *No amendments would be listened to.* The Leader of the House, evidently speaking to strict instructions, was for once blunt and crude.

This truculent pose has set the tone to the Ministerial campaign in the country. It is the measure of success attained, either in reality or in the imagination of victors, by such an electoral attitude, that will decide the course of action the Government will adopt. Radical press-men still profess themselves delighted with results. It is a record, they assert, for any Prime Minister to lead his party to victory at the polls twice within less than a year. Well, there are records and records. Personally, I fail to see anything very remarkable in the fact that within a year's time the country has twice returned the same party to power. It takes longer than a year to turn any considerable number of votes. To take refuge in this kind of comparison is no real sign of confidence; but the Prime Minister himself seems to have felt sufficiently justified to announce a Home Rule Bill for almost immediate issue. No doubt the measure as described was of misty dimensions, and Mr. Asquith was at the time being heckled by a Fife county gentleman. But still, he is a hard man to corner against his will, and he told his audience the thing was thoroughly matured. It can hardly be supposed that he would have wasted the shining hours over the preparation of a Bill of this kind, save on the premise that he would first be able to get the House of Lords and their Veto out of the way, and so to have a clear course for his Irish Bill when the time came to submit it to the public. The incident is not without significance if taken in connexion with the Glossop speech of the 14th of December. Here Mr. Asquith speaks of the Veto as the 'predominant and primary issue at the election on which a dozen or a score of great causes hang, and prominent among these is a reconciliation of Ireland by a grant of self-government in regard to purely Irish affairs.'

Up to a certain point nothing could be more explicit. But what did the Prime Minister mean by 'purely Irish affairs'? There is a cautionary ring about this phrase. In any case Mr. Redmond does not seem to have been very much impressed, and other Ministerial speakers have been at great pains to explain that

Mr. Redmond is not in the secret, and that he will have to take his chance, like the House of Lords, of whatever a revitalised and re-equipped Liberal Government may think good for him.

I expect this is so: Mr. Redmond for the moment will be preambled, like the reformed Second Chamber. In short, Mr. Asquith is not so afraid of Mr. Redmond or so obedient to the Irish section of his majority as people think.

In the first place, there has been a change in Irish opinion within the last twenty or thirty years, and the leading aspects of the question have been fundamentally altered. In December 1879 Mr. Parnell said that a true revolutionary movement in Ireland should partake both of a constitutional and of an illegal character; but it is doubtful whether in December 1910 the Home Rule movement, either in Ireland or at Westminster, is of this complexion. Old Age Pensions, the free and successful operations of the Land Purchase Act, the steady progress of the Irish cattle and milk trades, inaugurated by Mr. Plunkett years ago and supported outside politics by Irish Unionists and Nationalists alike, have all had their effect. The Redmondite members would not like to admit it, but I expect that there are a good many Isaac Butts and 'sensible' Shaws in their ranks now. Certainly there is no Wolfe Tone, no Dan O'Connell.

In the second place, even if we assume that this is not the case—and Mr. Redmond perhaps does assume it—what in all the world has the Irish party to gain by turning out a Government and a party favourable to the Irish ideas they represent, in order to bring in a party who make no secret of their continued hostility to anything of the kind? The Eastern proverb 'Those who live near the river must make friends with the crocodiles' no doubt applies with disagreeable force to Mr. Asquith, but in a great measure it applies to Mr. Redmond also.

From the spectacular point of view, indeed, he is the hero of the election: to have returned to the scene of action at the dramatic moment: to have refreshed his organisation in the very nick of time with lots of good money; to have knocked out the formidable Mr. Healy; and to have come back to Westminster at the head of an almost unbroken party entitles him to enjoy all the satisfactions of the village blacksmith, and to sit by his fireside in this vile weather, conscious that he has kept the wolf from the door for some time. He may well be indifferent to the plottings of the 'preamblers.' Time may be on his side, but I confess that at present I am sceptical as to the reality of his 'dictatorship.' We can wax eloquent on the subject of American dollars. They suggest power, romance, and wickedness, but when all is said and done I do not suppose that a Primrose Dame or Sir Alexander Acland-Hood

would refuse subscriptions from Irish Ulstermen resident or nationalised abroad in support of the Union. Mr. Redmond's position is meritorious, but really quite commonplace.

To return to the Government, they are perhaps more deeply committed than in January last to carry out their programme; they are, however, no better equipped after their recent raid on the constituencies; they have received no stronger mandate than in January. If Ministers had won the thirty to forty seats they expected to win, or even the twenty or thirty the estimate fell to after the debate on the Lansdowne resolutions, the position would have been very different. But things being as they are, will not the Government be well-advised to mitigate something of their unconquerable purpose and to lend their minds to arriving at a fresh Constitutional agreement or understanding by consent? That done, they could go on with their Irish measures, which it is not too much to hope may meet with a very different reception from Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill.

It will be said that an attempt has already been made to arrive at a settlement by consent, but that it failed when the Conference broke up last autumn. Well, we may not want another Conference, but the very fact that there ever was one at all haunts our discussions as persistently as such shop-soiled electioneering properties as Mirabeau and Oliver Cromwell. The very thought of it blunted the sword of electoral conflict. It was felt that perhaps the constituencies themselves, as well as the Peers, had been living through a 'day of dupes.' The statesmen in conclave had met on more than twenty occasions. On each occasion they had sat for two hours or so. And to what purpose? That Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George might compare notes on their week-end visits to Blenheim and other fine country places? Surely they cannot have enjoyed one another's society for so long without arriving at the basis of some settlement of our troubles? It is at least legitimate to suppose that in the recent discussions in both Houses we have had a foretaste of better things to come. Our leaders may well have arrived at a compromise which they knew their followers would not accept without another appeal to arms. They therefore reported failure. The fact, however, that the decision of the electorate has left matters much where they were before the Conference met, alters the situation in one vital respect. A feeling of lassitude comes over the combatants, and the public mind is prepared for the kind of solution by compromise which the Conference leaders may have been holding in reserve all this time.

In his correspondence, J. S. Mill relates that he was so much struck by an observation of Maurice's, to the effect that differences of opinion, when they come to be analysed, largely resolve them-

selves into differences of method, that he brooded over it for two days and passed a sleepless night. The remark itself smacks of platitude, but without wishing Ministers to lose or mortgage their hours of rest after the arduous operations of the last three or four weeks, I would respectfully suggest their considering the next move from this point of view.

RIBBLESDALE.

THE MORAL OF AN IMMORAL ELECTION

The General Election is over. It ought not to have taken place. No defeat had been sustained by the Government, no check even had been experienced on any question subjected to Parliamentary criticism, and on which therefore the electorate might be considered capable of forming an instructed opinion. Debate on the resolutions dealing with the relations between the two branches of the Legislature was closured in the House of Commons on the ground that ample opportunity for discussion would arise on the introduction of the Bill embodying those resolutions. No opportunity for debate on the Bill was given, and under those circumstances to dissolve Parliament for no cause, and to cast an undebated and uncriticised proposal for fundamentally altering the Constitution into the vortex of a General Election, mixed with a dozen other issues, was insulting to the House of Commons, and came perilously near to perpetrating a deliberate fraud upon the electors. The immoral election is over and with negative results. So far as the Liberal and Unionist parties are concerned the position, in respect of numerical strength, is practically unchanged. This, however, does not indicate that the contest has been without effect upon the moral strength of the two main parties, and consequently upon the fortunes of the Government and the opportunities of the Opposition.

On the eve of the opening of Parliament, the informal Conference upon the relations between the two branches of the Legislature suddenly collapsed, and the Government dissolved Parliament for no reason assigned or assignable. In advising a dissolution without having experienced defeat or check, the Government adopted an unprecedented course; and the only conceivable motive for such a departure from Parliamentary practice is that, feeling themselves too weak to deal with the question that the Conference failed to solve, they hoped by appealing to the electors on the old register, by stifling criticism, and by obscuring the issue, to receive such an accession of strength on various grounds as would enable them to carry out their policy. Their expectations have been disappointed. On the other hand,

the Opposition hoped that time would not have checked the momentum of the pendulum that swung so distinctly in their favour in January last. They have been disappointed also. Unquestionably the suddenness of an election of so novel a character was all in favour of the Government. They can offer no excuse for the failure of their anticipations, and perforce adopt an expression of cheerful optimism as artificial as a ballet girl's professional smile. The Opposition were taken unawares, and, as is natural, they console themselves with remarks upon the myopia of their look-out men and the incompetence of their organisation. How far such reflections are justifiable is beside the mark. They may or may not be true. The fact is that great changes in public opinion do not take place in short intervals of time. In January the pendulum swung violently away from the Government. The Liberals lost ninety-eight seats and the Labour party six. England, in which is concentrated most of the wealth and organised industry of the United Kingdom, sent to Westminster fourteen more Unionist members than mustered under the combined Liberal, Labour, and Socialist flags. Even in Scotland and Wales the Liberals lost five seats. The huge majority in the House of Commons which had followed the Government since 1906 with little diminution suddenly dwindled to comparatively small proportions. The question, which it was thought the latest General Election would settle, was whether this marked swing of the pendulum had continued since January, or whether the Government, by its promise of further class legislation, and its partial capitulation to the Labour party over the Osborne Judgment, and to the Suffragists over the Conciliation Bill, had succeeded in arresting the movement. What light do the results of the General Election throw upon this question? If the number of votes cast at the polls, and the localities in which Unionists have gained seats or have greatly reduced majorities, are considered, the answer must be that opinion against the Government still continues to grow. England is more strongly opposed to Mr. Asquith's policy than it was, whilst Scotland and Wales have experienced little change. Mr. Redmond is still behind the Government, but the idea that Ireland is Radical, and is in sympathy with any single one of the items of the Government's Confession of Faith, becomes more absurd at each turn of the electoral wheel. England, which is the centre of the Empire, is still alien to the Government. So far as Great Britain is concerned, the position of the late Cabinet has been weakened rather than strengthened by the last appeal to the electors. The voters have declared what practically amounts to a stalemate between the two main contestants, and Mr. Asquith and his colleagues cannot reasonably claim to possess more power than they had six

weeks ago, or to be able to do anything now which they could not have done before the election was held.

That is the situation in Great Britain. In Ireland it is peculiar, and must be examined separately. The country is divided into two camps, omitting from consideration for a moment the small ascendancy coterie clinging desperately to the dry bones of a dead past. In one camp are gathered the official Nationalists under Mr. John Redmond, who have sacrificed Ireland's material welfare on the chance, the very slender chance, of extracting Home Rule from an unwilling predominant partner by manipulation of the Parliamentary machine, and who practise the unnational policy of striving to kindle into flame the dying embers of religious, racial, and class animosity. In the other camp are the members of the 'All for Ireland' League, under Mr. William O'Brien, whose claim is that the sacrifices involved in the acceptance by the official party of Radical budgets, socialist doctrines, and Mr. Birrell's Bill putting an end to land purchase, are ruinous, unnecessary and made in vain; that a national policy consists in allaying religious, racial, and class animosities, and that a measure of Home Rule, acceptable to Ireland and forming a permanent settlement, cannot be obtained by the methods and manœuvres practised by the official party. It need hardly be said that the relative strength of the two camps cannot be estimated by the results of the election. It must be apparent to anyone who understands the importance of party machinery, that Mr. William O'Brien entered upon the contest under an impossible handicap. When the election was sprung upon the country the 'All for Ireland' League had been in existence for only a few months. Its founder was unprepared. Without organisation of any kind he was suddenly called upon to fight a strong, well-established organisation fully equipped with all the machinery necessary for a campaign. And Mr. Redmond bid high for the support of his fellow countrymen. Clothing himself in a mystical robe of prophecy, he urged his followers to trust, not the Prime Minister or the British electorate, but to trust him, and him alone. He declined, it is true, to mention the source of his inspiration, but he did positively assert that if only his fellow countrymen would trust him just a little longer, they would obtain their reward '*immediately*,' in the shape of a measure of Home Rule of the character to which he had pledged himself. 'This is the very last election,' he told the people; 'support me just this once and Home Rule is assured. It is in my pocket. I can touch it, and when the time comes in two or three weeks, or possibly months, I will present it to you.' Such an appeal is very cogent addressed to electors drilled out of all independence, and who, in the hurry, confusion, and excitement of a sudden election, cannot consider

the validity of the demand. Under all these circumstances the only wonder is that the 'All for Ireland' League has not been utterly swamped under a huge wave of popular enthusiasm. One thing is certain. The inevitable recoil of the wave will be equal to the volume of its inrush. The survival intact of the new movement is proof of its intense vitality. It will not be caught unawares again. The result of the election makes it plain that another election a year or two hence would show results in Ireland very different from those which have recently been announced.

Subject to these conditions what can the Liberal party do? It is in process of disintegration. Moderate men are deserting it, and the polls show that it is not only numerically weaker than it was, but that when it comes to a straight fight between Labour and Liberalism in industrial constituencies, Liberalism goes under. In the House of Commons, and in still greater degree in the country, the Liberal party is so feeble that it cannot retain office except with the assistance of three factions, the Labour members, the Socialists, and the official Nationalists, who, having nothing in common, are united only in the desire to make such alterations in the Constitution as may enable each of them to carry out some project to which the others are opposed. It is with such a loosely compacted majority of such mutually destructive elements that the Government is about to meet the House of Commons, and claims to have received a mandate from the people. A mandate to do what?

The assumption that a Government returned to very precarious power on a dozen different issues is competent to undertake offhand great organic constitutional changes is too preposterous to be entertained. Yet the Government claim not only to have received a mandate from the constituencies to proceed with the Parliament Bill, but that the passage of the Bill through both Houses is absolutely certain. The Parliament Bill is, as a document, quite unique. It consists of two portions, one of which is left blank to be perhaps filled in later. It lays down rules, regulations, functions, and limits for something which does not exist, but which may be called into existence at some future date.

The complaint that the House of Lords represents one party only, and that in consequence the measures sent up by a Unionist majority in the House of Commons are always passed, whereas Bills sent up by a Liberal majority in the Commons are as invariably rejected, cannot be justified. The Second Chamber represents principles generally co-ordinated in the term conservatism. During a period of conservatism, in accepting Bills emanating from a Conservative party and founded on Conservative principles, it runs no risk of permitting legislation actively offensive to the people. The legislation may be disappointing.

It may not go as far as many people desire, but that defect is remediable. But with a Radical Government, and especially with a Radical Government swayed by an extreme section, the case is very different. Bills may come up containing legislation of an abiding character, concerning which no definite opinion has been expressed by the majority, but to which conservative sentiment is known to be resolutely hostile. In such a case a Second Chamber, however constituted, will feel it to be its duty to make sure that such measures are approved of by the people. In all domestic affairs the tendency is towards progress, and the country is roughly divided into two parties, those who want to go fast and those who want to go slow. This national attitude is reflected in our party system. Roughly speaking, each great party is divided into those who pull forward and those who pull back, and between the wing of the Radical party that pulls back and the wing of the Conservative party that pulls forward there is very little difference of opinion at any time, and that general average of opinion is always slowly advancing. The function and, indeed, the sole object of a Second Chamber is to represent that general average, to balance extremes, to embody the mean, to avoid violent action and reaction, and to ensure steady progress. Whether under Lord Rosebery's and Lord Lansdowne's resolutions a satisfactory Second Chamber can be created is a matter for discussion and the formation of public opinion: but that they go a long way towards a solution cannot be denied by reasonable men. In the absence of the smallest tittle of information as to their intentions, it is, of course, impossible to say whether under the scheme of the Government—if indeed they have any scheme—a real Second Chamber can be formed; but no reasonable man can deny that the Parliament Bill as it stands reduces the Second Chamber to a condition of impotence that amounts to abolition, and is really a Single Chamber Bill.

The suggestion of the Government to deprive the Second Chamber of all power is difficult to view with becoming seriousness. It seems ridiculous and it is certainly impossible. Men of political aspirations, of energy, of ambition to serve the public, will never consent to sit in a sham senate; nor will public servants, who have spent themselves in the service of their country, seek well-earned repose in such an ignoble seat. It is very doubtful whether a Second Chamber, limited to suspensory powers, would answer the purpose for which it is designed, and if not, it could not last. The object of the Parliament Bill is, as Mr. Asquith informs us, to enable him to pass a dozen or score of measures of grave importance. An emasculated Second Chamber is likely to use to the utmost the little power left to it, and it will be able to delay each of those dozen or score of measures for three years

may take Mr. Asquith anything from a quarter to half a cen-ry to pass the measures which he has at present in his mind. e whole conception of the Government is upside down and ong end first; it merely deforms the House of Lords. The nception of the Opposition is on its feet, and is right end first; reforms the House of Lords. The country will insist upon a al Second Chamber or none. It will not countenance rank ception. The Deform Bill of the Government must be placed ongside the Reform Bill of the Opposition, and then let the eople judge.

It is, of course, pernicious to the last degree that great constitutional questions of this kind should be threshed out on the dust-den floor of General Elections. All moderate men agree that ur Parliamentary machinery requires a thorough overhaul, and at the business of the nation must be reorganised on a business oting. The business of a nation and an empire is, after all, the same character as the business of any great commercial rporation. What, under similar circumstances, would the irectors of such a corporation do? Would they appeal to a ries of stormy meetings of shareholders? No; they would first iscuss the matter among themselves, strive to reconcile differ-nces, and devise means for coping with an extended business nd providing adequate machinery for dealing with it. That is bviously what responsible statesmen should do. A conference n the whole constitutional question is the best and probably e only way out of the *impasse*. The best way because it will oid dangerous friction. The only way because sooner or later must be resorted to.

In the meantime, among the most prominent of Mr. Asquith's ozen or score of measures, is Home Rule.

What is to be understood by the term Home Rule? We know hat Mr. Redmond means by it. He is pledged to separation. e demands for Ireland a Parliament with the status and powers the Dominion Parliament. The Dominion Parliament has ower to raise armies and fleets, to negotiate commercial treaties, deal as it likes with customs, excise, trade and commerce. hat is virtual, at any rate potential, separation, and to that r. Redmond is pledged. His party is pledged to separation. relies upon supporters who have put up their dollars for sepa-ation. The official Nationalist Party cannot accept less without tultifying themselves, violating every pledge, and laying them-elves open to the moral though not the legal charge of obtaining oney under false pretences. That is their position. What is he position of the Government? Mr. Lloyd George, the latest xponent of Radical policy, defines Home Rule as granting to Irish local body power over trivial local affairs; and, judging

by their speeches, that is the interpretation his colleagues place upon the term Home Rule? They are pledged to that, and they cannot give more without stultifying themselves, violating their pledges, and laying themselves open to the charge of obtaining votes under false pretences. The difference between Home Rule as defined by Mr. Redmond, and Home Rule as it has been represented to the British constituencies by His Majesty's Ministers, is irreconcilable. There is an absolute deadlock. What is to happen? Mr. Redmond has declared that he holds the Liberals in his hand, and will make them 'toe the line'—his line. Mr. Asquith, on the other hand, declared at Retford, not a fortnight ago, that he is independent of the Irish vote and will toe his own line and none other.

What then will occur? The Irish question will not be the first, second, or the third of the dozen or score of measures which Mr. Asquith desires to see added to the statute-book. If Mr. Redmond attempts to force the issue, he may find himself confronted by the main bodies of both the great political parties, neither of whom have the slightest intention of introducing or countenancing a Separatist Bill, and Home Rule will be relegated to the lumber-room of dilapidated theatrical properties. It is a pity—a great pity—for a reasonable and moderate settlement by consent of reasonable and moderate men would not be difficult, and must be undertaken, if not for itself, at any rate as an inseparable part of a question that must be grappled with sooner or later, and the sooner the better—the relief of Parliament from insufferable congestion.

As to the immediate question, the Parliament Bill. Presumably Mr. Asquith was not strong enough to ask for guarantees from the Crown before the General Election. He is no stronger now, he is indeed weaker, and it is, therefore, difficult to imagine on what ground he has now obtained, or will in the next few weeks obtain, guarantees which he could not secure before his last and unsuccessful appeal to the constituencies. But, assuming, for the sake of argument, that the prerogative of the Crown is exercised at the behest of a weakened Liberal party to swamp the House of Lords by a vast creation of Peers in order to ensure the passage of the Parliament Bill, what would be the outlook? There can be very little legislation this year. The Government is first bound to carry two Budgets, and it must get through Supply; in fulfilment of its pledge to the working classes the Invalidity and Unemployment Bill must be passed, and the Naval Prizes Bill must be piloted through the two Houses of Parliament before the Declaration of London, to which the commercial classes in the United Kingdom are so strongly opposed, can be ratified. This is a brief outline of the immediate prospect, in a

ear in which, as in other years, there will be recesses at Easter ınd Whitsuntide, and in which, unlike other years, there will e the ceremony of the Coronation, and the foregathering of epresentatives from the Oversea Dominions to discuss vital pro- lems of empire. The Parliament Bill has never been debated the House of Commons. It must be debated. Mr. Asquith osured it in the old Parliament—he dare not closure it in a ew Parliament. It is no light matter recasting the Constitu- ion. Even in the great free Republic of the United States, hich has no such strong reverence for tradition as has proved e safeguard of the British people, the Constitution is placed t inaccessible heights above the possibility of amendment by a snap' vote, engineered by the artificial combination of opposing ictions. In face of all precedent in all civilised communities, ie Government dare not rush through the Parliament Bill with- ıt full discussion, not only of its clauses, but of the possible evelopments to which it may lead. To hustle this measure rough would be to disclose to the electorate a desire to reduce ie House of Commons to absurdity, under the veil of reducing e House of Lords to impotency. Such procedure would nmask, in a manner which no elector could misunderstand, a etermination to make the Cabinet completely independent of arliament. The true issue at the last election which the elec- rate failed to see will be brought under the limelight. It will e impossible any longer to conceal the naked fact that the real uestion before the country is: Are we to continue to enjoy Par- amentary institutions, or shall we substitute for them a Cabinet nnipotent for five years? Is the executive to be made indepen- ent of Parliamentary control? Shall the democracy or an oli- rchy rule? Happily, many of Mr. Asquith's supporters still ierish some reverence for Parliamentary institutions, and any tempt to stifle criticism and silence debate upon the Parliament ill would be fatal to the life of the Government. We may, ierefore, take it for granted that the Parliament Bill will be ılly debated in the Commons, and that, in view of the other ısiness to be got through, and of the peculiar circumstances of e year, it cannot reach the House of Lords until the autumn. 'hat will be its fate? The spokesmen of the Government are ever tired of announcing that the Parliament Bill will pass; but is noticeable that they do not couple the announcement with ie usual rider, 'without the alteration of a comma.' It is pos- ble, and I sincerely hope more than possible, that a Bill may be troduced dealing with the whole question, putting the two sub- adings—the constitution of the Second Chamber, and its wers—in their proper relative positions, and of such a character to be acceptable by both Houses, or to be made acceptable

by compromise and amendment. Such a course would be in accordance with all the best traditions of the Liberal party, and would recommend itself to reasonable men of both parties. Or the Bill might be introduced, debated, and amended in the House of Lords in a fair spirit of compromise. But if the Bill is introduced without the alteration of a comma, what then? It can be passed only by acceptance of the present House of Lords, or by force. The first alternative may be dismissed. The only argument in favour of such a course—namely, that acceptance would save the Crown from being embroiled in party strife—will not stand examination. With a majority in England against him, and with only a small majority in Great Britain with him, the most enthusiastic iconoclastic Radical cannot contend that overwhelming popular opinion is in favour of the destruction of the Second Chamber. No parallel can be drawn with the last occasion when the Royal prerogative was called into operation, in 1832. Nothing can disguise the fact that for the first time in our history the Crown will have been dragged into the arena of party strife. Whether the Parliament Bill is carried under the threat of a vast creation of Peers, or by the actual votes of the created Peers, can in no wise alter the fact that the Royal prerogative has been invoked in a purely party controversy. Responsibility rests not on the Crown, but on the advisers of the Crown. Acceptance of the Bill as it stands cannot alter the fact, and that line is not likely to be adopted by the House of Lords. Two other courses are open to it.

The Opposition in the House of Lords may introduce and send down a Reform Bill, and may meet the Government Bill with a distinct negative; or the House may give a second reading to the Parliament Bill, and proceed to amend it so as to embody in it all their own proposals. Such drastic amendment would be impossible in the House of Commons, but in the Lords all things are possible; and, though it would be most unusual for an Opposition to introduce a great Parliamentary Reform Bill, such a departure from practice and precedent would be fully justified under the abnormal circumstances that exist. Either course is open to the Lords, and, unless wiser counsels prevail, the results would in both cases be the same. The House of Commons would reject the House of Lords Reform Bill, or would not agree to the Lords' amendment of the Government Bill, and if the Ministerial statements mean what they appear to mean, four or five hundred Peers would be created. To do what? To obstruct the reform of the House of Lords, and to perpetuate the principle so strongly objected to by Radicals, that the possession of a Peerage confers in itself the right to sit and vote in the Second Chamber. The position would be absurd. On a former occasion—the only

occasion when Peers were created—a wag inquired as the dozen new lords entered the House of Lords: 'Gentlemen, will you vote individually, or through your foreman?' Provision will, it is to be hoped, be made for enabling the new Peers to vote through their foreman, for otherwise it is difficult to see where accommodation for some eleven hundred Peers is to be found.

What, under these circumstances, is to become of Home Rule, the most pressing of Mr. Asquith's dozen or score of measures? Five hundred Peers will have been created for a special purpose, and for that only. To assume that they would be pledged, or if pledged, would remain pledged, to support every measure that might be brought up by a Radical administration, and to obstruct all other measures, would be to make absurdity still more absurd. It would become necessary for the Conservatives, when returned to office, to create another batch of Peers pledged to support their measures, and so on *ad infinitum*, and party government and Parliamentary institutions would be reduced to an absolute farce. A Home Rule Bill might be introduced in 1912, and might proceed through all its stages in the Commons, if the Government swallowed all their pledges, and if its financial clauses satisfied both Irish Nationalists and their Radical allies, which is most unlikely. It could not reach the Lords until the end of the year at the earliest. It would be rejected. Then presumably it would be introduced and rejected again in 1913; and then, according to Mr. Redmond's sanguine anticipation, it would be passed over the heads of the Lords in 1914. This would bring the Government very near the end of the five years' limit of the life of Parliament. Is it conceivable that the country would permit a great constitutional question to be decided by a moribund Parliament without reference to the electors? If the Government attempted to do so, they could not face the constituencies; they would be literally 'snowed under,' and we should have the spectacle of the Home Rule Bill being summarily repealed before it had come into operation. Nor would this be all. In such circumstances the Parliament Bill would also be removed from the Statute Book, and the new Government, fresh from contact with the country, would proceed to reform the House of Lords.

Liberals are treading a dangerous path, and they must know it. To make their Parliamentary institutions a by-word among the nations will not please a people who have been, and with reason, proud of their Parliament. They will not like to see the revered Mother of Parliaments degraded to a quarrelsome, disreputable drab. The Government will, unless they can rise above immediate party strategic considerations, effectually discredit their party, and eventually meet with such an overwhelming disaster as may well consign them to ineffectual opposition for

a generation or more. The Liberal party are not mad. Conservatives and Liberal Unionists—the democratic party—might, if they thought only of party advantage, be well content to await results; but if true to their instincts they will be anxious to do all in their power to avoid possibilities derogatory to the Crown, discreditable to Parliament, and, as a nation, disgracing us among the nations.

The elections, as usual, have been accompanied by everything calculated to evoke passion and stir up strife. Class has been hounded on against class. The House of Lords has been described as consisting of the 'idle rich.' If a class of idle rich exists, the Second Chamber is not the place to find them in. From one corner of Ireland comes the old cry that Ulster will die in the last ditch rather than acquiesce in any variation of the present relations between Ireland and Great Britain. Yet nothing is more certain than that level-headed business men in Ulster have no idea of dying, or even of wetting their feet, in the last or in any other ditch. From other parts of Ireland come as vociferous but equally exaggerated demands for total separation. Thousands of Unionists who shout against 'dismemberment' are quite ready to accept a moderate measure of Home Rule on federal lines, as desirable in itself and as necessary for the relief of Parliament. Exaggeration will be forgotten, passion will subside, and when the artificial excitement of an election has died down, and the essential features of the political situation become apparent, can it be doubted that all reasonable and moderate men will realise that the conditions are opportune for a reasonable, moderate policy of compromise? The Liberal party is beset with difficulties. They have raised a Frankenstein, and do not know how to deal with him. On the other hand, the Unionist party is in a state—to say the least of it—of perplexity. As between the two main divisions of political opinion the General Election has produced a position equivalent to stalemate. Does not that show that the electors are perplexed, that they need guidance and the presentation to them of clear and reasoned issues? Are not these conditions favourable for a Conference on the fundamental constitutional issue, and the relief of Parliament from the perennial state of congestion, which interferes with the due performance of its functions? The Irish question would come within the area of discussion, and by the Irish question I do not mean the political question only, but such an agreement by consent as will ensure a complete settlement of the agrarian question already more than half achieved, and as will give moderate self-governing power to an Irish body as a going concern and not as a bankrupt institution. But the constitutional question is of paramount importance, and in hoping against hope for a Conference on that issue

in its broadest aspects, I am not suggesting anything Utopian. I do not plead for the cessation of party conflict. I do plead that in a great emergency party leaders should for a time rise above mere party considerations, and should combine to rescue the country from the discreditable dilemma in which it is placed. I do plead that party conflict should be conducted without embroiling the Crown, and under conditions of a stable, settled Constitution; and should not be conducted so as to produce such internal weakness as might even lay us open to foreign aggression. A house divided against itself from top to bottom cannot stand, and at this moment it is supremely important that the British people should present to the world a bold and united front.

What is the result of the election? It has left parties very much as they were in January last, but with this important difference. In the interval definite proposals have been framed for the drastic reform of the House of Lords, and suggestions for settling great questions on which the two Houses cannot agree have been made. The tactics of the House of Lords have not been wise. For the last five-and-twenty years reform has been urged, and urged in vain. Lord Rosebery's Committee reported in December 1908. His resolutions were not introduced until March 1910. Dilatory tactics have weakened the case, but nevertheless the case is strong. Definite proposals have been tabled, and they are worthy of serious consideration. They indicate an open mind and an honest desire to compromise, which should not be despised.

What is the moral of the election? All moderate men, whatever their party ties, must agree that we have reached a point when, to use a common colloquialism, something must be done. The constitutional powers of the Second Chamber must be reconsidered, and ought to be reconsidered dispassionately in the light of historical development, modern requirements, and in a spirit of fair play to both political parties. Some means must be found for relieving Parliament from the present congestion, which is inevitable so long as one Assembly is alike responsible for drafting a South African Act, for creating Indian Councils, for debating Bills for regulating the hours of shop assistants, for the enlargement of the boundaries of some provincial town, or for the system of drainage to be carried out by Muddleton-on-Sea. Such fundamental changes have never been attempted by any civilised nation by appeals to the people through the heated atmosphere of general elections. They can be carried out only through the presentment to the people of a well-considered scheme agreed to by both parties, or, failing agreement, by laying alternative complete schemes before the electorate for their choice.

The Conference on the minor question of the powers of the House of Lords unfortunately broke down. From this failure it does not, however, by any means follow that a Conference on the larger issues which so vitally affect the future of the United Kingdom, and of the Empire, would not succeed. This larger issue is essentially one for the trained mind of statesmen to undertake, before submitting it to the judgment of the electors. In the present situation, when the electorate has called stalemate, the idea of a Conference on the larger issue is surely one which should commend itself to the more statesmanlike minds in all parties, as the surest means of extricating the country from an *impasse* humiliating to it, and of so readjusting the machinery of Parliamentary government as to render it suitable to our present and future needs.

DUNRAVEN.

A GREAT DEMOCRATIC REFORM

By far the most important event in the political developments of our time is the adoption by the Unionist party of the principle of the Referendum. Like many other events which have had far-reaching consequences, this new departure was neither planned nor foreseen. It was forced upon the party by circumstances which closed every other avenue of escape from a dangerous situation. This undeniable fact may justify Liberals in taunting their opponents with the suddenness of their conversion, but it does not in the least degree affect the necessary loyalty of the Unionist party to their new creed. For the causes which have given rise to the conversion are continuing causes. The growth of a self-conscious democracy has made it impossible for any political party to secure office by appealing to the privileges of the few. Power has finally passed from the 'nobility and gentry' to the mass of the people, and a political party which attempts to ignore this fact is doomed to extinction. It was therefore necessary for the Unionists, when they saw themselves faced with a threatened Radical dictatorship, to look round and see whether they could not discover some means of reconciling Conservatism with Democracy. They found the Referendum.

As will be presently shown, the Referendum, in the countries where it is habitually employed, is on the whole a conservative instrument. But, what is even more important for the interests of the Unionist party, it is an instrument which prevents a combination of political groups from forcing upon the country a series of measures which independently would be unable to command a majority. That is the special danger which the Unionist party has to dread. The establishment of Home Rule, the secularisation of the elementary schools in England, the disendowment of the Church in Wales, the penalisation of private property in land, are none of them proposals which, taken alone, would be likely to secure the approval of the majority of the electors of the United Kingdom. Yet there is an ever-present danger that a composite majority of Irish Nationalists, English secularists, Welsh Nonconformists, and miscellaneous Socialists may drive

these measures one after the other through the House of Commons, and beat down any opposition that can be offered by an hereditary Second Chamber. Nor would any reconstruction of the House of Lords, however desirable from other points of view, fully meet this particular danger. For a Second Chamber, whatever its composition, is always suspect to the so-called 'advanced' parties, and, if a general election remained the only means of judging between the two Houses, a coalition such as that now in power might easily secure a multiple verdict in its favour and, backed by that verdict, override any Second Chamber. The only instrument sufficiently powerful to put a stop to a well-organised scheme of legislation by log-rolling is the Referendum.

That is why a truly Conservative party—a party which only wishes for change when the nation as a whole is prepared for change—must welcome the Referendum and stand by it as the one means by which Conservatism and Democracy can be reconciled.

For exactly the same reason the Referendum is opposed by Radicals. I do not for a moment wish to depreciate the value of the work done by Radicals in developing the institutions of our country. The Radical party is a stimulating force which the nation would greatly miss if it were withdrawn. But the very temperament which makes a man a Radical makes him also impatient of delay, intolerant of opposition. He imagines that he alone possesses the key of social salvation and that his reforms will unlock the door that leads to a new world of happiness. Imagining this, he also imagines that he is warranted in using power, however obtained, to force upon his fellow-countrymen measures which he believes to be invaluable. It is a dangerous creed, but it is held in all sincerity by thousands of men whose only desire is to benefit mankind. Such men argue that the path of the reformer is arduous, that it is uphill work trying to arouse popular enthusiasm for any single reform, that there are many dangerous crevasses to be crossed and precipices avoided, and that reformers cannot hope to scale the heights on which their eyes are fixed unless—to use Mr. Lloyd George's phrase—they are skilfully roped together.

The simile is seductive, but dangerous—even from the Radical point of view. Radicals are not the only people who claim to be reformers. There are 'reformers' attached to the Unionist party, and it is instructive to note that the more zealous among them are, like the Radicals, profoundly suspicious of the Referendum. The extreme Tariff Reformer has just the same mentality as the extreme Radical. He believes that his pet project is going to make work for all, to bind the Empire together, and to fill our national exchequer with the lavish though reluctant contributions of our

foreign rivals. He too is impatient of opposition to the realisation of his schemes; he too wishes to impose his will upon the nation for its good without waiting for its agreement. To him, therefore, as to the more orthodox Radical, the idea of the Referendum is anathema, for it would render impossible that log-rolling process by means of which in other countries protectionist tariffs are guided through elected assemblies.

In each case it will be observed that the zealous reformer claims to know better what is good for the people than they themselves know. He sets himself up as a superior person, divinely ordained to act as shepherd to the silly, bleating flock. To ask them for their opinion is to cast a reflection on his intelligence. His *rôle* is to command, theirs to obey. Even in countries where the Referendum is already established this mental attitude of the Radical reformer still persists. The joint authors of a well-known standard work on the Swiss Confederation (Sir Francis Adams and Mr. C. D. Cunningham), in describing the way in which the Referendum is regarded by various types of Swiss politicians, write:

> Radicals of the above stamp still favour the representative and Parliamentary system, which they consider to be the bulwark of intelligence against the numerical superiority of democratic masses insufficiently instructed and, therefore, easily misled. They would prefer themselves to regulate the measure of progress in the country, and they view with scepticism or distrust any further attempt in the direction of a greater participation of the people in legislation and government.

It would be impossible better to express the attitude of our own Radicals, including in that term the extreme Tariff Reformers. But though the Swiss Radicals dislike the Referendum, even they do not venture to demand its abolition. In the words of the same writers:

> The Referendum has struck root and expanded wherever it has been introduced, and no serious politician of any party would now think of attempting its abolition. The Conservatives, who violently opposed its introduction, became its earnest supporters when they found that it undoubtedly acted as a drag upon hasty and Radical law-making. . . . Extreme measures, whether Radical or reactionary, have no chance whatever of being accepted by the people, who, while in a manner fulfilling the functions of a Second Chamber, have infinitely more weight than any such body usually possesses, even if it be thoroughly representative and chosen by universal suffrage.

It may be argued quite fairly that the conditions in Switzerland are in many respects very different from those which prevail in this country, and that we are not justified in assuming that the Referendum which works so well there would necessarily work well here. That is perfectly true. Institutions, like plants, require a suitable soil if they are to take root and flourish, but the

differences between the United Kingdom and Switzerland are not so fundamental as to make Swiss experience useless as a guide to us.

One important difference is that in Switzerland the practice of direct legislation by the people has in one form or another existed for centuries, so that the Swiss elector found nothing novel in the principle of the Referendum. He and his fathers before him for many a generation past have been accustomed to the belief that the sovereignty of the nation rests not with any representative assembly but with the people themselves. Our people admittedly are unfamiliar with this conception, but that does not prove that they are incapable of accepting it. Fifty years ago they could not have done so. The powers of government were at that time exercised—on the whole wisely—by the members of a few families belonging to the *classes dirigeantes*, and it would have been dangerous to entrust wide powers to the mass of the people.

But the day of the *classes dirigeantes* has gone by. The masses are now too well educated and too clearly conscious of their strength to submit to dictation either from the aristocracy of birth or from the aristocracy of intellect. The only question left open is: By what method shall they exercise the power which is and must be theirs? Are they to continue, as at present, only to exercise their power indirectly by the election of representatives at more or less remote intervals of time, or are they to be permitted to use their power directly by saying 'Yes' or 'No' to specific legislative proposals affecting their interests? To argue, as some Ministerialists have lately been doing, that the British electorate is beyond question capable of discharging the former function, but altogether incapable of discharging the latter, is to put an excessive strain on the patience of the listener. At a general election the voter is asked to choose between candidates A and B. Mr. A advocates certain proposals, which we will call p, q, r, and Mr. B advocates others, which we will call x, y, z. In making his choice the elector is supposed carefully to weigh up all these half-dozen or more proposals and to vote for the set which on balance he prefers. Yet the very men who preach, or used to preach, the doctrine of trust in the people, now have the effrontery to argue that though the British elector may be trusted to say whether he prefers x, y, z collectively to p, q, r collectively, he may not be trusted to say whether he likes or dislikes any of those six proposals separately. To discuss such an argument further would be waste of time.

A more plausible argument is derived from the fact that in Switzerland the party system, as we know it here, can hardly be said to exist. The Executive Government or Ministry is elected by the National Assembly, but, though its members are more or less of one political complexion, they are not tied to one another

by the rigid bonds which unite the members of a British Cabinet. If a Minister proposes a Bill which the Legislature or the nation rejects, he and his colleagues do not resign: for the Swiss people have the intelligence to see that it is poor economy to throw away a good Minister because he may have misjudged on some particular question the wishes either of the National Assembly or of the nation itself. This, indeed, is a great contrast to our British system, and it is easily intelligible that men who derive amusement or profit from active participation in the game of party politics should hold up their hands with holy horror at the idea of introducing into this country an institution which might spoil their fun. That is exactly what the Referendum would do, and that is its greatest merit, for the party system is one of the worst evils from which our country suffers.

The idea that the perpetual conflict of parties purifies public life by maintaining a healthy rivalry between politicians is very pretty on paper but is not realised in practice. In the United States the party system is even more rigidly organised than in our own country and the element of conflict which is assumed to be so purifying is even more pronounced. Yet American politics are a by-word for corruption. It is hardly too much to say that the real purpose in life of the two great American parties is to plunder the people for the benefit of the wire-pullers. Both parties draw vast sums of money from enterprising business men who wish to obtain from the National or State Legislatures tariff favours, railroad franchises, or other privileges. The politicians take the money for their own purposes and deliver the goods at the cost of the community. Ever and anon patriotic Americans make an effort to shake off these two rival sets of professional politicians who have fixed their claws in the flesh of the nation; but as long as there is no effective control by the people themselves over their elected representatives the party wire-puller reigns supreme.

That is why the Referendum is now making such rapid progress in the United States. Nearly a dozen States have already adopted it, and its introduction in as many more is promised. The conclusive argument in the American mind for the Referendum or 'direct legislation' is that, while it is easy to bribe an elected assembly, it is difficult to bribe the whole body of the people, so that by keeping control in their own hands the people can better secure that purity of political life which is so falsely assumed to be the necessary concomitant of party warfare.

Happily in our own country political life is still maintained at a higher moral standard than prevails in the United States. But it would be hypocritical to pretend that British members of Parliament are solely concerned with the well-being of the nation, or that the policy of rival parties is guided entirely by conscientious

convictions. In practice the main business of each organised party is to maintain itself. For that purpose it must have money, and though much money is provided by men who are actuated by sheer honest enthusiasm, much comes from other sources. The sale of titles as a means of replenishing party funds is now so notorious that there is no reason why it should not be openly discussed. The proceeding has a humorous as well as a disagreeable side, for the Liberal party, while publicly denouncing hereditary privileges, are even more lavish than their opponents in the sale of peerages. The money thus obtained is used, among other things, to pay for huge posters representing the typical peer as an undersized, gibbering old man scarcely strong enough to bear the weight of an enormous coronet.

This sale of honours is, however, less injurious to the nation than the steady pressure which is applied to members of Parliament to force them to vote in defiance of their personal convictions, and even in defiance of pledges given to their constituents. Here again the matter is so notorious that it would be hypocritical to affect ignorance. Indeed, the partisan Press on both sides openly maintains the doctrine that the sole duty of a member of Parliament is to vote with his party. The possibility that he may have convictions of his own is not taken into account. The necessary result is that the few individuals who control the party which is momentarily dominant are able also to control the House of Commons. That assembly does not represent the will of the nation; it represents the will of the wire-pullers. The individual citizen and the individual member of Parliament are helpless in face of the political machine. Nor does it suffice for a member of Parliament to remain silent when measures of which he disapproves are being advocated by his party. Cabinet Ministers are expected to make speeches in the House of Commons in support of measures which they have hotly opposed in Cabinet Council; private members are expected to go down to their constituencies to defend publicly measures which privately they are known to dislike.

No system of government can be finally desirable which thus compels intellectual dishonesty. Members of Parliament are in themselves as honest as other people. They have no natural desire to deceive their constituents or to deceive anybody. Man for man they are probably above the average of the nation, both in morals and in brains. Many are as straight and honourable men as could be found anywhere in the world. But even before they are elected they have to learn how difficult it is in political life to give a straight answer to a straight question. The candidate is assailed at the outset of his electoral campaign with deputations from groups of people all asking him to promise to support their particular fad. Unless the fad happens to have been

incorporated in the party programme it will be very dangerous for the candidate to give a straight answer, for he may find that the party wire-pullers take an opposite view, and in that case it will be difficult for him to readjust his position. He usually adopts the practice of covering up his reply in a cloud of words which can be twisted into any meaning which the future exigencies of his party may require.

Sometimes this course is impossible. There are some groups which are so determined and so numerically powerful that they cannot be put off with vague phrases, and the candidate has to 'toe the line.' If a considerable number of candidates are elected under the pressure of this particular group they will constitute a force in the House of Commons with which the party Whip will have to reckon. They may be a small minority of the party, but if they are numerous enough to be dangerous in a party division the Whip will report to the Cabinet that they must be conciliated. The decree will then go forth that this particular fad, whatever it may be, is to be added to the party programme, and scores of members who may be personally opposed to it, and whose constituents may have expressed no opinion upon it, will in turn have to 'toe the line,' and the fad will be forced through the House of Commons with the whole weight of the party majority behind it. When that process is complete the fad will have become the 'voice of the people,' and if the peers venture to reject it, or even to try to make sense of it by amendment, they will be denounced as hereditary despots.

The only redeeming feature of this political dishonesty is the perfect candour of members among themselves and among their friends. Both Ministers and private members will constantly avow without hesitation that they are personally opposed to measures which party discipline compels them to support and to advocate. It is to their credit that they should make this avowal, for it clears their consciences and prevents them adding to the crime of public deception the sin of private hypocrisy. They know, and everybody knows who is in touch with political life, that in our existing party system the private convictions of a member of Parliament must count for very little, and that his main duty as a politician is to vote for and advocate those measures which the party has adopted.

But does the nation really wish to be governed in this manner? Does it really wish that the men whom it chooses for its legislators should be compelled to adopt a lower standard of honour than would be tolerated for a moment either in our commercial life or in our national games? In commerce, if a man habitually deceives those with whom he has dealings he will find his name becoming a by-word and his business slipping from him. In

cricket and football a man who treats an opponent unfairly will be dropped on by the umpire, and if he were frequently to repeat the offence he would be hissed off the field. But a politician may persistently misrepresent an opponent, he may suppress facts and suggest falsehoods, but he will not lose credit or position in his party. On the contrary, if he only displays a modest amount of oratorical skill and a great deal of political fervour he may acquire a salary of 5000*l.* a year and the title of 'Right Honourable.'

It has been necessary to lay stress upon these unpleasant aspects of our political life because they are the necessary and inevitable outcome of the party system of government and will not disappear until that system is destroyed. As long as we choose to organise the government of the country on the supposition that two parties are to remain eternally at warfare with one another, so long will our political life be dominated by the ethics of the battlefield in place of the code of honour which controls the peaceful relationships of civilised men.

To escape from this thraldom is not easy, but there are two great reforms which will at any rate loosen our shackles. One is the adoption of a system of election which would give the elector a wider range of choice among possible candidates. At present most electors have only the opportunity of voting for one or other of two candidates, and they may dislike both. By creating multiple-member constituencies and introducing what is known as the system of proportional representation, it would be possible to give to each considerable body of electors an effective power of choosing a man after their own heart. This would at once do away with a good deal of the dishonesty now practised in elections, for candidates would find it more profitable to express their personal opinions strongly than to try to rake together votes from every quarter by professing partial acquiescence with a multitude of discordant demands.

This reform, however, would not alone do all that is needed. It might, indeed, from some points of view make the situation worse. For the numerous groups which would then appear in Parliament would all be eager to advance their respective causes, and the temptations to, and facilities for, log-rolling would be even greater than they now are. The Referendum is needed to prevent this evil. Where the Referendum can be brought into operation, little groups may intrigue and log-roll to their hearts' content, but it profits them nothing unless they can carry the nation with them. However skilfully they may be roped together they have ultimately to face the precipice of a poll of the people. When all the Parliamentary manœuvring has come to an end the electors of the country will, or may, be called upon individually to reply under

the shelter of the ballot to the cold, impassive question : 'Do you wish this Bill to become law? Answer "Yes" or "No."'

The dread of this ordeal will have a most salutary effect upon all our Parliamentary proceedings. Ministers, instead of forcing Bills through, by means of the closure and the guillotine, undebated and unamended, will find it desirable to conciliate their critics by allowing full opportunity for discussion and by accepting reasonable amendments. The Ministerial Whips will not feel aggrieved, as they do at present, if the supporters of the Government as well as the opponents take part in this work of criticism, which is the real work of Parliament, for it will be their interest that if the Bill should have to go to a Referendum it may go in such shape as to arouse the minimum of opposition. In the same way the need for an efficient Second Chamber will then become apparent even to impatient Radicals, for they will see that the more detached outlook which a Second Chamber can bring to bear upon legislation will be of great value in shaping measures so as to remove difficulties of detail which might bulk large in the popular imagination. The primary effect of the Referendum will, therefore, be to restore vitality to both Houses of Parliament and to make them real deliberative assemblies.

In addition, the Referendum will give to the ordinary citizen a power of self-government which is now denied to him. At present the individual elector is entirely overshadowed by the caucus. A little group of politicians in each constituency selects a candidate, or more often is content to adopt the candidate sent down from the party headquarters in London. The rank and file of the party have no voice whatever in the selection, and they cannot effectively protest against the candidate foisted upon them except by voting for the opposing candidate, whose political principles they may dislike even more strongly than they dislike the personality of their own candidate. The case is even worse in those constituencies where there is a permanent majority on one side or the other, for here the electors belonging to the minority are in effect permanently disfranchised. A Liberal elector in St. George's, Hanover Square, or a Conservative elector in Dewsbury and Batley might as well be struck off the register for all the good his vote does to him or to his party. To such men the Referendum will give a new power, for whenever a measure is submitted to a poll of the whole country the votes of these men will count as much as votes in any other electoral area towards making up the aggregate which will determine the fate of the Bill.

The Referendum, in a word, will give to every elector in the kingdom a direct personal voice in the affairs of his country. He will be able, when any important measure is proposed by the

politicians, to say whether or not he wishes it to become law. Doubtless many electors here, as in Switzerland, will fail to exercise this power. Large numbers of people in every country take but a languid interest in public affairs, and would never vote even in a general election unless they were dragged to the poll by persuasive ladies or by the temptation of a motor ride. The probability that such men would not vote in a Referendum does not detract from the value of that method of consulting the people. The principle of democracy requires, not that every citizen shall express an opinion, but that he shall be given the opportunity of doing so.

The objection that the Referendum would involve enormous expense—Mr. Lloyd George has put the figure at 2,000,000*l.*—is purely fanciful. The necessary official cost of providing ballot boxes and polling booths and of counting the votes would be, on the Swiss or Australian scale of expenditure, about 60,000*l.* If the necessity arose for more than one Bill to be submitted to the people in one year, it would be easy to provide, as is done in Switzerland, that several Bills should be dealt with in one ballot. Doubtless there would be a good deal of voluntary expenditure in the way of public meetings and pamphlets to influence opinion in anticipation of the ballot, but this would probably take the place of some of the propaganda work now regularly carried on by politicians and political agencies. Even if this purely voluntary expenditure were considerable, it is far better that money should be spent in trying to enlighten the electorate on the merits and demerits of particular measures than in the sort of mud-slinging competition that still disgraces so many electoral contests. A large proportion of the electorate is properly disgusted with the turmoil and tomfoolery which accompany a general election, and would welcome the introduction of a system which would make it necessary to appeal to them as thoughtful men with a sense of personal responsibility, not as children to be amused with picture-posters.

One objection brought against the Referendum is that it cannot be applied to the ordinary Budget of the year, and therefore is inapplicable to the question of Tariff Reform. This objection was emphasised by Mr. Austen Chamberlain in a speech at Buxton on the 14th of December which was hailed by the Radical opponents of the Referendum as a signal of revolt against Mr. Balfour's leadership. Whether that was the purpose of Mr. Austen Chamberlain's speech it is no interest of mine to inquire, but I am interested to point out that the argument used was entirely fallacious. It is Mr. Austen Chamberlain's good fortune to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Free Trade country, and that experience has fixed in his mind the idea that the Customs

duties imposed by the Budget of the year must come into operation on the night they are proposed to the House of Commons. Reasoning from this sound practice, he argued at Buxton that a Tariff Reform Budget could not properly be submitted to a Referendum because, 'when you are dealing with Customs duties, unless you bring them into force at once you may cause great upheaval of trade, great uncertainty in the minds of importers and merchants, and do great injustice as between man and man engaged in the same trade.'

This reasoning is perfectly valid when applied to a Free Trade Budget, and its validity is confirmed by a further consideration which Mr. Austen Chamberlain forgot to mention, but which is, from the Treasury point of view, more important than all the others, namely, that if dealers get even twenty-four hours' notice of an intended tax they will rush goods through the Customs House, and the Exchequer will lose the revenue which otherwise would have been collected. The House of Commons has, therefore, for many decades past been willing, on the very night that the Budget is introduced, to give authority for the immediate collection of any new Customs duty which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes.

But the willingness of the Legislature provisionally to consent to new taxes without any discussion arises from the knowledge that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will only propose taxes which in his judgment are the most suitable for the purpose of raising the necessary revenue of the year, and which are proposed for no other purpose than to raise revenue. These considerations can never apply to a Tariff Reform Budget, for the essence of what is called Tariff Reform is that Customs duties are to be imposed not primarily to raise revenue but to give preferences or protection to particular industries. No Parliament could consent to give the Chancellor of the Exchequer the power of bringing into force at once any protective duties which he chooses to propose in his Budget. If Mr. Austen Chamberlain had taken the trouble to observe the practice of Protectionist countries, he would have found that tariffs, so far from coming into operation at the mere word of the Finance Minister, are the subject of long and heated debates in both branches of the Legislature for many weary months, and that the original scheme has often been profoundly modified before it is embodied in a statute. Even then it does not necessarily come into operation at once. The more usual practice is to give long notice, so that merchants and manufacturers may make their arrangements to meet the new conditions. This is obviously fairer than suddenly to bring into operation a multitude of new duties which might prove absolutely ruinous to firms whose contracts had been made in ignorance of the intended burdens.

There is, therefore, no shadow of substance in the argument used by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and it is quite certain that his idea of bringing into force 'at once' a whole series of new protective duties without any opportunity for public discussion or Parliamentary debate would not for a moment be tolerated by the country. English people will submit, with more or less grumbling, to an increase in the income tax or the tea duty, or the whisky duty or the tobacco duties, for such taxes only affect their expenditure; but they will not allow themselves to be blindfolded while taxes are being imposed which, by hitting the materials or the instruments of their industry, may completely destroy their earning power. Any Tariff Bill which goes beyond the strict necessities of revenue will have to be separated from the rest of the Budget, so that it may be fully and publicly discussed before it can come into operation, and ample notice will have to be given to all persons interested. There is not the slightest practical inconvenience in providing—as was done in the case of the last Swiss tariff—that final approval to this Bill must be given by a poll of the people. Until that approval has been given the previously existing taxes will be maintained, so far as they are needed to supply the necessities of the Treasury.

Among other questions which obviously ought to be made the subject of a Referendum it is almost superfluous to mention Home Rule. If there is any question on which the people themselves ought to be consulted, it is on a proposal to break up the Constitution under which they are living. The question of the payment of members furnishes another excellent example of a measure which ought to go to a Referendum. It is, indeed, a little difficult to understand how members of Parliament, most of whom have a high standard of personal honour, can so far forget the code upon which they would act in private life as to vote salaries to themselves at other people's expense. Mr. Asquith's declaration last November that it would be justifiable to begin the system of paying members in the new Parliament because he had mentioned the subject of payment of members before the general election, reduces to an absurdity the current Radical theory that a general election can take the place of a Referendum. There are many voters who want to get rid of the House of Lords but who have no desire to pay salaries to members of Parliament, yet a general election affords absolutely no means of separating their opinions on these two questions.

Finally comes the question of how the Referendum is to be applied. In Switzerland it is not employed to settle disputes between the two Chambers, but only as a means of consulting the country upon measures which both Chambers have accepted. This is done automatically when some change of the Constitution is at

stake. The Referendum may also be demanded in the case of any ordinary measure by 30,000 electors. This latter method would be decidedly inconvenient in our country because of the tenfold greater population. A better plan would be to give a substantial minority of the House of Commons, say one-third, the right to demand the Referendum. It is also desirable that we should improve on the Swiss practice by permitting the Referendum to be used as a final means of settling disputes between the two Houses.

The establishment of the Referendum on these lines, accompanied by a courageous reform of the House of Lords, would make our Constitution firmly democratic, and thus prevent the habitual misrepresentation of our people by groups of log-rolling politicians. That other reforms are also needed to give full effect to the principle of democracy I hold very strongly. In particular, it is of the very highest importance to give the electors a real power of selecting their representatives, by substituting multiple-member constituencies with proportional representation for the present single-member constituencies. It is equally important to bring home to each elector a sense of financial responsibility by basing the franchise on the regular payment of some universal direct tax, however small. A man who votes and pays nothing is not governing himself: he is helping to plunder other people. For the moment these further reforms are outside the range of what is called practical politics; but the introduction of the Referendum and the reform of the House of Lords have now been definitely adopted as part of the programme of a political organisation which has frequently commanded large majorities in the House of Commons, and which, even in the present Parliament, is equal to any other single party. There is, therefore, good ground for hoping that within a few years we may be able to secure the greatest, and at the same time the most conservative, scheme of democratic reform that has been offered to the nation since 1832.

HAROLD COX.

A FAMOUS PRECEDENT: THE CREATION OF PEERS BY QUEEN ANNE

In the month of January 1712 the Whig majority in the House of Lords became at the will of the Sovereign a Whig *minority*; and the Tories, by an unprecedented use of the Royal prerogative, succeeded to the ascendancy which for a generation had been enjoyed by their opponents. The action of the Queen in creating peers sufficient to alter the balance of parties aroused a storm of indignation. But considering the nature of the change so autocratically wrought, considering too the great issues at stake, one is less surprised at the storm than that it should have spent itself so harmlessly. The circumstances of our day, though so apposite in some respects, in others differ materially from those which then prevailed. The House of Lords was still the more powerful branch of the Legislature. A peerage was an honour to which almost every great Commoner aspired. And long before men had reached the maturity of their powers, they were proud to leave the Lower for the Upper House. Comparing the two periods, and having regard to the position of the peers, not only at Westminster but in the country, one might say that a seat in the House of Lords in the early part of the eighteenth century, like the coinage of that period, was many times more valuable than it is to-day.

It is not surprising, therefore, that extreme measures by way of reprisal were considered by the Opposition. It was even proposed to close the doors of the House against the newcomers. But the Whig leaders would not indulge in mere bluster, and so the mushroom lords assumed their new dignities without other challenge than the acrid jibes levelled at them from the Opposition benches.

Though the measure was now irrevocable, the Whig Press was far from acquiescing in it. With much warmth and something of prophetic acumen the step was denounced as unwarrantable on the ground, amongst others, that the occasion did not justify so grave a step, and that in the future the precedent thus set might be made a pretext for similar action, with entirely

disastrous results. The Tories, on the other hand, maintained that what the Queen had done had been forced upon her by the Opposition.

The necessities of the Government were not, however, the Queen's sole incentive to action. It was not to oblige Harley that Anne did that which in an Elizabeth would be accounted daring. Nor could Harley unaided have imparted to the Queen the courage necessary for so bold and novel a step. That was derived from one greater than the Prime Minister—from Marlborough's bitter enemy, the Queen's friend and kinsman, the Duke of Hamilton. And to Hamilton's influence, to the lifelong enmity which divided him and Marlborough, must be traced some of the leading factors which evolved this famous precedent.

At the outset of her reign the Queen had ruled with a Coalition Ministry, a Ministry of High Tories and uncompromising Whigs, with Godolphin as Lord Treasurer. Such a Coalition could not last. One faction or the other should give way to men of more plastic mould. In the sequel it was the High Tories who went.

It was the Earl of Nottingham, one of the Secretaries of State, who provoked the rupture. The Earl was the leader of the High Church party, and a bitter foe of the Dissenters. The latter were in the habit of defeating the penal laws by attending church at their convenience. Nottingham proposed to make the laws effective by the passing of an Occasional Conformity Bill. The Queen shared Nottingham's High Church sympathies, and it was therefore with some confidence that the Secretary undertook the task of endeavouring to persuade her Majesty to make him and his friends masters of the Government. He advised the dismissal of Godolphin and the leading Whig Ministers. The Queen, as might be expected, shrank in terror from such a proposal. And Nottingham, in high dudgeon, retired from the Government.

There was now a place for a Secretary of State. The Speaker of the House of Commons was Robert Harley, a Whig tainted with Toryism, a Tory tainted with Whiggery. Marlborough believed that he saw in him gifts useful in a lieutenant, and, thus encouraged, Godolphin gave him the vacant office. There was another recruit to the Government of equal importance. He was younger than Harley, and the special *protégé* of Marlborough. This was St. John. Harley was a skilful man of affairs. But St. John was a man of genius, and in the end the man of genius was to ruin patron and colleagues and himself. The Coalition still continued, but with this difference—that the High Tories had yielded their places to younger men, who would be more complacent than their predecessors, but only until they should

have gathered strength for the duel that would decide the final mastery. And when the day came for that momentous trial of strength, their hopes would almost certainly have been frustrated but that one of the Queen's bedchamber-women, in the person of Abigail Hill, had made their cause her own.

Abigail was a distant cousin of Harley's, and first cousin to the Duchess of Marlborough. Her father, a bankrupt tradesman, had died leaving his children in penury. The Duchess, whether through kindness of heart or through vanity, came to their relief. She provided for the Hills in various capacities, and, after an apprenticeship of domestic drudgery, Abigail was introduced into the Queen's service. This was her patroness's ruin. Her Grace had grown weary of the Queen, weary of the regular attendance at Court required by her duties as Mistress of the Robes, weary of the vigilance demanded by her self-imposed task as dictator of St. James's. The Queen was young in years; but, oppressed by domestic misfortunes and by the cares of State, she was only a tiresome old woman to one whose lofty spirit had scarcely ever been touched by the sedative of misfortune. With perfect unconsciousness, therefore, of the surrender she was making, the Duchess proceeded to take her ease while delegating her duties to Abigail. In the latter she saw a docile slave who would fulfil her mandates to the letter without ever dreaming of supplanting her. The girl had neither wit nor beauty, neither birth nor fortune. No wonder the great Duchess did not fear her rivalry. But Abigail had unsuspected talents for such a part. She was amiable, tactful, faithful after a fashion, tireless in her services. No menial office galled her spirit. Anne, who had been tortured for years by her arrogant Mistress of the Robes, delighted in the attendance of a woman so gentle, so devoted, so obsequious. Before anyone realised what had happened, this plain-looking spinster had become the Queen's favourite. And the fate of Ministries was in the hands of the bankrupt's daughter.

Harley had been indifferent to his cousin when she was poor and friendless. When, however, he discovered her established at Court as the Queen's favourite, the astute Secretary ceased to be apathetic, and proceeded to cultivate the relationship as one of golden possibilities. Nor was Abigail, on her side, less shrewd and practical. She chose to forget that Harley had withheld a helping hand when her fortunes were at their lowest ebb. She had risen high without him, but with him she might rise still higher; and so the pair became fast friends. Time alone was now needed to make Harley's fortune, for the Queen's indispensable servant and most intimate and trusted companion was devoted to his service.

In 1706 something happened which shook to its foundation the fair edifice that Harley had so diligently been raising for himself in secret. The Marshal de Tallard, who had been taken prisoner at Blenheim, was still a captive in England. The Marshal's letters to his Government were, in the first instance, sent to Harley's office for censorship. There a clerk named Gregg was employed to translate them. In forwarding to the French Minister of War one of Tallard's letters, Gregg introduced a *billet* of his own, offering to betray the secrets of his country. The fellow's fortune was made had the post not miscarried. The despatch was, however, intercepted in Flanders and returned to London. Evidence to incriminate the Secretary of State there was none. But nothing was easier than to exaggerate the danger to which the country had been exposed, and in doing so to reflect upon the conduct of Harley's office. It was not chivalrous, but it was the manner of the period. Gregg was tried and condemned to death. Yet Harley endeavoured to hold his ground. Then the men who had made him, only to discover their folly, resolved to unmake him. Marlborough and Godolphin threatened to resign if he were not dismissed, and to enforce the threat absented themselves from Council. It was but a ruse, but it was successful. Somerset declared in the Council that business could not proceed without the General; and the Queen, lest she should lose at one stroke all those who had come to be regarded as the very pillars of the Throne, was obliged to deprive Harley of his Seals. It was a complete triumph for the Whigs, for St. John and the other leading Tories followed the Secretary into retirement. The Coalition was at an end.

Elated with this triumph, so unexpected and so decisive, the Whigs chose to notice one to whom notoriety was the breath of life. This was Sacheverell, a High Church clergyman, whose chief talent was a noisy gift of self-advertisement. Sacheverell set up as the apostle of 'Divine Right,' a highly inconvenient doctrine at a time when the reigning Sovereign owed her Throne to the sanction of a Revolution only twenty years old. This in itself was a good reason for treating him with contempt. But Godolphin had been violently attacked by the preacher under the offensive nickname of 'Volpone' or the 'Old Fox.' And the Lord Treasurer, grown strangely sensitive with advancing years, would be avenged. Somers, who at the time of the recent changes had been appointed Lord President of the Council, realised the folly of directing a State prosecution against a mere party hack. But the 'Old Fox' had lost all his cunning and, rejecting the counsels of prudence, rushed upon his fate.

Sacheverell was brought to trial at Westminster Hall, and at

a bound found himself a popular hero. The trial was attended by the Queen, and as she was carried from St. James's to Westminster Hall in her sedan-chair great crowds surrounded her crying out, 'God bless your Majesty . . . we hope you are for Dr. Sacheverell!' As the clergyman himself passed through the admiring multitude to face his accusers the cry was 'Hats off!', and woe betide those who would not thus do honour to the idol of the hour. In the evening, when the parson was admitted to bail, the mob proceeded to loot and burn the chapels of the Dissenters, while the houses of leading Whigs were threatened with destruction by the howling rabble. A rumour flew through the town that the rioters were led by persons of importance in disguise; and so alarming became the position that fears of a regular uprising were entertained. The Council was called together with all speed; and, late at night, the Palace Guards were turned out to restore order. With the dawn measures were taken to prevent a repetition of so dangerous a tumult. The trained bands were called to arms; and, in a city that resembled a place besieged, the trial was brought to a conclusion. Sacheverell was convicted, and his sermons were ordered to be burned, a punishment that was no punishment at all; and a Government whose dignity was vindicated by a bonfire became the laughing-stock of the country.

Encouraged by the turbulent welcome which greeted Sacheverell wherever he went, the Queen lent a willing ear to the intrigues of Robert Harley and Mistress Hill. A few years before, threats of resignation from Godolphin and Marlborough had frightened her out of her wits. Now she looked forward with composure to their disappearance. Harley and the bedchamber-woman had done their work well so far as it was possible for them to do it. It needed, however, the countenance of one greater than either to screw her Majesty's courage to the point where she would dare to translate desire into action. In Anne's day a Duke was indeed a Duke; and not lightly would the Queen dare to alienate such men as Somerset and Devonshire. But luckily for the wire-pullers of the Backstairs, they too had their Duke in the person of the Queen's friend and kinsman the Duke of Hamilton.

Hamilton's lineage, his wealth, his talents, which were perhaps exaggerated, caused him to be looked upon at the Court of Anne as the leader of the Scottish nobility. When the question of the Union between England and Scotland was projected he posed as its resolute opponent. The Queen, however, most earnestly desired the Union, and, it is said, she implored Hamilton to abstain from a course which threatened to provoke a civil war. When the great measure came to the decisive vote, men expected Hamilton to inaugurate a Secessionist Legislature around which Scots might rally in arms. But all was over before his country-

men realised that the Douglas had failed them. The Duke was no longer a hero among his own people; but what he had lost in the North he had gained at Court, for the Queen was his debtor for life. This was the man who calmed Anne's fears when the overthrow of the Marlborough clique was in contemplation. It was Marlborough's treatment of the Prince who had raised him from page-boy to the ranks of the nobility, that had, it is said, excited the Duke's hatred. Hamilton himself was not a pattern of chivalry. He had followed James to Salisbury, but not to France. He was devoted to the Stuarts, but still more to his own comfort and dignity. Whatever the cause of the feud, Hamilton was pledged to destroy Marlborough, and Marlborough to bring down Hamilton's pride, and now the time was approaching when each would essay to redeem his vow.

Encouraged by her advisers of the Backstairs, Anne first showed her hand by dismissing the Earl of Sunderland, whose Whiggery was so tainted with Republicanism, and his Republicanism with bad manners, that he hardly stopped short at discourtesy to her Majesty. The Earl was Marlborough's son-in-law, and in striking at him she struck at the whole Whig Junto. Marlborough hastened back from Flanders in the hope of retrieving this blow to his house and to his party. But in vain. On the 14th of June 1710 Sunderland ceased to be a Secretary of State; and now no Whig statesman dared call one moment of official life his own. The Earl of Dartmouth, chosen by the Queen, as she said, because he was a non-party man, received the vacant seals. There followed a brief lull in the storm. Then in August the decisive blow fell; the Lord Treasurer himself was dismissed, and his office was put into commission with Harley as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The latter's object was to carry on the government with as few changes as possible, to make the Junto, as it were, his footstool. But most of the Whig Ministers were fighting men, and they preferred to resign in a body rather than serve the turn of the intriguers, and fall one by one at the convenience of the new masters. They therefore adopted this course, and Marlborough found himself in the service of a Tory Government.

Among the promotions with which the new Government signalised its advent to power was the grant of the dukedom of Brandon, in the English peerage, to Hamilton.

Hamilton's chance had come, or at least so thought Hamilton. Marlborough was alone. He would settle all those heavy scores which had grown heavier through being nurtured. But meanwhile the war was carried into the enemy's camp. A *caveat* was entered against Hamilton's dukedom. To-day this seems an altogether unwarrantable invasion of the Royal prerogative. But

in Anne's time it was not so far-fetched. Scotland was still regarded as a foreign country, and Scots as interlopers coming from a poverty-stricken land to batten on the wealth and honours of the sister kingdom.

The Act of Union had given Scotland a fixed representation in the House of Lords, while there was no limit to the English peerage. This would have been of comparatively little consequence if the whole island had cherished one national ideal, if there had been a sense of equality as between North and South, and of pride in a common citizenship. But so entirely absent were these sentiments that to make a Scot an English peer was to employ an English honour in the service of Scotland, which in the spirit, if not in the letter, was held to be an infringement of the Act of Union.

But racial prejudice alone does not explain the most fertile cause of that distrust with which the English lords regarded their northern colleagues. The question of the day which overshadowed all others was—who should reign over the island when Anne Stuart had ceased to breathe? For the term of the Queen's life there was a truce, an armed truce, in which each side was making all possible preparations for the inevitable emergency. The northern aristocracy were almost to a man for the House of Stuart. The English nobility were divided into three parties—the Whigs, united for Hanover; the Hanoverian Tories; and the High Tories, who still cherished hopes of restoring the exiled Royal Family. The Act of Union had introduced into the House of Lords a compact body of partisans of the Stuart cause, though the Hanoverians were still in the ascendant. If the statutory body were to be reinforced by Hamilton, and he again by others of his countrymen, it might well be that when the day of crisis came Hanover would find that a free use of the Royal prerogative had wrecked its fairest hopes.

On the 7th of December 1711 the Session opened. Already the preliminaries for the arrangement of a peace had been signed in London, and in January a Congress was to meet in Utrecht to bring the matter to a conclusion. Her Majesty opened Parliament in person. In the Speech from the Throne Marlborough was directly assailed. 'I am glad,' she said, 'I can tell you, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace.' Her Majesty then retired from the Throne to a curtained box to listen to the debate on the Address. Nottingham struck the first blow against her. He moved to embody in the Address to the Throne advice to the effect that no peace could be safe unless Spain and the West Indies were taken from the House of Bourbon. After Nottingham what might her Majesty not expect from the others?

As the debate progressed it grew warmer. Lord Anglesey, flushed and excited after a furious ride of thirty miles, the last stage of a rush from Ireland, to cast his vote for peace, added fuel to the fire. He declared that peace might have been arranged after Ramillies had interested parties not prevented it. It was a deadly thrust at Marlborough, and instantly the Duke sprang to his feet. There was one present who knew all, or was presumed to know all—the Queen; and to her the General appealed. He bowed low towards the box where her Majesty sat, and then called upon her to witness that he was ever desirous of an honourable peace. He affirmed that he was worn out with service in the field, that he had his fill of honours and of glory, that he longed only for repose. But to such terms of peace as had been suggested he would never agree. When the peers voted on the hostile motion Nottingham had his revenge. The Government was beaten by sixty-two votes to fifty-four. Nottingham the High Tory had given a lead to the Opposition, and helped to break the heart of his Tory Queen. And Somerset, who, though a Whig, still held a place in the Royal Household, had followed him. The Queen turned to go. The peers had disappointed her most cherished hopes. Yet it was the Duke of Somerset's arm that supported her to her carriage. From his earliest years he had been her friend. He had stood by her during the late King's time, when she was in disgrace at Court. Now that her supreme desire was to heal her country's wounds and sheathe the dripping sword, he had failed her. But Anne, true to the baffling diplomacy of her woman's heart, diplomacy that was perhaps nothing more than cowardice, singled out for special favour the great man who in his proud and narrow fashion had preferred his duty, as he saw it, to his Sovereign.

And now the way was clear for the great fight on the Hamilton patent. If the Whigs had shown the Queen no quarter, Hamilton could surely have expected none. Very solemnly their lordships debated the point as to whether it was valid for her Majesty to confer upon her kinsman an English dukedom. All day the battle raged, while Anne, sitting in her curtained box, awaited the issue with anxious impatience. There was some talk of referring the question to the Judges. But Hamilton's enemies were taking no risks. He had delivered himself into their hands, and they would see to it that he should rue his temerity. When evening fell a division was challenged. Marlborough was once again triumphant. The Queen and Hamilton and Harley were beaten by five votes.

The Scottish peers presented to the Queen a protest against the indignity put upon their country. Her Majesty promised them that satisfaction would be given them, and it probably was.

for the Court was accustomed to purchase their goodwill with gold. Reparation was, however, made to Hamilton in a different fashion. Harley and St. John put their heads together, and agreed upon the desperate measure which has become so memorable a precedent.

The first was now heard of the project for the creation of peers. Burnet, referring to the course of events following the vote on the Hamilton patent and the protest of the Scottish lords, says: 'This made the Ministers resolve upon another method to let the peers, and indeed the whole world, see that they would have that House in a constant state of dependence on the Court, by creating such a number of peers at once as should give them an unquestionable majority.' The fact seems to be that the psychological moment for a master-stroke had come, and Harley was shrewd enough to take the fullest advantage of it. The vote on the Hamilton patent had set in harmonious motion, as it were, a whole series of delicate springs, each of which was indispensable to the success of Harley's scheme. Thus, Hamilton desired his English dukedom and the utter defeat of the Marlborough faction. Harley hated St. John, and St. John hated Harley; but the House of Lords, as a Whig citadel, was their common foe. The Queen, like her Ministers, desired that the Congress of Utrecht should put an end to the war. But with the eyes of all Europe fixed upon London, the Lords, on the debate on the Address, had just declared against peace. Her Majesty desired, moreover, to honour Hamilton and to cast down for ever the Marlboroughs; while, deep in her heart, she possibly cherished the hope that at the eleventh hour her brother would be preferred, as King, to his Hanoverian rival, and that a Tory House of Lords would facilitate his restoration.

The persuasions of Ministers, her own desires and dreams, and, last but by no means least, Hamilton's concurrence, decided Anne to act, and the word went forth that the Whig lords were to be swamped with new creations.

Ministers now looked round for men who might pass as suitable for the dignity of hereditary legislators. The task was not one of great difficulty, yet it had its disappointments. One gentleman, Sir Miles Wharton, declined the honour in the circumstances. 'Formerly,' he said, 'men were ennobled for services performed; now for services to be performed.' Overtures were made in another quarter, where there was not the least danger of either a repulse or an epigram. Abigail Hill had married Samuel Masham, a gentleman of the Court, a master of bows and courtesies, but with no other qualifications for advancement. Harley, however, would not miss so convenient an opportunity of adding to the dignity of his own house by ennobling his cousin's husband. And so the name of Sam Masham was inscribed on the roll of

nominees for hereditary honours. Thus was Abigail's foresight in accepting Harley's friendship fully vindicated. The Queen did not like the idea of making her dresser a great lady. But her Majesty was no longer mistress of her prerogative, and she could but submit to those who shared her sceptre. The whole scheme was well advanced before Ministers generally knew what was afoot. When the Queen one day drew a list of the twelve new lords out of her pocket, Lord Dartmouth had the surprise of his life. The Secretary of State condemned the step, as did many other Tories. But the Queen's resolution was not to be shaken. She would be rid for ever of the Marlboroughs, and this was the only way. The only way, too, in which Hamilton, the grim, silent figure behind the Throne, could square accounts with his enemy.

The clerks in the Patent Office were set to work night and day that all might be ready for the meeting of Parliament. And on the 31st of December 1711 patents were issued for the creation of twelve new peers. Furthermore, three eldest sons of peers were called up by writ; and the Tory Government had at last a majority in Lords and Commons. Notwithstanding the storm of indignation which the Queen's act aroused, notwithstanding the menaces indulged in by the more violent of the Opposition, the new peers took their places without any unseemly occurrence; and of that eventful day the liveliest incident was Lord Wharton's[1] famous jibe: 'Would the gentlemen vote singly or through a foreman?'

Hamilton's turn had come. In the House of Commons the Court party had a majority of more than two to one. In the Lords the majority was narrow, but sufficient. No bulwark now remained between Marlborough and ruin. The disgrace of the great General is a familiar story. With the New Year he was deprived of all his offices, and Ormond was appointed in his place to the command of an army which had fought its last battle and was now but to mark time until peace should be proclaimed.

The peers were, however, made in vain so far as the grant of the English dukedom to Hamilton was concerned. For, very soon, the Government had affairs of greater moment to deal with than any individual's promotion. The Emperor Joseph had been carried off by smallpox; and his brother, the Archduke Charles, 'Charles the Third of Spain,' succeeded to the Imperial Throne. Thus England awoke one day to find that all her victories had been won to make a Hapsburg master not of one empire but of two. The new dignity to which Charles was called smoothed the path of the Tories, eager only for peace with France. But smallpox having struck for them struck against them. When Parliament had been only a month in session the Dauphin was cut off by the

[1] Not to be confounded with Sir Miles Wharton referred to above.

same fell disease, and within a month his son and grandson followed him to the grave, leaving Philip of Spain as heir-presumptive to the Throne of France. If England would not readily agree to the Union of Spain and Austria, she would spend her last shilling to maintain inviolate the Pyrenees. The task of making peace had therefore ceased to be a simple one, and, if not of supreme difficulty, it was only because the pretensions of Vienna were more arrogant than those of Paris. The Government, riven with internal dissensions, had its energies fully occupied with the peace negotiations, and, notwithstanding the representations of the Scottish peers, the subject of the Hamilton patent was dropped. The Duke, perhaps by way of compensation, was appointed Ambassador to France. But he was never again to cross the seas. Soon, indeed, he was no more; and his name is remembered to-day less because of the precedent to which he was foster-father than because of the tragedy of Hyde Park when he faced Mohun, the most notorious bully of the time, and lost his life in the duel which Thackeray, in *Esmond*, has made a familiar page of our literature.

P. F. William Ryan.

RECOLLECTIONS OF COPENHAGEN IN THE 'SIXTIES

I related in my last article, 'A Royal Marriage,'[1] how my husband in his capacity of British Envoy to Denmark had accompanied the 'Sea-kings' daughter' to her future home.

He had hardly returned to Copenhagen when another question concerning European politics, and particularly the Danish Royal Family, began to occupy the public mind. This was the choosing of a king for the Greek throne. King Otho of Greece having been deposed by his subjects in 1862, a provisional Government was formed and a Constitutional Assembly elected, in which the names of various members of reigning houses were discussed as eligible occupants of the Greek throne.

The Prince selected was Prince Alfred of England (later Duke of Edinburgh and Duke of Coburg-Gotha), and a formal offer of the Crown was made to him. Apart from other considerations, such an offer could not be accepted owing to an understanding between the Great Powers that no member of any of their reigning houses should accept the vacant throne.

The choice eventually fell upon Prince William, second son of Prince Christian of Denmark, who was then in England for the marriage of his daughter. Earl Russell, Minister for Foreign Affairs, brought the subject under the notice of Prince Christian through General Oxholme, the Prince's trusted friend and adviser. Sir Augustus Paget was at the same time instructed to lay the proposal before the Danish Government.

I may as well say that Prince and Princess Christian were from the beginning very adverse to the idea. Their family life was a very happy one, and the thought that their son, not yet grown up, was to take up so arduous a position so far away was a most painful one to them.

Monsieur Hall, Minister for Foreign Affairs in Denmark, showed considerable surprise, accompanied, however, by a certain admixture of pride and satisfaction, on the proposal being made to him, and promised to bring it immediately before the

[1] *The Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1910.

King, Frederic the Seventh, who was then at Fredensborg, fifteen miles from Copenhagen.

It was agreed that no decision should be taken until Prince Christian's return from England; there was, however, some soreness on the part of the King at no communication having as yet been made to him.

Sir Henry Elliot was sent out on a special mission to Athens, with orders to enjoin patience upon the Greeks; but even whilst matters were thus in suspense at Copenhagen the news suddenly arrived that the Greek Assembly had proclaimed Prince William as their future King, under the style and title of King George the First, and that a deputation was about to start to make the formal offer of the Crown to the Prince.

It is impossible to exaggerate the consternation and dismay which this announcement produced upon the King and the Danish Government, for everything connected with this matter had hitherto been treated in the most secret and confidential manner. Monsieur Hall at once called upon my husband to express the surprise and annoyance of the King as well as his own, and seemed to imply that Sir Augustus had been guilty of indiscretion, which impression he, however, was able to remove at once by reading to the Danish Minister his telegrams and despatches to Lord Russell.

Sir Augustus now received the most urgent instructions to secure the acceptance of the Greek Crown by Prince William.

He had already taken steps to assure himself of the assent of the King, which was formally given, subject to Prince Christian and his family acquiescing. Up to this time Prince Christian had not communicated with the King on this subject, and the latter was considerably irritated.

All that was known of Prince Christian's sentiments was that he was opposed to his son's acceptance, and he was backed up in this by public feeling in Copenhagen, and by the members of his own family—viz. the Landgrave and Landgravine of Hesse, parents of his wife, and Prince Frederic of Hesse, his brother-in-law, who all deprecated it, as well as some of the Prince's most intimate friends and advisers.

Prince Christian was indeed in a most difficult position, and when he returned on the 4th of April (1863) he at once came to see my husband, who was in bed with a bad attack of intermittent fever, in order to talk matters over. The interview lasted over two hours, and there was another one later in the day; after which Prince Christian, coming into my room, complained to me that he had been most unfairly treated in matters having been pushed so far without its having previously been ascertained whether he was a consenting party or not.

The Prince, in order to prevent this separation from a beloved son, put forward wholly unacceptable conditions. My husband had, however, found out that Prince 'Willy' (as he was always familiarly called) was, with the enterprise natural to an intelligent lad, anxious to assume the proposed dignity, and the young Prince, meeting him one day skating on the ice, confirmed this to him, upon which Sir Augustus said, 'If you will stick to it, Sir, I promise to pull you through,' and the Prince assented.

This strengthened my husband's hands in conducting the negotiations, which, however, were strenuously opposed all through. It was an arduous task, requiring much patience, perseverance, and delicate handling, but it was accomplished.

The Greek deputation arrived at Copenhagen on the 25th of April, and were most graciously received by the King on the 27th. We gave them a dinner, and, unaccustomed as I then was to Southern types, I thought I had never seen before such an assemblage of romantic, adventurous, but rather terrifying countenances. Old Canaris, the head of the deputation, sat next to me, and he did not know one word of French or English, so we conversed by signs or in a ghastly jumble of Italian, Latin, and ancient Greek. Canaris had been one of the leaders of the War of Independence, and had sacked, pillaged, and burned to his heart's content. To me he was benign.

Some knotty points still remained to be settled. The deputation complained to Sir Augustus that they had been unduly hurried on their journey before things had been settled, and they even threatened to leave Copenhagen without making the offer unless everything was arranged within a few days. The situation was most embarrassing, for England was in a way standing sponsor to this affair, and though both France and Russia guaranteed 4000*l*. a year to the Prince in case he was deposed, they did not otherwise take any active part.

At last all the difficulties were removed, and the formal ceremony of the acceptance of the Crown of Greece for Prince William by the King of Denmark took place at the Palace of Christiansborg on Saturday the 6th of May, in the presence of all the Princes of the Royal Family, the Danish Ministers and State Officers, and the Ministers of the three protecting Powers.

Lord Russell, who was extremely popular with all those with whom he had to do on account of his good-nature and kind heart, had, however, sometimes a very peculiar way of showing his regard. My husband received from him the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government for the manner in which he had conducted these negotiations, but as a reward he was to accept the Mission at Athens in order to ensure things going smoothly there in the beginning! Athens was in those days only a third-class

Mission; Lord Russell, it is true, offered to raise it to a first-class one; and my husband was to receive the G.C.B., so that there was to be no misunderstanding in the eyes of the world. Still, Athens was very much less in importance than Copenhagen. My husband accepted reluctantly. To our great relief, however, the Queen thought Sir Augustus's presence at Copenhagen just then of so much importance that the arrangement did not take place.

King George left Copenhagen on the 17th of September for Athens. He was accompanied by Count Sponneck, a very clever man, as confidential adviser, but he did not turn out a success, and he returned to Copenhagen within less than two years.

Some of General Grey's letters (at that time Private Secretary to the Queen) throw interesting sidelights on this question.

General the Hon. Charles Grey to Sir A. Paget.

Private. Balmoral, May 19th, 1863.

. . . Your account of your Greek difficulties interests me, and also amused me very much.

Amused me, for I had found in many of the telegrams and despatches many of the selfsame suggestions I had made from Brussels, with a view of smoothing matters for the acceptance of the Greek throne for the Duke of Coburg [this was not Prince Alfred of England, but his uncle, the brother of the Prince Consort], the only difference being that while my suggestions were pooh-poohed, yours met at least with respectful consideration. But Lord Russell had not then learned that it was not quite so easy a matter to find a Sovereign for Greece, and that the Duke was not so far wrong when he said that there were certain questions which must be satisfactorily answered before any Prince, not a mere adventurer, would consent to accept so precarious a condition as that of King of Greece. Of this I am certain, that had half the disposition been shown by our Government in the Duke's case to remove the difficulties, that has been shown in Prince William's, the Duke at this moment might have been King of Greece. . . . The Duke retaining his own German possessions, he asked no retiring allowance in case of dismissal, but he asked for a sufficient Civil List; and this I suggested, as you did, should be secured on the revenues of the Ionian Islands. He asked for the means of reorganising the army, without which it was vain to try to restore order or to keep the 'Grand idea' in check, and the backing he sought might, I suggested, be given by the non-withdrawal, for a certain period, of our Ionian garrisons and the presence of our fleet; but our Government met all these not very unreasonable requests with the shortest and coldest answers. He must accept the throne of Greece, purely and simply, trusting to his own resources to work out his salvation, and was coolly referred to the money market, 'though he would doubtless have to pay high interest' for any pecuniary aid he might require. But at this time Lord Russell thought there were fifty stray Princes eager to don the Greek diadem. . . .

If we put a King on the throne of Greece, to restore order to that country, to maintain the peace of the East in spite of the insane Greek desire to disturb it, we ought at least to give him some support in upholding our policy, and secure him, as far as we can, from the fate of Otho. That fate would be a certainty for any Prince thrown as naked as

Ulysses on the coast of Phocea, with none but his personal resources. . . . 'That most tiresome question,' as King Leopold most justly calls it, of Sleswig-Holstein, seems to come again into prominence, and the debate the other night in the Lords is not, I fear, calculated to make its settlement more easy. There will be a great deal of talk before the threatened exclusion, unless, indeed, matters go on so rapidly at Berlin that Bismarck may think Prussian action in Holstein a desirable diversion from their home disputes. I have never believed that such a contest as the King has engaged in with the Chambers would go on long without getting beyond mere words. The last telegrams from Buchanan point to the imminence of a dangerous crisis, and whatever the immediate consequences *may* be, I have no doubt as to what the ultimate results *must* be. I only hope our Crown Prince and Princess may not be involved in the misfortunes which, sooner or later, the King is sure to bring on his family.

May 21st, 1863.

. . . The Crown Princess telegraphs to the Queen that she knows of no intention that makes any change in their own line necessary at present. Buchanan speaks of a closing of the Chambers, Ordinances altering the Articles of the Constitution, restricting liberty of the Press, &c., &c. . . .
CHARLES GREY.

General Grey was an exceedingly clever and moderate man, trusted by the Queen entirely and without restriction. He belonged to a family of statesmen and had always been in the midst of politics, yet it will be seen how little even he understood Bismarck's ulterior views or the character of the King of Prussia, that King whose memory as Emperor William the First is even now cherished and revered by every patriotic German heart.

This now almost forgotten question of Schleswig-Holstein had, at that time, been brewing and simmering for several decades. It was a most intricate one, and I have heard it said that Mr. Morier (later Sir Robert Morier and Ambassador at St. Petersburg) was the only Englishman who ever understood it. In some ways it resembled the Boer question, and quite especially in the manner in which it roused the violent partisanship of nations who really had nothing to do with it.

At the time of the Prince of Wales's marriage Lord Russell had promised my husband to grant him a long leave of absence for the next winter, as he suffered much from ague at Copenhagen. These new political complications, however, put that out of the question for the moment, and I therefore went with my two children to pay a visit to my relations in Germany. I give some extracts from my husband's letters and my own, to show how high the feeling ran both in Germany and in Denmark, and what a maddening, never-ending, protean question it was.

Sir A. Paget to Lady Paget.

October 12th, 1863.

. . . I am trying hard to get a concession out of these people, but I don't know whether I shall succeed. This business is really enough to tire out anyone, and requires a larger stock of patience than, I am afraid, I shall ever possess. . . .

October 13th. . . . I was at Hall's (Danish Prime Minister) at 9½ this morning, all the way out at his country-seat. Oh, dear! I wonder whether any good will come of it at last. It has been necessary to employ the battering-ram (this was an expression invented, I think, by Mr. Lytton, then First Secretary at Copenhagen, and used in fun by all the Secretaries when Sir Augustus got very angry) very copiously, and somebody's hair stood very much on end. (M. Hall had a way of ruffling his hair when he was agitated.)

October 15th. . . . I have got something from the Danes, and if the Germans really wish for an excuse not to proceed with hostile measures, it will be enough to enable them to be peaceful. . . .

October 20th. . . . My spirits have been somewhat damped by a communication from Hall. It's always the same thing; they lead you to hope that they are going to follow your advice, and when it comes to the point they don't do it, or do it in a way that it's of no use. I am sick, sick, sick of the whole concern, and wish from my heart that I had nothing whatever to do with it. . . .

October 21st. . . . I can only write a few lines, I have such an immensity to do. . . . I really am worried to death . . . but there is no end to this never-sufficiently-to-be-hated question, and every day there is some new difficulty or confusion . . . but there is no option but to keep at wheel, and so the less said about it the better. . . .

October 23rd. . . . I think if I am worried much longer as I now am with telegrams, &c., &c., I shall end by becoming a drivelling idiot. It beats the Greek question, which is saying not a little. . . .

October 28th. . . . I am very sorry to hear your uncle (Count Hohenthal, Saxon Minister at Berlin, and *persona grata* at both Courts) has gone off with such warlike instructions, because I have been in hopes that if the Germans were reasonable what the Danes have now done would stop the execution. . . .

November 2nd. . . . There is something about this business which seems peculiar to it—viz. that even when one thinks one has got everything all right, it turns out that something has been omitted or put in a different way from what one had expected or been led to expect. It is very tiresome and disheartening. . . .

November 3rd. . . . I suppose the Committee of the Diet will present their Report on Thursday, and that will give one some insight into the future. . . .

November 8th. . . . The Danes have really behaved very well in these last times, and though there has been occasionally some little trouble attending it, they have done all they could, and may now say all they have been asked. . . . I certainly never thought I should see the end of this question, and I will not be too sanguine; but if Germany is only reasonable we are certainly further on the road to an ultimate solution than we have ever yet been. Lord Russell has come out wonderfully in this business, and it does him the highest credit and honour for having put it in such practical shape and disencumbered it of all its obscurity and complication. . . .

November 9th. . . . The Emperor (of the French) has sent his invitation out for the Congress. The King here has got one, and is told, like all the rest, of course, that besides his Plenipotentiaries if he likes to come himself

he'll be welcome. These people will, of course, accept, and it will be difficult for others to refuse, I should fancy so. I hope we may look upon execution as definitely set aside. . . .

November 13th. . . . The truth of the proverb, 'Give a dog a bad name,' was never more fully proved than in the case of the Emperor's proposal for a Congress. . . . I think his letter of invitation, which you will have seen in the papers probably, an admirable one. It is impossible Europe can go on much longer as it is now—the Congress appears a chance, although a faint one, of a peaceful solution of many questions . . . it appears, however, that our Government is not likely to agree to it. . . .

November 15th. . . . I have omitted to tell you that poor old Kongen (Danish for King) has been for some days very unwell with erysipelas in the face. The illness appears now to have taken the most alarming symptoms. A bulletin was issued this morning, from which it appears he has a great deal of fever, gets no sleep, and is delirious. We shall have a nice complication if he dies. . . .

November 16th.—Poor old Kongen died yesterday at 2.35 in the afternoon. I have been this morning to hear King Christian IXth proclaimed from the balcony of Christiansborg Slot. He appeared on the balcony immediately afterwards, and was loudly cheered. The poor old Kongen will be very much regretted, and deservedly so; for notwithstanding many things, he had, as I have often said, many good qualities as a King. Prince Christian's accession takes place at a most critical juncture—it's quite impossible the execution can take place under the present circumstances, unless the German Powers have lost all their sense of decency. . . .

November 18th. . . . Your beginning about Holstein amuses me a good deal. You are right in the relative positions you assign to the Diet and to Denmark, in so far as the purely Federal question which extends to Holstein certainly is concerned . . . but there is also an International question on which the Diet and Denmark are on the footing of two independent Powers, and you would hardly have Denmark yield to everything in this, would you? . . . The King has signed the new Constitution to-day. It is against his views, but the ferment throughout the country is such, he would not have kept his Crown if he hadn't. . . .

November 21st. . . . Carl Moltke is to be Minister for Holstein, which ought to please very much both the Duchies and Germany . . . not, however, that I expect anything that ever can or will be done here will ever be useful as far as conciliation goes, for Germany don't chuse to be satisfied with anything. . . . I am sorry, by the by, to see that you are dreadfully tainted with German notions, and believe all you hear on the question . . . for myself, I try to take a calm and dispassionate view of things. . . .

November 24th. . . . As you tell me seriously that the impression in Germany is that the Augustenburgs will get the Duchies, I must tell you seriously that your friends are as mystified on this subject as on others. . . . I am really sick of all this cant and sophistry. . . . I met the King yesterday, and walked with him to the Palace. He told me he had received the most kind message from the Queen on his accession. I am so glad of this, and it is, of course, much better than having sent it through me. . . .

November 25th.—Baron Carl Plessen, the great Holstein man, has been sent for to undertake the Ministry for Holstein . . . his influence there is immense; and if he can bring his countrymen to inform the Diet that they

are satisfied with the security for their interests, which his name will give them, and that they don't wish for an execution, I imagine the Diet, notwithstanding the belligerent propensities of some of the minor German potentates, will find it difficult to carry out their hostile projects. *Faisons des vœux donc pour Plessen.* His presence here, at all events, is a sign that amongst the respectable part of the Holsteiners there is no sympathy for the Augustenburgs. Not only is HE here, but also Count Blome and Count Reventlow Crimonil.

November 27th. . . . The resource I had some hopes in on Wednesday has failed. Plessen has refused positively to have anything to do with the Holstein Ministry under present circumstances. I had him with me for upwards of two hours on Wednesday evening, but all to no purpose. There is therefore only the chance of our mediation being accepted at Frankfort. . . . Besides this, though it must not be mentioned at present, Russia has proposed to send special Missions here from all the Powers who signed the London Treaty to compliment the King, and that they should at the same time be charged to make certain representations. This is a very good idea. . . . Really, I never saw anything like the state Germany is in. What on earth is there in this infernal question that can excite them to this extent!

Here follow a few extracts from my own letters to show what the feeling was in Germany at that time.

Lady Paget to Sir A. Paget.

Knauthayn, October 6th, 1863.

. . . My uncle (Count Hohenthal, Saxon Minister) says that nobody in Germany wants the execution, and a very little concession on the part of Denmark would prevent it; but at the same time he says that nothing will set this eternal question at rest but a European war, which, however, the Germans would do anything to avoid at the present moment. . . .

November 8th. . . . How beautifully worded the speech of the Emperor (of the French) is—but does it not look very threatening? . . .

November 10th. . . . At Berlin the speech has caused great consternation, for it seems to be such an impossible thing to bring a universal Congress together, and the end of it would be that everybody would have to submit to what the Emperor says. . . . I don't think any German Prince will go, for they look upon the proposal as more or less a trick, so that the Emperor may put himself above the others and bring a war on somewhere, for at peace he cannot live. . . .

November 16th. . . . My uncle arrived yesterday, quite unexpectedly, from Berlin . . . he says Sir Andrew Buchanan (H.M.'s Minister at Berlin) never speaks of anything but the Holstein question, and is very Danish. . . . Since I am here I rather see the Schleswig-Holstein question in another light. Till now I always understood that the German Bund and Denmark negotiated like two Powers on an equal footing; but I find that here they consider that the Bund is the highest tribunal, to whose judgment Denmark is bound to submit as far as the Duchies are concerned, and if it does not, an execution takes place. . . .

November 20th. . . . I think if you trust to the generosity of the German powers not to go on with the execution you will be very much deceived, and from their point of view it would be wrong to let the right moment pass and

allow the Germans of the Duchies to be oppressed as in the past. . . . I dreadfully sorry for King Christian in this emergency. . . .

November 21st. . . . The execution seems unavoidable since the has signed the Constitution. Everybody here seems only too happy that storm breaks there, and that the Congress question is forgotten. . . .

November 25th. . . . The irritation in Germany is very great. It is at all certain whether France will stick to the Treaty of '52, and, ind M. de Talleyrand, at Berlin, behaves as if they were going to do quite contrary. You'll see England will be left to fight it out alone. . . . Crown Prince of Prussia has telegraphed four times to the Duke of Col to beg him to be moderate, and has not even received an answer. . . . I return to you about the 8th or 9th of December; I'm only waiting for Princess Royal to return to Berlin to go there for a few days. . . . execution is unavoidable; the only person who has prevented it until is Bismarck . . . it may even cost him his place if he holds out n longer. Even Sir Andrew, who is more Danish than the Danes, says Bismarck is *tout à fait correct*. . . .

November 27th.—Thank you very much for your letter and the ar in the *Times*, which, however, does not in the least change my ideas. article only just shows that the man who wrote it has not the slightest of German affairs; he does not even know the genealogy of the Royal Fa aright, and calls the Landgravine the daughter of Frederic VI. I more about the question than he does. . . .

It may perhaps appear from these extracts that I took much a line of my own and ought not to have had any opinio all, but it must be remembered that the Schleswig-Hols question was one I had heard discussed all my life and belor intrinsically to German politics. As far back as 1849 I remen my father travelling through the Duchies and telling us of n instances of oppression and injustice to which the Germans t were subjected. I can truly say that during the whole of sad and difficult time I was only anxious dispassionately to at the truth, which perhaps was an absurd pretension on part as so many clever people engaged in this controversy never been able to do so. Yet my intention was good.

When I returned to Copenhagen it was to find Sir Augu Mr. Lytton, all the other members of the Legation, and English war correspondents, whom we constantly saw, viole Danish. Their feeling was a chivalrous one, for they sav Denmark a small country bullied by two Great Powers. I m did not think that the German procedure was always c correct, but I knew also that at the real core of the questions Germans were right. However, I learned to be silent.

Twenty years later, one evening in Vienna, when my husl and I were talking over this question academically and di sionately, he owned to me that, had he then been possessed of

information he now was, he would have taken another view of things.

This winter of 1864 was a sad and weary one. Everybody was in deepest mourning for the late King, and the war soon broke out.

I felt the keenest sympathy for the Danes, and quite especially for King Christian, whose kindness of heart, straightforwardness, and high sense of honour had endeared him to both my husband and to me.

I shall never forget the impression the first carts full of wounded soldiers made on me as they passed under our windows. My heart went out to those poor men lying there and suffering for a cause which none of them understood on either side. We heard that the Tyrolese and Italian regiments fighting with the Austrians expressed their astonishment at people going to war for so ugly a country as Schleswig. A most pathetic incident was that of a poor young Lap woman just married, whose husband had to serve with the Danish troops. He had gone to the war and she had accompanied him to Copenhagen. During the three months of his absence she cried so much that when he came back she was blind.

The winter was a very severe one, and we were often many days without letters, once even for three weeks. For eleven days during this time there was not even telegraphic communication, as the Germans had cut the wires. Now and then a telegram reached us by way of Sweden, but it was very rare that even that way was practicable.

Prince Frederic of Hesse was in the habit of often coming to see me during this war. A German Prince married to a Prussian Princess and brother-in-law of the King, he had many ties on both sides, and was generally well informed. I remember that a week before the war actually broke out he paid me a visit and, walking up and down my room, he explained to me during two hours what madness it was in the Danes to try to hold the 'Dannewirke,' a huge fortification, the manning of which would have required an army many times greater than the Danish one. In England it was confidently expected that they would hold it for many months, and at the very least for six weeks.

Prince Frederic, whatever his other faults may have been, was a soldier and clever, and his reasoning was so cogent that I implored my husband to adopt his view and write in that sense to England; but he believed the Danes, who were just then very bellicose, having received much encouragement from Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell, though I am bound to say that Sir Augustus told them on every occasion they must not expect anything but moral support.

The Dannewirke was not held at all; it was abandoned before the Germans attacked.

Sir Augustus's sympathy with Denmark made him most anxious to induce King Christian to make such sacrifices at the right moment, as to ensure a more advantageous position in the future. One day when, after a long interview with my husband, King Christian came into my room, looking very tired and weary, he said: 'I have often been bullied and badgered in my life, but nobody has ever pushed me into a corner as badly as your husband has to-day.' I answered: 'It is because he has the welfare of Denmark and your Majesty's happiness so much at heart,' and this was the plain truth, and the King said he knew that he was a true friend to them.

Lord Wodehouse, who later became Lord Kimberley, was sent on a special mission during the winter to get further concessions from Denmark. He was accompanied by his brother Henry, who was in the diplomatic service, Mr. Philip Currie and Mr. Sanderson, both in the Foreign Office. They were all very pleasant, and the weather being very cold we used to go out on skating expeditions along the canals, which were spanned by many low bridges. Lord Wodehouse, who was a heavy man and a splendid skater, used to go first, and we all followed in crouching position, holding on to each other and shooting through at a great rate. Mr. Lytton was the only member of the Legation who did not skate, as he hated the cold and was not fond of exercise. On the more civilised parts of the ice we frequently met the Royal children, Princess Dagmar (Empress Dowager of Russia) and Princess Thyra (Duchess of Cumberland), accompanied by their brothers.

I remember this skating as the one bright speck upon the greyness of that winter.

For Lord Wodehouse it was also the only advantage he derived from his mission, for after three weeks he had to return to England without having obtained anything. The day after his departure, however, the knotty point was settled.

The only more or less quiet time which I can remember during the five years I spent in Denmark was after the conclusion of the war. A fine summer was brightened still more at its close by the first visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales after their marriage to Denmark.

Sir Augustus and I went to meet the Royal visitors at Elsinore, and as the *Victoria and Albert* steamed in, the fort, as well as the Danish men-of-war lying in the harbour, saluted. It was a fine day with splendid cumuli piled up against the horizon, and the solemn old castle and undulating hills covered with beautiful beech woods made a picturesque background.

The Prince and Princess were received on shore by all the Royal Danish family and at once carried off to Fredensborg, a castle towards the centre of the island.

I had been to Fredensborg once or twice during the reign of the late King when it was uninhabited and neglected. The place had an uncanny attraction for me—the park was vast and melancholy, and it was there that the unhappy Caroline Mathilda, the sister of George the Third, had principally lived, but not in the present modern palace. Of the one she had inhabited not a vestige is left, as the marshy ground upon which it was built has sucked it all in little by little.

We followed the Prince and Princess there for a day or two, but the scene now was a very different one. Bright faces and happy voices filled the great and gorgeous rooms. The Prince of Wales, with the tact and kindness which always distinguished him, won all hearts, and the Princess was far more beautiful even than when she left Denmark, and the admiration of her country people for her and for Lady Spencer, one of the prettiest women in England, was unbounded. They were covered with splendid jewels and dressed in the latest fashions, which in those days were not disseminated everywhere as they now are. The King and Queen were radiant, especially as the Princess had brought her little son, their first grandchild, with her. It was a happy time for them and made up in some degree for the sadness of past days.

The rest of our time in Denmark was politically uneventful. In the spring of 1866 Lord Clarendon appointed my husband to Lisbon. Before our departure we went to Bernsdorff to take leave of the King and Queen. Princess Dagmar had just become engaged to the Czarewitch, who died the following winter of meningitis at Nice. He was on a visit at Bernsdorff and looked very delicate indeed, the greatest contrast to his young *fiancée* in her bright pink frock, with the fire of life sparkling in her deep blue eyes and her rosy face framed in glossy dark hair.

We parted from the King with feelings of real regret and respectful friendship. He had always at the most difficult moments proved himself a thorough Christian gentleman—courageous, truthful, gentle, and forgiving. The Queen I had always admired for her single-hearted devotion to her children and the charm with which she environed her family life.

The thing of which I retain the most vivid remembrance in Denmark is the first burst of spring. One day you have been out for an hour's exercise, muffled in your furs, the air as cold as ever, blowing, snowing, and not a hint of Nature awakening out of her long sleep. The next morning you open your astonished eyes upon a blue sky, the sun is shining, the birds

twitter, the air is still. The fruit-trees stand in great masses of solid white against a steel-blue sea, and further on all along the shore the great beeches shine in a billowy line of verdant gold, so resplendent that the mind can hardly believe the evidence of the eye. This magic, however, only lasts a few days, the leaves soon darken, and at the end of August already begin to be sere and yellow and herald the approach of winter.

WALBURGA PAGET.

THE HOME SECRETARY AND PRISON REFORM

It may seem paradoxical to state that Prison Reformers of the present generation do not concern themselves greatly with the reformation of prisons. But the fact is so. With the exception of some few sentimentalists and so-called humanitarians, the efforts of serious reformers are directed rather to keeping men and women out of prison and to the care of them after release than to amelioration of their treatment while in prison. This is as it should be, for prevention is better than cure. Every young man or woman kept out of prison by sensible treatment has a chance of becoming an asset of the State, instead of a charge to it; and every released prisoner who is saved from recidivism by the efforts of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies is emphatically a brand plucked from the burning. This tendency of modern reformers is strikingly shown in some of the proposals of the present Home Secretary; and, still more so, by such Acts of Parliament as the Probation of Offenders Act and the Children's Act. Mr. Winston Churchill is quite right when he says that the first principle which should guide anyone trying to establish a good system of prisons is to prevent as many people as possible from getting into prison at all, and he has suggested some measures which should reduce the number of our prisoners considerably.

I suppose there can be no man at all interested in the subject, certainly no man at all acquainted with the working of our Courts, who does not sympathise with all the Home Secretary's remarks, in his speech on the 20th of July last, on imprisonment in default of fine and on the hardships involved in the denial of a time of grace for payment. Attention has been directed to this matter by numerous writers. The Commissioners of Prisons have adverted to it frequently in their reports, the authors of *The Making of the Criminal* condemn such sentences, and Sir Alfred Wills, in the pages of this Review three years ago, wrote strong and trenchant words on the subject.[1] More recently some magistrates

[1] *Criminals and Crime*, by the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Wills. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, December 1907.

have taken up the matter, one Surrey magistrate, indeed, evincing his disapproval by himself paying the fines imposed. But though the evil may be clearly proved to all, the remedy for it is not so apparent. Mr. Churchill's speech, as reported in the *Times*, gives no hint as to the method he proposes for dealing with it. The Prisons Act of 1898, indeed, allowed, for the first time, the reduction of a prisoner's sentence by part payment of his fine, but this does not meet the case. Part payment of a fine after a man's reception into prison is not the same thing as payment before imprisonment takes place. Even if a prisoner's finger impressions are not taken (and this would seldom be done in the case of a person sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine), other disagreeable ordeals must be suffered by him. He must be taken to prison in the 'Black Maria,' he must don prison dress, partake of prison fare, and generally suffer the taint of prison. All this it is required to avoid. It is said that the Surrey magistrates make it a rule that, whenever an offender has a settled address, time should be allowed for the payment of any fine imposed. If this practice of the Surrey Courts were made compulsory by statute a great advance would be made. The difficulty, however, as pointed out by Sir Alfred Wills, would be in the Metropolis and large towns, where many men and boys, with no fixed address, must still go to prison; and that in spite of the fact that they are not criminals, but in most cases merely offenders against by-laws. A striking instance is that of a boy who (at Newcastle, I think) in the year 1902 was twelve times sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine, and who actually served ten of the sentences imposed; his offences being playing pitch-and-toss, card-playing in the street, refusing to move on, and—once—wilfully damaging trees.

Not only would many still go to prison owing to their having no fixed address; others will go to whom time of grace for payment has been given, but who never had any intention of paying, and who make use of the time granted solely for evasion of imprisonment. These will so time their surrender to the police as to ensure the minimum of imprisonment; those with three days' sentence surrendering on Friday so that they must be discharged on Saturday, after sleeping one night in prison; those with seven days' sentence surrendering on Monday, so that they also must be discharged on Saturday, after five nights in confinement. These drawbacks notwithstanding, it seems that the sole method of reducing the number actually imprisoned in default of fine is that mentioned above.

It remains to be seen to what extent the total numbers sent to prison will be reduced, and how far such reduction will affect the average daily number in prison. In the year 1909-10 90,753 men

and women were received into prison under sentences with option of a fine, and of these 3688 paid in full, while 9498 made part payment. If we allow that all those who paid in part and possibly 50 per cent. more could have paid in full if they had been granted a time of grace, we have a reduction of 14,247 actual prisoners, while the 3688 who paid in full after arriving in prison would have been spared all the indignities to which they were exposed had they been granted even one day's grace. The average sentence of the 14,247 actual prisoners would probably have been seven days, so that the daily average in prison would have been reduced by about 274. Looked at from a purely mercenary point of view, the saving to the State by the reduction would have been over 6000*l.*, the net annual charge for each prisoner in the year mentioned being 21*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* So here we have, as results of granting a time of grace, a saving of unnecessary indignity to nearly 18,000 persons who have not been guilty of crime, a saving to the State in money of over 6000*l.*, and an additional payment of fines amounting to at least 1500*l.*

It is to be remembered also that a great number of these men and women, sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine, have never been in prison before; and, as I have just pointed out, they are not criminals. Yet the treatment of an offender of this class differs in no way from that meted out to real criminals.

> The same method of inspection on arrival at the prison, the change into a horrid uniform exactly similar to that of the most hardened sinner; the same kind of cell, the same food, the same daily round as that of all the other inmates of the gaol, are his. Small wonder that he sees nothing but injustice in it all, or that he comes out saying, 'Well, I don't care what happens to me now. If I had stolen they could only have sent me here. I'll take good care that the next time they shall have something to send me for.' Often enough he keeps his word, and rapidly sinks to a lower level, and becomes the convicted thief, and in time 'a hardened, stubborn, unrepenting villain.'[2]

The words quoted are descriptive of the effect of imprisonment on the young, but they apply equally to many of those who are sent to imprisonment with the option of a fine. From every point of view, then—from the purely mercenary desire to save money for the State (and so, indirectly, for ourselves), but still more from the desire to save our fellow-men, not only from present indignity, but from a future life of shame, let us join with any statesman who will frame a measure that will reduce the numbers of those who suffer imprisonment in default of payment of a fine.

Not content with reducing the numbers of prisoners in this way, Mr. Winston Churchill turns his attention to lads between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. So much has been, and is being,

[2] *The Making of the Criminal*, Russell and Rigby.

done for young men at this period of life in Borstal institutions, that it seems almost a pity that all lads of the vagrant and outcast classes cannot receive a training which, even with such short sentences as are awarded at present, must have some influence on youthful and unformed character. But Borstal institutions are reserved at present for criminal lads only. They must be, as the Act says, 'of criminal habits or tendencies,' or in constant association with persons of bad character. The unfortunate young outcast whose parents are dead, the lad whose parents have broken up their home and left him, the boy turned out of home by a step-parent—these, when driven to vagrancy or crime, are denied the advantages of the Borstal training, because they have not yet graduated as criminals. Why should there not be Borstal institutions for novices in crime as well as for the more depraved? I would not be understood to advocate commitment to a Borstal institution for a first offence, excepting, perhaps, when such first offence is very grave. The first section of the 'Probation of Offenders Act' of 1907 gives ample discretion to the Courts who have to deal with first offenders. But when a boy has offended a second time, why should we not try to save him by training him to habits of self-respect and self-control?

The Home Secretary, however, proposes to deal with youthful offenders in a different way, and he lays down three principles for their treatment:

(1) That no boy should go to prison unless he is incorrigible or has committed some serious offence, but that he should be subjected to some system of disciplinary correction outside prison.

(2) No youth should receive a sentence which is not definitely of a corrective and educative character.

(3) That no youth should be committed to prison for any term under a month.

The disciplinary correction which Mr. Winston Churchill proposes is some sort of physical drill: he is careful to say that he does not mean military drill, because 'that would be a dishonour to the profession of arms,' although why it should be so is not apparent. There is no doubt that physical drill can be made, and usually is, hard work, such as a lazy street-loafer would much dislike; but this question must occur to everyone—when you have sentenced a lad to so many days of this physical drill, how will you ensure his daily attendance?

It has often been said of prison reform, as of other reforms, that it must be the outcome of imagination; and Mr. Galsworthy, the new star in the firmament of prison reform, claims for these proposals of Mr. Winston Churchill that 'they are one and all inspired by imagination, without which reform is deadly.' [1]

[1] Letter to *The Times*, July 23, 1910.

It is doubtless true that without imagination no one can be a prison reformer; but imagination, while it may be a good servant, is certainly a bad master. As was stated recently in the *Times*, it is not a substitute for knowledge or experience, but it does enable a man ' to make use of ' his knowledge or experience ' in new conditions ' supposed or imagined by himself. Let us try to imagine ourselves in the position of a boy who has been sentenced to a certain period of physical drill or other disciplinary correction, and who, after being ordered to attend at any particular police station or other place to undergo this correction daily, is turned loose in the streets of London in the hope that he will appear at the appointed time and submit himself to his punishment. Can we, by applying our knowledge or experience, come to the conclusion that the boy will attend, or must we not be led to believe that he will scoff at a sentence which cannot be carried out without his own assent? If we are forced to believe the latter, to what are we driven? Is it not to the coercion of the boy by confining him in some place where we can lay our hands on him and force him to submit to his punishment? The distinction between this and commitment to prison is fine indeed!

I do not write in any captious spirit. I am as desirous as anyone can be to keep young lads out of prison, so I will surrender the whole case, and allow that every boy will voluntarily subject himself to the yoke, and will parade for his daily correction as punctually as a soldier. But, after this surrender of knowledge and experience to imagination, I will still affirm that Mr. Winston Churchill's scheme bristles with difficulties.

Physical drill, to be a disciplinary correction, must be hard work. I presume that all will agree that if a boy is not sent to a prison or other place of confinement, where he can be kept at the expense of the State, his disciplinary correction must not be allowed to interfere with his daily employment (if he has any) or with his endeavours to obtain employment. It must, therefore, be administered to him before or after the ordinary hours of labour. If before these hours, he will come to it on an empty stomach. If after those hours, he will come to it fatigued and worn out—either by labour or by tramping in search of work; and in either case probably after scanty meals. I will presume that humanity forbids us to take a lad after his day's work is done and subject him to an hour's strenuous exercise. The time, then, for this disciplinary correction must be in the morning, before the work of the day commences. I am told that in the case of young prisoners and of inmates of Borstal institutions, who are all provided with sufficient and wholesome food daily, the medical officers in charge have felt it to be their duty to recommend that no lad should be subjected to the strain of physical drill at an early hour unless he

has received an early meal, and that a special meal before breakfast is given to all those boys who are undergoing this discipline. How much more necessary, then, will it be to supply food for boys sentenced to this disciplinary correction, whose daily meals are not as assured, as plentiful, or as carefully chosen, as those of boys under the care of the State!

Further, it will be necessary to provide instructors in physical drill; otherwise, the whole matter will fall into contempt. Physical drill carried out under incompetent instructors is worse than useless, and cannot be said to be either disciplinary or corrective.

These two requirements of food and instructors point to the establishment of depôts—either at police stations or at other convenient places, at which the boys under sentence will daily assemble. This might be practicable in the Metropolis and large cities, but in the country districts what could be done? The difficulties in the way of carrying out this proposal will be apparent, I think, from the above observations; but difficulties, after all, are meant to be overcome. Let us allow, therefore, first that a boy willingly submits to his sentence, and, further, that the difficulties of providing food and instruction are surmounted. Can we suppose that this physical drill alone can be curative or educative? To me it appears to be punitive only. I much fear that, in his humane desire to minimise the number of young offenders committed to prison, the Home Secretary may be sowing seed which will ripen into a plentiful harvest of crime, unless, indeed, he goes further and directs that while any youth is subjected to this disciplinary correction, steps shall be taken to ensure lodgings and work for him. Mr. Charles Russell, of the Heyrod Street Lads' Club at Manchester, who has a remarkably intimate knowledge of the outcast and vagrant boy, says:

> If on a first conviction the authorities undertook to find work for such lads—not a very difficult task—and to defray the cost of their first week's lodgings, few of them would fail to develop into really decent working-men. The outlay would in many cases be repaid by them later on; but, if it were not, it would be infinitesimal compared with the cost to the State of maintaining an idle, or vicious, parasite for twenty, thirty, fifty years.[4]

The number of lads between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who were committed to prison in 1909-10 was over 12,000, and probably 4000 of these had never been previously convicted. To find work for all of these would be somewhat difficult, Mr. Russell's opinion notwithstanding; but why should not a system of Borstal institutions for novices in crime be inaugurated for those for whom it might be found impossible to obtain immediate

[4] *The Making of the Criminal*, Russell and Rigby.

employment? These institutions should resemble schools more than prisons, and all efforts should be directed to the special preparation of the boys for, at most, two careers. What these should be it is not necessary now to determine, but that training for the sea should be one, I think, is indisputable. There is an example already of this sort of training in the Lancashire and National Sea Training Homes on the Mersey, an interesting article on which appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* for October 1910. It is true that the writer of this article considers that any boy who has been once convicted is unfit for these Homes, but I can see no reason why similar Homes should not be opened for unfortunate boys who have only once or even twice appeared before a magistrate. The syllabus of instructions carried out at these Homes on the Mersey is worth perusal, and the attention of the Home Secretary and of the Prison Commissioners might well be directed to the establishment of such Homes as these for young and, as yet, not hardened offenders.

I think, then, that the first principle laid down by Mr. Winston Churchill, if put into practice at all, should be supplemented by an organisation for obtaining employment and lodgings for the lads undergoing disciplinary correction, and for the training to other callings of those for whom immediate employment cannot be found. If the establishment of schools conducted on the lines of the Lancashire Training Homes be considered too ambitious a scheme, why should not an effort be made to establish 'Short Detention Schools' as recommended in the report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), which is quoted and strongly supported by Mr. Charles Russell and Mr. Rigby.

With the second principle laid down by the Home Secretary I believe everyone will agree—namely, that no youth should receive a sentence which is not definitely of a curative and educative character. There can be no two opinions on the subject, but how is it to be reconciled with the third principle? This lays down that no youth should be committed to prison for any term under a month, and it follows that sentences of one month are looked upon as possibly corrective and educative. Anyone in the least degree acquainted with the boys and youths who find their way into prison will agree that no possible treatment of them, which extends to one month only, can be either the one or the other. The Commissioners of Prisons long since recognised this fact, and expressly excluded boys committed for so short a time from most of the relaxations allowed to those who are treated under the modified Borstal system:

> If a boy is sent to prison at all, a sharp sentence of three, six, or twelve months is infinitely more useful than one for a month. While serving it he is well cared for, and if he comes under the operation of the Borstal

system will be usefully employed while in prison, and when work is found for him on his release will generally settle down to it with a will. The short sentence is the one evil to be feared.[1]

So say Mr. Russell and Mr. Rigby, who, although not devoid of imagination, speak from knowledge and practical experience both of the outcast boy and of prisons. If the Home Secretary were to introduce Short Detention Schools or other places of training for novices in crime, and were to ordain by statute that no boy shall be committed to prison for any period less than three months, I believe he would really go far towards that prevention of crime for which all reformers must strive, and would reduce the number of persons committed to prison far more than he will do by the methods he proposes.

I have said at the commencement of this article that the efforts of all serious prison reformers of our day are directed—first, to keeping men and women out of prison altogether; and, second, to the care of prisoners after release. Mr. Winston Churchill, accordingly, after having sketched out two methods of keeping people out of prison, proceeds to unfold a scheme for better after-care and supervision of those who are unfortunate enough to be sentenced to imprisonment. I believe that this scheme will meet with general approval. It consists in the establishment of a new Central Prisoners' Aid Agency, supported by a liberal Government grant of money and controlled by a committee composed partly of official members and partly of members representing the existing Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, at the same time abolishing the whole system of police supervision and of licence or ticket-of-leave. This is a very drastic reform, but if it is worked out carefully in detail it is one from which, I believe, much good will ensue. If its inception is not due to the Commissioners of Prisons themselves, the scheme has been endorsed by them in their report for the year 1909-10, although their description of it does not quite tally with the words of the Home Secretary, as reported in the *Times*. Mr. Winston Churchill is reported to have said 'that the whole business of police supervision shall be absolutely suspended; that the whole system of ticket-of-leave shall come to an end completely.' The Commissioners of Prisons, in their report, say: 'So long as the licensee shall conform strictly to the guidance and direction thus offered, the proposal is to remit the condition of police report, to which, however, he will at once revert on failing to comply with orders given and on shewing any indisposition to pursue a straight course.' These words certainly imply that a convict on discharge will receive a licence or ticket-of-leave, and that, on his failing to satisfy the Central Agency of his desire to

[1] *The Making of the Criminal*, Russell and Rigby.

lead an honest life, he will be required to report to the police as now and to fulfil the ordinary conditions of his licence.

Under the present system, as most of the readers of this Review are aware, a convict, while serving his sentence, earns a certain gratuity, which becomes payable to him on his discharge. If at the time of his discharge he expresses himself willing to place himself under the directions of a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, the sum thus earned by him is paid to the Society of his selection for disposal on his behalf. If he has attained what is known as the 'Special Stage,' and he is willing to place himself under the care of an Aid Society, a certain sum called 'Extra Gratuity' is added to the sum he has earned, and the whole amount is expended to his advantage by the selected Society. A 'Special Stage' convict who refuses to go to an Aid Society thereby forfeits his claim for 'Extra Gratuity,' and his ordinary gratuity is paid to him, like that of any other convict who refuses aid, either by post-office order or, in the Metropolitan district, through the police. Whether he receives aid from a Society or not, a convict is equally required to report himself to the police on discharge, and thereafter at intervals of one month.

As there are many convicts who now refuse the aid of a Society, so there will be, I anticipate, many who will refuse the aid of the Central Agency. What is to be the lot of these men? Will they be refused the remission of sentence, or licence, which they have earned under the mark system, or will they be discharged, as heretofore, with the ordinary licence? If refused remission of sentence they will form an aggrieved, and probably troublesome, class in our convict prisons; if licensed as now, I fear that the numbers of those who refuse aid will not be less than they are at present. There are many men who, under compulsion, may make some attempt to lead an honest life (and may possibly succeed), but who will make no such endeavour if they see an easy way of continuing their life of crime. These men are not hopeful subjects, certainly; but it is wiser, I think, to compel them to come into line, if they will not come on invitation. Therefore it seems to me that refusal to accept aid from the Central Agency should be met by refusal of remission of sentence. The discontent and disorder in prison that may ensue must be kept under by firm government.

Passing on to those who put their hands to the plough and afterwards turn back, those who accept aid from the Central Agency and afterwards deviate from a straight course, would it not be better to remit them back to penal servitude instead of treating them as licence-holders are now treated? These are questions that must arise for consideration when the details of this scheme are worked out.

So far I have dealt with this matter as it affects convicts onl. There is the further question of its effect upon Discharge Prisoners' Aid Societies. The Societies who are mainly concerne with the after-care of convicts are few in number. They ar shortly: The Church Army, the Royal Society, the St. Giles Mission, the Salvation Army, the Roman Catholic Aid Societ and the Jewish Aid Society. With the exception of the Roy Society and the Salvation Army, and possibly the St. Giles Mission, these Societies deal with members of distinct religio persuasions. It is to be hoped that no petty jealousies will b allowed to interfere with the smooth working of the Centr Agency. Still there are rocks ahead in this direction.

Apart from these main Societies, there are all the local pro vincial Aid Societies, who at present give aid to those few convic who elect to go to parts of the country where there are no branche or agents of the main Societies. Will they be willing to subord nate themselves to the directions and decisions of the Centr Agency? The co-operation of these local Societies with eac other in the past has left much to be desired, although the Roy Society has made praiseworthy and often successful efforts obtain their co-operation with themselves. Possibly the admi ture of official and non-official members on the Committee of th Central Agency will facilitate its work with the local Societie although it is possible that from some of them the cry of 're tapeism' will be raised against this new departure. I trust, how ever, that the difficulties in the way of carrying out this schen will prove to be but slight, so far as the Aid Societies are co cerned. Their Committees are composed of men whose first ai is to raise their fallen fellow-creatures, and it is not too much hope that all will work together to achieve this object. There c be no doubt that the centralisation of the work for discharg prisoners will result in economy of management, and in mo direct treatment of, and advantage to, those ai

So far I have followed the Home Secretary ough what must call his main proposals—namely, those by which he hopes minimise commitments to prison and to restore to an honest li those who have passed through the ordeal of imprisonment. B his proposals, as set forth in his speech in the House of Commor do not end here. He makes others which deal with the treatme of prisoners while in prison. These are, shortly: First, amelior tion of the treatment of prisoners committed for offences 'n involving moral turpitude': second, the reduction of the peri of separate confinement for convicts, *i.e.* prisoners sentenced penal servitude; and, third, the organisation of a system lectures and musical entertainments for the last-named cla of prisoners.

To the first of these proposals but little objection, if any, will be taken. It has long been the opinion of those who have to deal practically with the treatment of prisoners, that there has not been sufficient differentiation in the treatment of offenders of the Second Division (so far as the better class of them at any rate are concerned) from that of offenders of the Third Division, and most of those concerned with the government of prisons will welcome the change indicated by the Home Secretary, although many may regret that this change is really a concession to the clamour of disorderly persons, most of whom belong to a class which should know that before they can rule they should learn to obey. It appears from the last report of the Commissioners of Prisons that the change foreshadowed in Mr. Winston Churchill's speech has since been carried out, and that it has been wisely arranged that the amelioration of the treatment of offenders of the Second Division shall be confined to those only whose previous character has been good, and who have not been guilty of any offence involving dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence.

The second of Mr. Churchill's propositions—that for the more lenient treatment of convicts—is not one that will meet with universal approval. If we regret that the change of treatment of offenders of the Second Division has been brought about by the clamour raised by those prisoners who are familiarly known as 'suffragettes,' still more must we regret that this reduction of the period of separate confinement of convicts is due, mainly, to the insistence of Press writers with but a slight knowledge of criminals, and to the production of a drama which can only be described as sensational. This change in the treatment of the worst criminals in our prisons is a striking instance of the misuse of imagination. The author of the drama referred to has indeed let his imagination run riot, and has presented to the public as a part of our authorised prison system horrors which never have occurred, and which, I venture to say, never could have occurred under the careful system of medical observation which was in force in all those prisons where convicts were collected to serve their period of separate confinement. In the letter by Mr. Galsworthy already referred to, he lays claim to having interviewed sixty convicts, and to having talked privately to them in their cells on the subject of separate confinement. But when was Mr. Galsworthy's mind made up on this subject? Was it before or after his interviews with these convicts that the evils of separate confinement were so convincingly appreciated by him? If before, then he approached each convict with a bias in his own mind, a bias which the men he interviewed would be quick to discover. I know of no man to compare with the convicted criminal in his desire to find out what you want him to say, nor

in his readiness to say it when he has found out. If, as I saic Mr. Galsworthy's mind was made up before he interviewed thes sixty convicts, then their evidence must be largely discountec Her Grace, Adeline Duchess of Bedford, in a thoughtful article i this Review for October 1910, wisely remarks that 'a touch discernment—a "holy shrewdness"—is needed in the ment outfit of the prison visitor.' How much more is this require in the mental outfit of a person casually visiting in their cells th most cunning of criminals!

But I may be wrong in supposing that Mr. Galsworthy's min was made up before his visits. He may have become alive to th horrors of separate confinement after his interviews with thes sixty convicts. How does his experience compare with that prison governors, who, if they have served any length of tim must have seen hundreds of men undergoing separate confinemer —indeed, some of us must have seen thousands? Does M Galsworthy suppose that conscientious gentlemen, who a governors of prisons, do not make some endeavour to realise th effect of punishment on the minds of those with whom they ha to deal—that they never enter into conversation with the prisoners—never try to realise their feelings, or to ascertain the views? Although I know that some few prison officials ha always been opposed to separate confinement, I believe that mo governors will bear me out when I say that men of educatio unless sunk very low indeed, prefer it to association with oth criminals, and that the men who dislike it and wish it to be shorter duration are—with exceptions, of course—the worst of o prison population, whose one desire is to associate and conver with others of their own type. It is in the interest of this class criminal that this hasty change in our prison system has be made. It is possible that it may be argued that criminals v not unburden themselves to their official superiors, or that the superiors themselves may be so biassed by long experience of t system which they carry out, that the criminal, [illegible]ng which w the cat jumps, as the saying is, will suit his conversation to h governor's views. Although I do not admit either of these su positions, I will abandon the comparison between an experienc prison governor and the dramatist, and will turn to the experien of a prison visitor. I should like to quote in full the words the Duchess of Bedford on this subject, but reference may made to pp. 626 and 627 of the October number of this Revie where they will be found. The conclusion of her observations is follows: 'I can only speak from a long experience of female cc victs, and I find the system adopted is, on the whole, beneficial that is, the system of three months' separate confinement. The words were written after fifteen years' experience of fem

convicts by a prison visitor who has paid, on an average, twenty-five visits a year to a convict prison.

I have no hesitation in saying that the abolition of a long period of separate confinement for the professional criminal has robbed penal servitude of one of its most deterrent factors, and makes the short sentences now generally awarded more futile than ever for dealing with this dangerous class. At the same time, the reduction has robbed the better class of convict of that period of solitude which 'enables the higher side of personality to assert itself, and often with permanently good effect,' of those 'quiet hours of the first few weeks of imprisonment during which seed may be sown with some chance of germination.'

As to musical entertainments and lectures, there is little to say. That there are convicts in our prisons who require 'brain food,' as the Home Secretary stated, is indisputable. Whether four lectures per annum and an occasional musical entertainment will provide such food is open to question. Still, I believe that this change is in the right direction, and all that requires to be guarded against is, that we do not neglect the honest poor outside prison walls while we do so much for the worst class of our population! We are very prone to do this. The honest, hard-working poor do not make a parade of their poverty, and live, in many cases, unrepining lives of hardness, devoid of such innocent pleasures even as lectures and bands of music, their thoughts solely taken up with the provision of a lodging and scanty fare for themselves and their children. We lecture them on their improvidence and on their large families, and warn them that they should cut their coat according to their very restricted cloth. But when, under stress of circumstances, they rebel against honesty and turn to crime, although we take away their liberty, we give them good food and lodging and light work, and last, but not least, amusements. Even in dealing with boys I fear that, when advocating training homes or detention schools, I may be asking for more for the wastrel than is given to the poor, decent lad. On the very day on which I write these lines I read in the *Times* the Report of the National Conference on Sea Training, in which Sir John Gray Hill, Chairman of the Training Home at Liscard, stated that 'in his opinion there was quite an insufficient provision for the poor, necessitous boy, as compared with the criminal boy.' It may be true, but let us not make the still greater mistake of making better provision for the grown criminal of the worst type than for the poor, necessitous, honest man. Where is the middle way in which we may walk safely?

One more subject and I shall have done with this interesting speech of Mr. Winston Churchill's—a speech in some ways most memorable—in which the problem of prison treatment is at least

approached in a generous spirit, even if all the proposals do not commend themselves to one grown old in the prison service. The one remaining subject is the Prevention of Crime Act of 1908.

I may venture to hope that, in spite of some evident inclination to change, this Act, imperfect as I believe it to be, and imperfectly administered, may yet be given a fair trial. An article has recently appeared in *Hibbert's Journal* by Mr. Thomas Holmes, now Secretary of the Howard Association. He is a gentleman certainly not void of imagination, as his article shows, dealing as it does with a prison system of Utopia, which I fear few of us will live to see. But he has experience, perhaps almost unique, of criminals out of prison, and this article may well conclude with his words concerning the prisoners affected by this Act.

> Now the men who qualify for the provision of this Act are of two classes: The determined and persistent criminal, who lives by crime, desires to live by crime, and to whom no other life has any attraction. Against these men, after being adjudged by a jury to be habitual criminals, we ought to be safeguarded, even as we protect ourselves against known madmen.
>
> The second class are criminals because they are irresponsible—a helpless class of individuals who have not the ability to maintain themselves, who can do nothing useful except under control. Most of the men who compose these two classes are of middle age, many of them decidedly old; but when their preventive detention expires they will be ten years older, so I question the mercy as well as the justice of thrusting these old men into useless liberty; better by half detain them under reasonable conditions and let them quietly die out, in the hope that few will be found to take their places.

E. G. CLAYTON.

THE 'MODERNISM' OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

In the December number of this Review appeared an article by Mr. C. Delisle Burns entitled 'St. Thomas Aquinas and the Ideals of Modernism.' The title of the article suggests a parallel between the position of St. Thomas in relation to the authorities of the Catholic Church of his day and that which is occupied by the leaders of the movement known as 'Modernism.' In the article itself this parallel is, perhaps somewhat loosely, worked out. St. Thomas Aquinas, Pope Leo the Thirteenth, and Pope Pius the Tenth are put forward as 'Modernists'; and it is insinuated that their position is, in some way, that of those whom the Church has lately condemned. Indeed, the present Pope, because of his approval of the theology of St. Thomas, is pointed to as 'a pantheist of the thirteenth century, under the condemnation of the Bishop of Paris and the Archbishop of Canterbury.' It is obviously unnecessary to refute so fantastic a suggestion otherwise than by clearing Aquinas of the charge of 'Modernism.' It seems, therefore, advisable that the readers of this Review should have placed before them the facts of the case as regards St. Thomas, and should thus be enabled to judge how far Mr. Burns's parallel is a true one.

Now the facts are these:

In the year 1270 Aquinas, then for the second time professor at Paris, maintained in a public disputation (*Quodlibet III.*) nearly all the doctrines upon which he parted company with the old scholastics. In that same year an attempt was made to have two of these doctrines[1] condemned, including them among the theses which formed the subject of an inquiry that led ultimately (the 10th of December 1270) to the condemnation of certain Averroistic teachings current in the University. This attempt failed.

[1] The Unity of Substantial Form (in a theological application) and the Simplicity of Substance in Angels. The condemned propositions were thirteen in number, none of which were Thomistic. *Cf. Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, Tome 1, p. 487.

But the Averroism then censured did not die out, and seven years later (the 18th of January 1277) Pope John the Twenty-first, writing from Viterbo, commanded Stephen Tempier, Bishop of Paris, to hold a second inquiry. This Tempier did. The Masters of Theology met, and on the 7th of March condemned 219 propositions (mostly Averroistic), among which were several taught by St. Thomas.[2] The condemnation had no binding force beyond the University of Paris and the jurisdiction of Bishop Tempier. As far as the Thomistic doctrines were concerned it did not have the effect of suppressing them, nor did it hinder thei increasing acceptance in the school.

In the same year (1277) the censure of several additional Thomistic theses was contemplated by Tempier[3]; but, as the Pope meanwhile died, the Bishop was instructed by a number of the Cardinals *sede vacante* (the 20th of May—the 23rd of November) to postpone his action to a more opportune season.[4]

The censures actually passed at Paris were formally withdrawn by Bishop Stephen Boretus on the 13th of February 1325 These official condemnations, which formed only a small part o the opposition to Thomism in the University, had their echo a Oxford.

On the 18th of March 1277 Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose jurisdiction Oxford lay, obtained the condemnation of a number of theses in grammar, logic, anc natural philosophy at the hands of the Masters, Regents and non Regents of that University. Several of these theses wer Thomistic.[5] It is significant that Kilwardby's censure is onl

[2] Especially those upon the Principle of Individuation: No. 81 (that Go cannot make two immaterial intelligencies of the same species), No. 96 (that Go cannot multiply individuals in the same species without matter), No. 191 (tha forms are not multiplied except by matter). The preamble notes that the error condemned are said 'to be true according to philosophy but not according t Catholic faith.' This well-known contention of the Averroists was strenuousl combated by St. Thomas. The *censure* of Tempier reads: 'Lest therefore thes inconsiderate expressions should lead the guileless into error . . . we forbid suc and suchlike to be employed; and we entirely condemn them, excommunicatin all those who shall dogmatically teach the said errors or any one of them, or wh shall presume to defend or maintain them in whatever way, as well as those wh listen to them. . . .' *Ibid.*, pp. 343-355.

[3] In particular that maintaining the Unity of Substantial Form.

[4] *Cf.* Letter of Peckham to the Chancellor and University of Oxford: 7th c December 1284; in *Registrum Epistolarum Johannis Peckham* (Rolls Series, vol. p. 865).

[5] The theses touching St. Thomas are those treating of his Theory of Genera tion, the Passivity of Matter, and the Unity of the Substantial Form in Mar The *censure* runs: 'Who deliberately maintains, teaches, or defends any of th aforesaid (propositions), if he be a Master let him be by the common conser deposed from the office of Mastership, if a Bachelor, let him not be promoted Mastership but be expelled from the University.' *Ibid.*, pp. 558-9. One MS. c this *censure* promises an indulgence of forty days to those who neither teach nc defend the condemned propositions, and states that these are heretical. *Ibid* p. 560. Peckham writes of this condemnation: 'The question contained in excerp

subsequent by a few days to that of Paris. Both were parts of a concerted movement to discredit Thomism by implying that several of its theses were Averroistic. But it is fortunate that we possess the Archbishop's comment upon his own action. In a letter to Peter of Conflans, Archbishop of Corinth, he explains that he does not condemn the theses as heretical, but forbids them as dangerous.[6]

More stringent measures were taken by Kilwardby's successor, the Franciscan Archbishop Peckham. On the 29th of October 1284 he confirmed the late Prelate's act. On the 30th of April 1286 he again prohibited the disputed theses; notably that concerning the Unity of the Substantial Form, and he unjustly insinuates that this has an Averroistic origin.[7]

As those of Tempier, these condemnations had local binding force only; indeed, they were no more legal at the sister University of Paris than the Paris censures were at Oxford. They were, as far as is known, never withdrawn; but by 1288 had already become inoperative.

In the meantime (1278) a general Chapter of the Friars Preachers held at Milan had raised Thomism to the position of the official doctrine of the whole order—a proceeding which, of course, applied to the Dominican masters at Oxford as elsewhere; and a second Chapter at Paris (1279) enforced this decision with grave penalties. The progress of Thomism was extraordinarily rapid, despite the Archiepiscopal checks, and practically universal, notwithstanding the local academic condemnations. From the Dominicans it passed over to other religious orders, and became their official system also. From Paris it spread to the other schools and universities of Europe. The Roman Pontiffs, far from condemning it, encouraged its diffusion.[8] Ecumenical

from the theological writings which at Paris was reserved to the supreme Roman authority (*Romanae celsitudini*) is therefore a very different thing from that which was observed in the childish disputations (*in certaminibus puerilibus*) at Oxford, and was condemned by the wisdom of our predecessor': Letter to the Chancellor: *Registrum*, p. 865. But see following note.

[6] 'I therefore notify to your Paternity that the condemnation there made was not of such a kind as is usual for heresy, but was a prohibition of disputing, teaching, or otherwise dogmatising on such matters in the schools. . . .' *Ibid.*, p. 560. The whole letter is given by Ehrle (*Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*; 5 Band; pp. 614-632).

[7] This is the last 'error' in the collection of eight said to have been taught by Clapwell, Prior of the Dominicans at Oxford. The *censure* was excommunication for holding or defending 'heretical' opinions; but as 'the Oxford Masters, the Order of Friars Preachers, and other Orders openly withstood it, it never passed for authoritative.' Quoted by D'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, Tome 1, pp. 236-8. *Cf.* also Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, p. 73.

[8] As Clement VI. (1342), Innocent VI. (1352), Urban V. (1362), Nicholas V. (1447), St. Pius V. (1566), Sixtus V. (1585), Clement X. (1670), Innocent XII. (1691), Benedict XIII. (1724), &c. *According to Mr.* Burns these illustrious Pontiffs must all be 'Modernists' and 'thirteenth-century Pantheists.'

Councils bear witness to its orthodoxy [9]; and at Trent the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas, with a copy of the Holy Scriptures and the Decrees of the Pontiffs, lay open upon the altar during the deliberations of the assembled fathers.

So much for the bare facts of history as touching the condemnations of St. Thomas Aquinas at Paris and at Oxford, and in regard to the subsequent triumph of his doctrine. Let us see how these facts bear out the suggested parallel between him and the leaders of 'Modernism.'

(1) In the first place, St. Thomas was in no sense an assailant, or even a critic, of the accepted dogmatic teaching of the Church. On the contrary, his aim was to bring to the support of the traditional doctrine, as it was handed down, the best arguments and illustrations that natural reason, in his opinion, was able to offer. And this he endeavoured to accomplish by purging the mass of heterogeneous and partially undigested philosophical doctrine that seethed in the intellectual centres of his time of inconsistencies, errors, and absurdities; by welding it into one coherent and compact system, from which he was careful to exclude whatever appeared to him to be contrary either to right reason or to the faith; and by employing it in the construction of that masterly theological synthesis that achieves its perfection in his *Summa Theologica*. That work is at the same time as much the logical outcome, in regard to conception, plan, and doctrinal contents, of the many similar attempts that preceded, as it is the type and inspiration of those that have followed it.

Even had the whole of the philosophy, and indeed the theology as well, of St. Thomas been condemned, such a fact would in no way have altered this characteristic attitude [10] of his towards the traditional doctrines of the Church. Mr. Burns will hardly dispute the point.

(2) But, as a matter of fact, neither the theology nor the philosophy of St. Thomas was condemned. It did not even fall under the ban of academic condemnation and episcopal censure. What really was struck at by the Masters of Paris convened by Tempier, by the Masters of Oxford under Kilwardby, and by Archbishop Peckham, was a comparatively small number of philosophical propositions that St. Thomas upheld—not his method nor his use of dialectic in support of revelation. As far as his

[9] As II. of Lyons (1274), Vienne (1311-12), Florence (1438-39), Trent (1545-63), Vatican (1869).

[10] Even Peckham brings this attitude into prominence. 'Indeed, that was the opinion of Brother Thomas of Aquinas of holy memory; but he, in regard to this and other similar statements of his, humbly declared his innocence at Paris at a meeting of the Masters of Theology, submitting all his opinions of this sort to the judgment and revision of the Paris Masters (*sic*); and of this we are a certain witness, since we heard it with our own ears.' Letter to Certain Cardinals, 1st of January 1285; in *Registrum*, vol. 3, p. 871.

theological method is concerned, he employed with conspicuous ability the common and traditional one. There is no hint of novelty in his use of the appeal to authority, the citation of Holy Writ, the decrees of Councils, and the writings of the Fathers. In following this method he employs the strongest arguments that can be urged in the support of revealed truth—namely, the testimony of the teaching Church and of constant tradition in its plain and constant sense. Destroy the whole of his dialectic and the *Summa*, indeed, falls to pieces as a monumental work of intellectual craftsmanship; but the theological method of St. Thomas stands untouched. And in regard to his use of philosophy in support of the faith, again he was but following and developing a tradition that had held the field from the time when dogma first came to be stated in anything approaching a systematic form, from the beginning of Christian apologetics—one might even say from the days of St. Paul. To express thought in human speech presupposes acquaintance with a human language. To bind facts, or theories, or dogmas into a system supposes a philosophy of some kind, no matter how rudimentary it may be. There was no trace of novelty in all this. On the contrary, those who disagreed with St. Thomas, publicly disputed parts of his philosophical teaching, wrote pamphlets of criticisms levelled at certain of his theories, even those who sat in condemnation upon them, were busily occupied in doing precisely the same thing; and in this they did no more than follow in the path of those who went before them.

What certainly did appear to be novel in the eyes of scholastics of the older school [11] were several of St. Thomas's philosophical theories that seemed to them to affect the received doctrines of the faith. And these were condemned, in company with other doctrines deriving from a quite different and, indeed, an antagonistic school, at a time of great intellectual perplexity and uncertainty with regard to the claims of conflicting philosophies; when opinions the most contradictory were freely circulating in the schools; and theories, from the most widely divergent, and frequently unrecognised, sources, were going the rounds of the intellectual world. It was undoubtedly a period of grave danger, and the circumstances called, as circumstances had called before (in 1210 and 1215, when certain books of Aristotle were condemned at Paris), and as they have called since, for prompt action.

What is most surprising to those who know anything of the work of St. Thomas and understand the state of the University

[11] The older 'Augustinian' (Franciscan) school was almost entirely at variance with the newer (Dominican) upon all *doubtful* points (*in omnibus dubitabilibus*); i.e. not determined by direct evidence or the decisions of authority. *Cf.* Letter to Certain Cardinals, in *Registrum*, vol. 3, p. 871.

at the time, is not that the so-called 'Augustinian' scholastics, aided by the partisans of the old 'secular' section—on grounds of University privilege, the inveterate enemies of the religious, and particularly of their protagonist Aquinas—should have secured the condemnation of some of his theories. It is that 'such an indignity should have been inflicted upon St. Thomas—to associate his doctrines with those of the Averroists, his adversaries, and to strike them with the same censures and for the same ostensible reason.'[12] Indignity indeed! But a fortunate one in that it gives indication of the animus, and evidence of the biassed and ill-judged deliberations of the Masters. There was no more determined opponent of the errors of Averroës and the Averroists than the writer of the tract *Contra Averroïstas* and of the *De Anima Intellectiva*, directed against that most outrageous of Latin Averroists, Siger of Brabant. Archbishop Peckham knew well what he was about when he hinted that the theory as to the Unity of Substantial Form might be traced to that polluted source. Such a hint could not fail to be a handy weapon of controversy at the time he made it; could not fail to do some damage to the reputation of the doctrine at which it was aimed. But St. Thomas's theory has nothing in common with the patently 'pantheistic' teaching of the Arabian philosopher. Aquinas taught that there was but one 'Substantial Form,' or soul, in each individual: Averroës that there is but one human intellect for the entire human race (*monopsychism*). St. Thomas asserted personal immortality: the Arabian denied it. Mr. Burns writes:

> The ecclesiastical authorities of Thomas's own day recognised him for what he was, and condemned him. They knew of the traditional teaching of the Christian schools: they knew also of the false teaching in Arabian schools: and they beheld in Thomas a man who, while professing the best of intentions, was employed in the introduction of Arabian thought into Christian philosophy.

This is no less disingenuous on the part of Mr. Burns than was the hint on that of Archbishop Peckham. Whatever excuse there may have been for the latter, there is now none for such a statement as this.

(3) The condemnations—not, as we have seen, of Thomism nor of St. Thomas, but of certain definite propositions advanced by him—did not emanate from the Supreme Authority of the Church. Indeed, it appears that the Pope of the time (John the Twenty-first), who ordered Tempier to hold his investigation in 1277, was himself a Thomist. In any case the censures did not make of St. Thomas a heretic, nor of his theology heresy. They remained in force officially for forty-eight years at Paris; though they had long before that time become a dead letter both there and at

[12] *Cf.* De Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*, p. 374.

rd. And in these few years the integrity of St. Thomas's e philosophy, as regards the faith, was amply vindicated of the that had been put upon it; and Thomism emerged triumphant entire from the ordeal through which it had passed.

Now let us consider the parallel:

(1) The 'Modernists' were, and are, assailants and critics of accepted doctrine of the Catholic Church. 'There are for the lernist no limits to criticism.'[13] They did not, and do not, ibly declare their innocence nor submit all their opinions to the ment and revision of the Pope—much less to that of a Faculty Theology, as did St. Thomas. Their aim was not, and is to support the traditional teaching by the aid of what is, in r opinion, a newly found knowledge, but to give it an utterly sense by means of an 'hypothesis' that—they confess—must aken on 'trust' and used to interpret personal and social gious experience. This hypothesis 'at present is too indefinite opular use, and seems to vary slightly in the hands of different stigators.' By its means, and that of the criticism it wars, the Virgin Birth becomes a myth, possibly symbolic, but ke value with 'the legend of the birth of Athena from the n of Zeus.' The Blessed Eucharist and the Eleusinian teries are both symbols—and of the same order of symbolism. Trinity is true or false by reference to our personal experience e world. So for 'every article of the creed and every statet of the Bible.' Mr. Burns is quite frankly clear on these ts. It is surprising that one who may be supposed to know ething at least of the doctrine and history of St. Thomas inas should have bracketed his name with a 'Modernism' that s up a position so utterly anti-Thomistic.

(2) The theology of 'Modernism' was condemned, as were its logical method and its preposterous hypotheses, as being ously contrary to the traditional spirit of Catholicism. It was emned as denying revelation and the Divine teaching ority of the Church—and this clearly not by way of an attempt tablish that revelation and authority upon a new and surer of reason, but by way of doing away with it altogether and tituting another for it. It was condemned, as a complete m, at a time when the question at issue was quite simple and rent, when there was no complication of other theories, no sion arising from a great influx of new and incompatible

he Catholic Church, with its consistent tradition, found itself esence of an entirely new system, a religious spirit other than vn, with professions inimical to the once-received deposit of which it is its supreme function to guard intact and hand

[13] The quotations in the following are from Mr. Burns's article.

on entire. There was no animus or bias of one school against another: only the regretful performance of a very plain duty. There was nothing left for the Church to do but condemn. This Mr. Burns fully admits. But, again, what has a condemnation such as this, and in these circumstances, that is in any way parallel to the 'condemnation' of St. Thomas?

(3) 'Modernism,' with all that it implies, was condemned by the Supreme Authority of the Catholic Church in the most solemn and formal manner that is possible. It made of 'Modernists' heretics, in the ordinary and received sense of the word, and of their doctrines heresy. And 'Modernism' has ceased to be discussed as a possible form of Catholicity, even by the 'Modernists.' It is dead; and it needs no prophet to assert that the judgment of the Church of Rome that slew it will never be reversed. In all this there is no parallel with the history of Thomism.

Indeed, the only pretence that Mr. Burns makes of drawing his implied parallel in any detail is a transparent, and rather undignified, play upon the word 'Modernist.' Should it be necessary at this late hour to point out that the term, as defined in the Papal documents, has nothing in common, save sound and spelling, with 'Modern': that modern thought is not condemned—indeed, it is not even considered—but a manifest heresy which, with what justification I do not venture to say, has appeared before the public with a misleading, though alluring, title? It is unfortunate that there should be even so much as sound and spelling shared in common by the two words, since this has once again betrayed a 'Modernist' into a somewhat crude and obvious fallacy.

Although the title under which Mr. Burns writes leads the reader to suppose that he is principally concerned with the parallel just considered, it is only a comparatively short portion of his article that is devoted to St. Thomas. The remainder deals with 'Modernism' as released from its self-imposed and hopeless task of converting the Roman authorities, and thereby the Roman Church, to its way of thinking, and contains Mr. Burns's mature exposition of its now openly avowed character, together with his reflections upon it as a form—indeed, the only true form—of 'religion.' Now, were it not that such an excursion serves a really useful purpose, one might hold oneself excused from following him into this wilderness of assertion and innuendo. He finds that 'there is no longer any need to argue with the orthodox Roman Catholic'; that there is no time 'to argue with the Grand Lama of Thibet.' The Pope does not 'argue'; and perhaps it would prove to be scarcely worth while even for the ordinary orthodox Catholic seriously to dispute with such 'Modernism.' Nevertheless a word or two as to these assertions may not be altogether out of place. The statements are Mr. Burns's: the

remarks are his: the supporting proofs are conspicuously absent. However, as a 'Modernist' doubtless Mr. Burns knows his own position, and can set forth what he believes and disbelieves. It is not certain that any one 'Modernist' can speak for the rest. This, of course, is admitted, though Mr. Burns is quite sure that he correctly interprets the meaning of Tyrrell and Loisy and Minocchi. But it seems fairly evident that at length one of the school has come forward with a definite statement of the position; and we cannot but be grateful for the fact. The one salient point that forces itself upon the reader of Mr. Burns's article is this: the 'Modernist' is anxious to rid himself—*has* rid himself, in fact—of the trammels of traditional theology. What he wishes to replace it with is an 'hypothesis'—somewhere called philosophy—the nature and working of which does not seem to be made very clear. Indeed, the clearest and most positive assertion in the whole article is the following: 'Whatever statement may be made as to Religion it must stand the criticism of the intellect and must be judged by reference to vital experience.' The writer tells us that hesitation in the past on the part of 'Modernists' in stating the position so baldly has confused the issue, by allowing an identification of 'Modernism' with the old 'moderate' Liberalism; and he immediately goes on to affirm that the facts are quite otherwise. 'No man has a right to call himself a Modernist who is not something more than the old-fashioned Liberal. There are for the Modernist no limits to criticism.' If this means anything at all, it means that there is, for the 'Modernist,' no such thing as a Divine revelation. The content of what we Catholics call revelation has to be judged, point by point, on its merits; and point by point it must be intellectually approved before it can be accepted or believed. Its approval is then that which we give to symbol or to myth. Without vital experience it cannot even have this value: it can mean nothing. 'True and false mean exactly the same in respect to religious statements as they do with regard to science and philosophy.' It is scarcely necessary to suggest that, in this form, 'Modernism' has an older and more widely recognised name; nor that it has been condemned by other Popes than Pius the Tenth in no less unmeasured terms than those of the Encyclical *Pascendi Gregis* or the Syllabus on 'Modernism.' Whether this be true or not, it is clear that, if Mr. Burns's contention be the correct one, certainly the '"church" of the Modernists would be in nothing like the Church of the Roman theologians.' There is no possible doubt as to that fact. Only Mr. Burns surely forgets that the Church of the Roman theologians is also a Church embracing somewhat more than the 'Roman Curia' and the 'Seminarists.' If his statements be true, it is indubitable that the organisation of the Church of Rome—'the existing organisation of every Church,'

as he says—would have to be changed beyond recognition. But it would mean more than this. It would mean that the Catholic Church would simply cease to exist: for that Church has no other *locus standi* than upon an historic revelation. It has no other claim upon the allegiance of men than its one claim to be the depository of revealed truth and the dispenser of the mysteries of God—God, not certainly as 'an old man with a bad temper,' nor yet as the 'Absolute,' but as Christian doctrine employs the term which Mr. Burns so willingly perverts.

But is so drastic a measure necessary? Must we alter the constitution of all the Churches—and not least that of the Catholic and Roman Church—to please Mr. Burns, or any other 'Modernists' who may share his views? Is it imperative that all claim to a Divine revelation should be abandoned, and the sole appeal to introspective religious experience substituted for it? Such an appeal would result in an infinity of incoherent religions: *tot experientiæ quot homines*. This is an observation of elementary psychology, borne out by the facts of history. Well, if the facts were as Mr. Burns contends, we should have to accept them and make the best of it. But he offers no other evidence for his contention than his bare and unsupported assertion. With all the respect that can reasonably be due to his word, we will take leave to differ from his conclusion—which, indeed, is of the nature of a premiss. If it were simply a question of authority, statement against statement, that of the Catholic Church would appear to be preferable to that of any one individual. But if it is a question, as it is, of historic fact, then the solid and weighty arguments by which revelation is established are not likely to be shattered by the unsupported *ipse dixit* of Mr. Burns. Readers of this Review can judge for themselves whether the Catholic Church is likely to survive such criticism.

FRANCIS AVELING.

THE NEED FOR AN ANGLO-GERMAN UNDERSTANDING

The article which I contributed to the December number of this Review on views expressed to me by Germans as to the future relations of our two countries, combined as it was by a happy conjunction with Sir William White's authoritative review of the naval crisis, has induced so much comment in the Press and private letters that I have felt obliged to make a further contribution on this subject, mainly to answer persons who have criticised the views I expressed, for the most part reasonably.

I should like to state once again that those views given in my previous article were admittedly not my own, but such as had been expressed to me recently by Germans in Germany and in England. That I sympathised with them to a great extent was obvious, not only from my desire to set them forth, but in the way in which they were interpreted. But from that sympathy—which springs mainly from my heartfelt admiration of the degree to which Germany has advanced in science, art, sociology, industry, and in the amenities of life—to an emphatic personal endorsement of all the details in the future projects and ambitions of reasonable Germans is a long step, as long as this rather clumsy sentence. One critic, however, has credited me, not only with endorsing these ambitions to their uttermost expression, but with a desire to be even more generous than the satisfaction of the demands which I set forth. I am held to assume that not only should Austria and Germany united establish some kind of control over the Slav and Turkish States of the Balkan Peninsula, but should also include the Kingdom of Greece and the island of Crete within their domain, and that German influence over Asia Minor was to extend to the very frontiers of Sinaitic Egypt and of the British sphere in Southern and South-Eastern Arabia; while all sorts of dreadful things were to happen to the Persian Gulf, and we were to provoke a war with the United States by helping Germany to take an island in the West Indies, and so forth.

My article cannot be held to point to any of those conclusions. No German ever hinted to me any desire to control the Kingdom

of Greece or the holy places of Christianity or of Islam, or to interfere in any way whatever with the British, and perhaps Russian, rights of police over the Persian Gulf, or mentioned any project entertained by Germans for acquiring an island as a coaling-station in the West Indies. It is true that some Germans, in their review of recent history, considered it to have been unfair and churlish on the part of the United States, and perhaps of Great Britain, to have opposed the project of the sale of a Danish West India island to Germany; but the subject was dismissed as one of only academic interest. No reasonable German has ever alluded in my hearing, or in writings which have come under my notice, to any plan conceived since (we will say) 1905 for the hoisting of the German flag in any part of the New World. Here, as elsewhere in Asia and Africa, Germany is content with the *open door* assured to her by the existence of a number of independent States which have concluded commercial treaties on the most-favoured-nation basis, and of Free-Trade areas in which German commerce is placed under no disability or restriction. What view might prevail should a general policy of Free Trade be abandoned in regard to the supreme direction of the British Empire I cannot say. It is possible, for example, that if the Empire of India discriminated against German commerce on the plan of the French 'differential duties,' Germany might not feel quite so completely well disposed as she is at the present day towards the maintenance, and even the extension, of the beneficent British Indian Empire, a region in which her commerce yearly assumes larger and larger proportions. Under existing circumstances one of the greatest of German interests is the maintenance of the British Indian Empire. The details of how that Empire is to be governed, it is considered, are altogether best left to the ripened judgment of British statesmen. There may or there may not be defects in British Indian administration, but German writer after German writer (to say nothing of opinions expressed in private conversation) joins in expressing the view that Great Britain is trying to do her best in India, and has brought about a better state of affairs throughout Southern Asia than has ever been known to exist in the history of that populous portion of the earth's surface. Responsible German diplomatists hold, and privately express, the view that if Germany is enabled to complete the Badgad Railway down to the Persian Gulf, that Persian Gulf terminus—in all probability Koweit—should be under British control, because of the gigantic importance, politically, of British Indian interests. The same persons even suggest that in some formal, or informal, Anglo-German-Russian-French-Turkish understanding the waters of the Persian Gulf might be regarded as a *mare clausum*, not to be entered by the warships of any

Power except to a limited degree in the case of such Power or Powers—bound to be Britain alone, or Britain and Russia—as were entrusted with the police of the Gulf coasts and waters. The iniquitous—from all points of view—trade which is now going on in arms of precision between the Arab Sultanate of Maskat and the regions of Afghanistan and the Indian borderland, it is realised, can only lead eventually to very serious results in Asia of an anti-European nature; and it is not to the interests of Germany—nor in the long run to those of Russia or France—that matters of international etiquette should prevent Great Britain from effectually disposing of this Indian cancer; even if, with the consent of France (the only Power entitled by treaty to object), a direct British control over the Sultanate of Oman (in addition to the existing Protectorate of the Bahrein and Koweit) is assumed.

As to the greater part of Arabia, it will no doubt continue to be governed by Turkey as long as the mass of the Arab population is content to put up with Turkish rule. Already there are large independent sultanates in the north central parts, while the region between the Bahrein coast of the Persian Gulf and the Island of Perim at the entrance to the Persian Gulf is henceforth, with the possible exception of the Imamate of Oman, assigned to British influence by a recent treaty with Turkey. But supposing the disinclination of the Arabs of Yaman, of Mecca, and Medina to be ruled from Constantinople once more awoke, and the strain on Turkish finance or other forms of power proved too great, then it is probable that these regions would have to be re-created into neutral, independent Arab States, ruled by local sheikhs or sultans, and perhaps placed under a joint European international guarantee; since no one of the competing Powers of Europe ruling over large numbers of Muhammadan subjects would (in the present state of human enlightenment) like to see the sacred places of Muhammadan pilgrimages in the keeping, or in any way under the influence, of any one European Power. The same thing might be said in regard to Palestine and Syria, which, if the course of history brings any great changes in the administration of the dominions now governed from Constantinople, might be erected into another neutral independent State.

It is also felt in German political and commercial circles that the understanding with England and France which already exists in regard to certain troublesome or undeveloped portions of Africa might be extended to cover what remains of the surface of that continent which is still of uncertain destiny (as regards educational control). There are only two such regions, and over one of them Germany asks for nothing but for the door to be as open as it is in Morocco: she entirely abjures any claim to political

intervention. But in the case of the second region, should it at any time get into difficult circumstances and an international solution be necessary, she expects that, with due regard to the competing interests of France and England, she would be entitled to a full consideration of her political claims based on contiguity and on historical research.

At this stage in my thesis I can hear the further protestations which will be provoked, similar to those contained in one or two newspaper articles and in several private letters. 'What right,' say these critics, 'have we, in discussing the basis of an understanding with Germany, to deal thus impudently with the possessions of other Powers, large or small, civilised or uncivilised?' These writers have already rushed to the conclusion that my setting forth of Austro-German claims to political preponderance in the Balkan Peninsula, or Germany's claim to play a leading part in the development of Asia Minor, means the immediate substitution of the Austro-German Governments for that of the Turk in the Balkan Peninsula and in Nearer Asia. It need not necessarily mean anything of the kind, any more than British and Russian interference with the affairs of Persia need bring about an abolition of the Persian monarchy. At the same time it is useless hypocrisy to pretend that the Parable of the Talents is not always in force. If the new style of Turkish Government is going to lead to the well-being of its varied peoples and races, to the elimination of religious intolerance and the complete establishment of religious freedom (and the lack of religious freedom can be gauged by the very simple statement that no Christian can go to the Muhammadan holy places in Arabia or in Mesopotamia, and that there are many portions of the Turkish dominions in which no Christian Church may be established): if there is a cessation of Armenian massacres and of such misrule and mismanagement as closes Albania and the Tripolitaine to the ordinary tourist and makes life and property more unsafe at Salonica and in Syria than they are in any civilised Christian country: then obviously there is no justification, and there will be no need, for the intervention of Germany or Austria (or of Italy in the Tripolitaine). But if the auspicious new régime is rendered sterile, or is actively opposed by some revival of Islamic fanaticism or bigoted refusal to live according to twentieth-century conditions, then will arise the question, 'Who is to play the policeman on behalf of the civilised world?' Is there to be, as in times past, futility and a weary continuance of fifteenth-century conditions, because Britain, France, and Germany checkmate one another? If, on the other hand, as part of a general understanding between Germany and the leading European Powers, to her and to Austria alone were assigned the task of foreign interference

where such was absolutely necessary in the affairs of the whole of the Turkish Empire, excepting Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, the Tripolitaine, and Western Arabia, civilisation would receive an enormous progressive impetus. Germany and Austria, in fact, would fructify and bring back to the splendour of Greek and Roman times (bettered by the inventions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) one of the best endowed and most attractive regions of the earth's surface. Similarly, under this agreement, if the slave trade with the Sudan or interference with European commerce is to continue in the Tripolitaine, it would be to Italy alone that the right of intervention would be accorded. Possibly France might be allowed to take the lead in regard to Syria, Greece in the matter of Crete, Russia as regards Armenia, while, of course, no one of the Powers would interfere with England's action in Cyprus and Egypt. The importance (and expense) of Constantinople as a diplomatic centre would consequently be largely diminished.

'This would mean, of course,' said one journalistic critic, 'that Germany and Austria would predominate in influence at Constantinople, and therefore to Germans would fall most of the Turkish concessions and openings for commercial enterprise.' Very possibly; just as by dint of circumstances it has been to Germany that Turkey has had to apply for her most recent loan. You cannot have everything in this world, I might remark to my fellow-countrymen, unless this little United Kingdom, with its forty-five or forty-six millions of people, is to support naval and military charges which will soon prove wholly disproportionate to its population and its resources in money. Yet it is doubtful whether British commerce or enterprise would suffer materially in our trade with Turkey under these new conditions. Germany would consent, I am confident, to there being no differential duties levied at the Turkish customs houses. This, indeed, would have to be an essential feature of any permanent understanding. And it must be remembered that when German or other firms are proceeding to develop a new country like Turkey, or Mexico, or Paraguay, or East Africa, they are obliged to buy a great deal of what is necessary for their work in the United Kingdom or in other parts of the British Empire. Any expansion of German trade (or of American, or even French trade) has its favourable effect on the industries, imports, exports, and wage-earning of the United Kingdom. As it is, Britain controls such an enormous proportion of the earth's surface, producing raw material of essential importance, that no great increase in the world's activities can take place without benefit to her commerce, whether it lie in the increased drinking of tea, the increased demand for rubber, for coffee, for tin, for petroleum, for cotton goods, or for

illustrated magazines and music-hall songs (both of which British products are exceedingly popular in Germany). As against this gain to German commerce through the imposition of German influence at Constantinople, there would be the recognition on the part of Austria and Germany that Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Greece had other claims elsewhere to be respected by Germany, even if, as the result, the national commerce or industries of those countries derived a special benefit.

Of course, protestations on the part of British journalists that it is immoral to consider the fate of decrepit nations and badly governed territories are the more preposterous inasmuch as no sooner does any country or Government seem stricken, or even slightly inclined to hobble, than the British vulture is as far-sighted as the German *geier*, and both alike begin to descend in narrowing circles to be ready for all eventualities.

Why not? It is a natural law which nothing human can evade, either individually or socially. But it is a law that has been enormously tempered and softened by Christianity. The falling to pieces of the great Uganda monarchy, great in comparison to other Negro States, in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century invited and facilitated the intervention of five Powers or influences: that of Great Britain, that of France, Germany or Belgium, or, last but not least in ominous significance, the Moslem Arab or Nubian. To Great Britain fell the *rôle* of intervener; and what honest critic can deny but that our intervention has been of the greatest possible benefit to the people of Uganda? Their king and their elaborate system of local government have been restored and strengthened. Peace within and without their borders is guaranteed. Commerce has taken enormous strides. The wealth and the welfare of the mass of the people are so great that even the passing trouble of the sleeping sickness (for which no one is to blame) is but trifling compared with the cessation of the massacres and slave-raiding which had been going on within the kingdom of Uganda and the adjoining territories for hundreds of years. Look at Cuba and Porto Rico, look at Santo Domingo and the Philippines, since the United States took them in hand. American commerce was greatly benefited by the opening up of honest trade, and in a proportionate degree by the exploration and better government of Santo Domingo. But to what degree have not the Santo Domingans, Porto Ricans, Cubans, and Filipinos profited through the intervention of the United States? I can testify from personal observation of the first three that the only adverb to be used in this connexion is 'enormously.' Ultimately, we shall see a Persia regenerated by British intervention, and I hope also by Russian. There is much in the internal government of Russia which causes pain, and even dismay, to those who

vould fain be friends and customers of hers; and yet, once again, what honest critic can maintain that the condition of the Caucasus nd Transcaucasia has not been enormously improved from the oint of view of the welfare of the local inhabitants through e Russian annexation and government of those regions? One n travel throughout the length and breadth of Russian Asia vithout any more fear of insult or personal danger than one would xperience in the United Kingdom itself. Can the same be said f the Chinese Empire, or of Afghanistan? Who that has been onstrained to visit Venezuela is not glad to land afterwards at a ort of the United States or on British soil? But, as I have said, he application of the ruthless law of the survival of the fittest and f the Parable of the Talents has long since been modified by he influence of essential Christianity and the growth of a public pinion in Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Russia, apan, Australia, South Africa, and Brazil, which will not any onger permit acts of individual or national injustice. In not all hese countries does that development of public opinion completely revail over the acts of government, but it does so in Britain, in Germany, in the United States. In Belgium itself Mr. Morel roused a degree of public support for his protests against the olonial policy of King Leopold which perhaps did more than nything in the way of European intervention or influence to nduce the Belgian Government eventually to take over full esponsibilities for the Congo State. If the influence of certain reat Powers is to predominate in this or that country of alien eoples with religions and skin-colour different to our own, it is lmost of necessity now for the great and ultimate benefit of those eoples even more than it is for the commerce of the intervening Power.

But I do not pretend that such is the view at present held in Vadai, in Egypt, at Constantinople, Damascus, Fez, or Teheran. Three hundred and twenty millions out of the 350 millions of the ndian Empire are so uneducated, so engrossed, poor souls, with heir struggle for existence as agriculturists, petty tradesmen, rtisans, or herdsmen, that they probably give no thought, ntertain no gratitude or ingratitude, regarding the results of a undred years of British Empire over them. Of the remaining hirty millions perhaps twenty are sensible and convinced of the upreme advantages that they have long owed to our having come advise their native rulers, or directly to rule over them in the ace of wicked and wasteful dynasties. But there are, perhaps, nother ten millions of people able to read and write who furiously ge against the presence of the white man in their midst. To me extent, their clamour for a greater share in the administra- on of their own country is just and reasonable, and has been

already met by recent developments in Indian administration. But these ten millions of noisy people perhaps just tip the balance against us in any plebiscitum which might be held theoretically as to the advantages or disadvantages of the British empire over 350 millions of Asiatics. Asia does not like Europe, has never liked Europe since the irruption of Alexander the Great.

The same is the case in Egypt. What would happen in Egypt if the British troops were withdrawn and no other European Power installed itself in their place? Bloody chaos and destructive anarchy! The Arabs of the desert, the Turks and Circassians that still remain in Lower Egypt, the Fuzzie-wuzzies of the Red Sea coast-lands, the Nubians, Arabs, and Negroes of the Sudan, joined before long by the Abyssinians, would soon begin to fight one another, or would join with other discontented Moslem people of North Africa in expelling the European and all his works, and substituting therefor the civil war, the neglect of public works, the abandonment of the struggle with Nature, and in general the ghastly state of affairs which brought North Africa to the brink of ruin since the Roman and Byzantine Empires were overthrown by the invasions of the Arab. The withdrawal of the British garrison from Egypt for, let us say, fifty years—and modern politicians are more or less obliged to live in their policy from day to day—is unthinkable, unless, as an Empire, we have suddenly become in favour of anarchy. It is to the interest of the local dynasty and the supremest welfare of the Egyptians themselves that the British should remain there as arbiters until the new civilisation has become firmly rooted in Arab and Negro Africa.

But it is always conceivable that some wave of Muhammadan fanaticism may arise, in which the resources of Britain in soldiers may be severely strained if she is to maintain and even strengthen her present hold over North-East Africa. Similarly, at any moment an identical problem may face the French. The defeat of either Power (if such is conceivable) would have disastrous results on Russia's position in the Khanates of Central Asia and in Muhammadan Persia and Transcaucasia. How is German commerce going to profit from such a dissolution of good and firm government in those regions? The peoples that ejected the white man in the form of Englishman, Frenchman, or Russian would scarcely be likely to invite the German or the Austrian to take the vacant place; and for Austria-Germany to attempt severally on her own account the reconquest of such regions would be a task so futile and so costly as to be not worth discussion.

Yet the mere fact that Germany is not in complete understanding on all world-questions with France, Russia, Britain, and Italy tends to weaken the action of these Powers in the undeveloped or uncivilised lands they have undertaken to administer.

The knowledge that Germany was an active partner with them in such work, or at any rate in complete and absolute accordance with them in their policy, would of itself enormously strengthen their position. The point could not be better put than it was by Mr. Roosevelt: 'The position of Great Britain on the Nile would be greatly strengthened by the presence of Germany on the Euphrates.'

Lest this should offend the purists, let us substitute for 'presence' the word 'influence.' Not a few Germans in authority repudiate the idea that Germany wishes to do anything more than *influence* Turkey. So be it. If that influence is directed towards good government, peace, security of life and property, and unfettered commerce, then let us hope that German influence at Constantinople may be allowed to prevail. But, obviously, any such understanding must lead sooner or later to a co-ordinate agreement between Germany and the other Great Powers of Europe as to a limitation of armaments. If Germany is not content with the enlargement of her sphere of influence precognised in the German views expressed in my former article, she is aiming at an exaggerated degree of world-influence and power which menaces the well-being of the British, French, Russian, Italian, and perhaps the United States, Empires. She is seeking to force not only on her own people (who are already beginning to look into the matter), but on the taxpayers of these other Empires, a burden and a degree of national sacrifice which before very long may prove, in the eyes of some, to be more intolerable than the risks and sacrifices of a world-conflict.

It may be that this conflict might resolve itself into a duel, in which the anti-German side would at first merely receive the moral support of a large number of seconds. It would be well, however, for Germany to ponder on what happened to France nearly a hundred years ago, and what has happened to France since she became content with a moderate share of world-influence; and still more on the results of the Russo-Japanese war. For something like eighty years Russia, in the minds of British statesmen, took the place of France under Louis the Fourteenth and under Napoleon: she would not state definitely what was the limit of her ambitions or come to a final understanding with Britain as to where that limit should lie. In Central Asia, in Persia, and, above all, in China, she pressed ever forwards, breaking promises and even treaties, but, what was most irritating of all, evading a direct understanding. The inevitable result at last was the Japanese alliance with Britain and the pricking of the Russian bubble.

Russia even was foolish enough to fight where she was weakest and where her interests were less vitally concerned: we must not

assume that had she preferred to fight the test case with Great Britain instead of with the Japanese Empire her defeat would have been so complete and far-reaching. Yet I think it may be said with truth that had her ruler or her statesmen been more far-sighted in 1898, or in 1900, they would have come to terms with Great Britain and have forestalled that understanding now so happily in force, and likely to remain in force for an illimitable period; and they would have been saved the monetary loss and the humiliation incurred by their war with Japan.

Of course, there are many eventualities to be considered. There is in the eyes of some people a distinct danger to British and French interests from the great probability of an alliance growing up between Germany and Russia, with the resultant permeation of the whole vast Russian Empire by Germans, commercially, and at length politically. But even in such a case, these Powers united would have to give many hostages to fortune, and it could scarcely 'pay' them to quarrel with their best customers in Britain, France, and the United States.

Since this article was written in the main, there have appeared two articles in the *Times*, which for good reasons have attracted much attention, and which, properly or improperly handled, might bring to an issue, bad or good, the latent—alleged—conflict of British and German policy. The Dutch Ministry seems to have placed before the Dutch people in a not very happy manner a great scheme for the defence of the Dutch coasts and river-mouths. This scheme is obviously directed against a theoretical attack on Holland from the west, on the part of a maritime nation of great strength. This can only mean Great Britain. These nearly five million pounds' worth of fortifications and guns are manifestly intended to make it difficult, dangerous, almost impossible, for a British naval force to escort a British army to a safe landing in Holland. Such a step, of course, could only be taken by a sane British Government as part of an attack against Germany. And Germany (in consequence of the monthly and weekly discussions in the British Press and novelettes of a possible war between Britain and herself) has undoubtedly, in her own legitimate defence from such a possible flank attack, compelled the Dutch Government to adopt some scheme of armament which may stave off a British invasion. Very good. We should do the same in Germany's place. Holland is to her almost precisely what Scotland was to us as an independent kingdom when it was open to a French descent at any time, and could be used as a basis of attack by France.

But there is one item in this scheme of Dutch fortifications to which the *Times* takes strong exception, and where nearly all its readers will be in agreement with its remarks, and that is the

proposed fortification of the mouth of the Western Scheldt at Flushing—a proceeding which would cut off Antwerp, the heart and the citadel of Belgium, from free access to the sea, and the guarantors of Belgium from free maritime resort to her principal commercial centre. The *Times* points out quite rightly that this main branch of the Scheldt, and Belgium itself, occupy a very special position in European politics, and cannot be treated by Holland as though they were questions only affecting Holland and Belgium. The Dutch Government would be most unwise if it proceeded any farther with its idea of fortifying Flushing, or attempted to abuse in any way its (towards Belgium) already inconvenient and irksome control of Antwerp's sea outlet. And the German Government, if it supported the kingdom of the Netherlands in any such attitude, would be justifying the fears and predictions of its enemies and maligners in this country. Of course, as I pointed out in my earlier article, there are foolish Anglophobes in Germany as there are equally foolish Germanophobes on this side. It would be a grievous pity for the world at large if they sufficiently influenced the councils of the German Empire to induce it, through the hand of Holland or more directly, to make any advance whatever which should infringe the complete freedom and neutrality of Belgium. To do so would simply be to seek and provoke a war with Britain and France on a vital issue.

For the rest, I still venture to hold and express the opinion that, provided the Belgian position not only is left untouched, but perhaps even slightly strengthened, the question of close diplomatic, dynastic, and commercial relations between Germany and Holland is purely the concern of the Governments and the peoples of Germany and Holland. We cannot forbid their marriage if no coercion is used and the Dutch bride is—as seems likely—desirous of the match. They are drawn together irresistibly as Scotland was to England and France to Savoy. But in the case of Belgium 'we forbid the banns.'

All persons of any nationality which has warlike tendencies should read a remarkable book recently published, *The Great Illusion*, by 'Norman Angell.'[1] Nothing that has been written has come so near proving successfully the futility of all great wars. It may not be possible to agree with the author in all his conclusions. For example, I still cling obstinately to the belief that of wars that were markedly *successful* in their ultimate results to the victorious nation, the 1870-1 war between Germany and France was the most striking instance. The German cause in that

[1] London: Wm. Heinemann. The pseudonym of 'Norman Angell' masks a thoughtful publicist who is at the very forefront of affairs and is peculiarly well acquainted with the affairs of Continental Europe.

war was the righteous one, which probably was the reason of its being justified by subsequent events. But the cause of Germany, if she were to go beyond the satisfaction of reasonable ambitions, would be the wrong one, and eventually she would suffer as dearly from her overweening ambition as have France and Russia, and as would the British Empire itself if its eyes became larger than its stomach. We have had one or two warnings in the way of sharp indigestion already, though we are perhaps more eupeptic than any other race.

Again, I do not agree with the extreme friends of peace and opponents of war in surmising that once we could restrain the ambitions of the Great Powers there would be peace and happiness throughout the world. No such millennium can or will be brought into existence until (1) in the fundamental sense the whole world has been converted to Christianity, by which I do not mean nonsensical dogma, as futile now as it always was to induce good minds or healthy bodies, but the principles first clearly enunciated to the human race in the teaching of Christ and one or two of His apostles and followers; and (2) till twentieth-century science is everywhere in favour and in power; and (3) till all parts of the world are, as far as unsubdued Nature permits, open to free and unrestrained travel and the interchange of commerce. These conditions cannot be achieved so long as there are 800,000,000 of black and yellow and of unregenerate white peoples opposed in their heart-of-hearts to a Europe and a North America which is at any rate trying to be Christian, which walks hand-in-hand with science, and which is imbued at the present time, more than any other section of the human species, with a passionate desire for well-being, for freedom, and for earthly happiness. It is against any proportion of these 800,000,000 possible recalcitrants that we must prepare and maintain such armaments as may be mutually agreed upon. But in this work it will be a crime against civilisation for one great white nation to fight another, or for one white empire, or group of empires, to claim an unfair preponderance in the affairs of the world.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

A 'KING EDWARD' BRIDGE

A MONUMENT to one we would honour. How best can we keep his memory green?

Over and over again through the world's history must this question have been asked by men of all races, in all climes; and various indeed have been the replies. At first it meant no more than the association of a name with some object supplied by nature—a tract of land, a stretch of water, or a mountain peak; filial piety or hero-worship, perhaps at times mere sycophancy, carrying on a tradition begotten of love and fear of strange gods and devils. By degrees the natural features were exhausted, and there began to arise monuments made of men's hands: the cairn, the shrine, the effigy. To-day, perhaps, we seek for something more. Our age is both material and full of purpose. Rich as we have become, there is a growing objection to the expenditure of large sums upon what is solely decorative. We agree that the appearance of our dead notables should be recalled to us, but we desire also to perpetuate their sympathies and carry on their labours, and we ask that our remembrance of them should stimulate us to some fresh advance.

What, then, should the capital of his dominions do to set up full in the sight of her citizens the noblest memorial to that great Londoner, King Edward?

There have been innumerable suggestions, of varying wisdom and futility; but the *Times* has brought forward and lent its support to one old scheme, often mooted for other reasons in the past, always shelved because of its size and reputed costliness, a proposal which would both transform the very heart of London and afford an opportunity for an artistic triumph. The advantages of this scheme I should like to elaborate, and its claims for consideration I would wish to press, for, once it could be shown to be feasible, it could hardly be believed that any other proposal could stand up against it.

Is there anyone who thinks that Hungerford Bridge and Charing Cross Station are worthy of their prominence? They occupy, they monopolise, to the exclusion of all other competitors, our finest site, where beautiful buildings and improved cross-river

facilities for all forms of locomotion are alike urgently demanded. The present uses of both are unquestionable, but might they not be still further increased? It is suggested now that they should either make way altogether, the station moving bodily to a more convenient position elsewhere, or that they should be included in one great reconstruction scheme which we could identify with the King's memory; and I head this article 'A "King Edward" Bridge' because a bridge worthy of the situation is the key of the whole idea; because, by linking it with the late King's name, we should obtain the impulse to start now what must be done sooner or later; and because it is impossible to imagine a more regal monument. But let it be borne in mind that the proposition does not stop with a bridge; that, though at the start it means no more than a new crossing of the river and a statue, this is only the beginning; and that we are founding on the belief that we have a right to call this the greatest of all London schemes because the effect it would have on the improvement of our city is so far-reaching that no other scheme could possibly compare with it.

When, however, we speak of improvement, let us be careful to understand what we mean by 'improving' any city. It is a very different thing from town-planning. As we sat a few weeks ago at the feet of the enthusiastic architects and professors who held forth on 'the making of the city,' our mouths watered. The sunny houses where every man, woman and child will get a sufficiency of light and air sound so pleasant. It is so eminently reasonable that all that is beautiful and inspiring should have free room to be seen, and that all that is ugly and depressing should be utterly banished or at least decently hidden from public view, so natural that we should have wide streets which will accommodate all varieties of traffic and expanses of park where grass and flowers and trees can grow and everybody disport themselves, that it seems incredible that our forefathers never thought of such things. If only the gospel of 'space' had been preached earlier! If only a little foresight had been shown! I know few things more saddening to anyone who cares for any great and expanding community than the study of old maps. They need not be so very old. London has increased a good deal even within the last twenty years, but within the last fifty her growth has been stupendous. Look to-day at her blocked exits and try to realise that in the early 'sixties any one of these great avenues for which we now sigh so hopelessly could have been brought in over open country to within two or three miles of the Bank or Charing Cross! Think that in the recollection of men of middle-age Battersea Park and Brompton Cemetery were surrounded by market gardens, that there were fields and hedgerows within a mile of London Bridge, of the Angel at Islington, of Lord's and of the Oval, and that Greenwich and

Sydenham and Hammersmith and Hampstead were neighbouring towns or villages! Alas for our lost opportunities! Far away, over the sky-line, we hear tell of the ideal suburb. Further still, outside the bounds of Greater London, men talk of ideal cities. For us it remains to treat with things as they are, not as they might have been.

And so we, whose main work must lie in the centre of it all, have to steel our hearts against the blandishments of those who talk light-heartedly of expenditure upon views and vistas, however entrancing these may sound. Necessities must come before luxuries. Our first duty is to rectify the lapses of the past. The objects of these new town-planners are our objects, but endless are the difficulties which we encounter in our attempt to attain to them. They deal with virgin soil. We have to destroy before we can reconstruct. And, unfortunately, bad as what we destroy may be, it is seldom any cheaper on that account. Where can we break fresh ground? There are times when we can steal a few forecourts or even a slice off a park to make a road, or sacrifice air-space to put up a fine building, but such opportunities are few and it is difficult to justify the use of them. As a rule we have to confine our so-called improvements to widening thoroughfares, five feet here, ten feet there. Do people realise how little in the one-and-twenty years of its existence the London County Council has been able to achieve; that it has only dared one novel improvement, and that that experiment in speculative finance has hampered its work for a decade? The experience of Kingsway is not encouraging, for two and a-half millions is a heavy load. Circumstances may have been against the Council. Perhaps its street runs the wrong way, or the Council took too large a recoupment area. Perhaps it was only that it miscalculated the time it takes to get rid of building sites, and all will come right in the long run. Anyway, where property is already valuable, for the present nothing short of another Great Fire will induce the Municipality of London to speculate in the hope of making it more valuable. But, where property is cheap, and where it is possible by foresight and careful co-operation to alter the class and character of a whole district, it is a different matter. There are very few cases of this kind, but I am going to describe one.

Many people, I fear, are woefully ignorant of the configuration of the town in which they live, and have a strange distaste for anything in the shape of a plan. But I would invite intelligent Londoners, who care for their city, who think of its past history and future convenience, who rejoice over it where it is splendid, and resent what makes it squalid, not only to follow me on a map,[1]

[1] The reader may be referred to the six-inch Ordnance Map (London, Sheet VII., S.W.).

but, if possible, to think out for themselves on the ground itself some of the points which I am going to raise. And it would be impossible that they could begin better than by a bird's-eye view. Anyone who has not climbed to the top of the Savoy Hotel or the Hotel Cecil and looked out upon the river has missed what is perhaps the most impressive *coup-d'œil* over a city which the world can show. The effect is finest by night, but to spy out the land it would be better to go at high noon. For what a panorama it is! To the right the towers of Westminster, where sits the Mother of Parliaments, to the left the dome of St. Paul's. Between them that magnificent curve of the river, a mile or more on either hand, one bridge rising above another. And still there is something wrong. Why are the palatial buildings all on the one bank? What is the matter with the other? What crime has it committed? And if we descend from our lofty eyrie and take our way along the Embankment in either direction, this question oppresses us. Cross over any of the bridges—the longest is less than a quarter of a mile—and we find a different world, another complexion of life. How is this? The land is the same, for both are reclaimed from the Thames marshes. Why should the people and their callings be so different? But a step or two away we left behind us all that spoke of wealth and comfort. Is it fitting that here all should be either slum or mud?

Now, there are many curious things about this block of possibly useful but certainly mean and undecorative property, dumped down, as it were, to shame us at the climax of London; but perhaps the most remarkable of all is the fact that it is London's actual centre. If you doubt that it is the geographical centre, take a ruler and compasses, and measure. If you doubt that it is, even already, the traffic centre, match it against any other place for its possibilities of convenience of access. We know that in every town there must be places where we expect to find a poorer class of building, that of necessity there must always be yards where stonemasons labour and wood merchants store their timber, and unsavoury spots where rubbish and refuse are dealt with. Still, is it not surprising to find such things at the heart of a great city? Does it not look as though we were wasting value? Surely there must be something radically wrong in our town-planning when a direct line drawn from the Houses of Parliament to the Guildhall will intersect endless premises of this nature, including many acres assigned as a rendezvous for municipal dust-carts. And so it appears that we have here to our hand, just where we need it most, something crying out to us to lavish upon it our new-born zeal for re-planning; something bad and poor and plain, which may be made good and rich and comely, if it can only be touched by

the magic wand. That magic wand is fashion! Do not laugh. This is a true saying, and, what is more, a saying that can easily be proved; for the fairies have been at work already.

Why should South London not be fashionable? They tell us that, in Plantagenet times, when the river was the principal thoroughfare, this despised southern bank had its share of palatial buildings. To-day the Archbishop's residence alone remains, not only as the one palace but as the only ancient house of name and fame. But, though we have little of the past to aid us, soon we shall see, rising above its embankment wall, something dignified though new, a presage of the future, the workshop in which the London County Council proposes to continue its labours; and it is because I believe that posterity will hail this Council invasion as epoch-making for London, that I think it worth while to recall the circumstances which led up to it. Eight years ago the Council had already been long looking for a home. There was no question but that its municipal activities had outgrown Spring Gardens, and it had to move on. The only difficulty was, whither should it go? The Committee who were responsible at length fixed on a site at the Adelphi. But when they brought up their proposal a private amendment was moved from the benches which were then called 'Moderate,' our arguments being that, while the Adelphi site was vastly costly and inelastic, south of the river, almost facing Parliament, was a site not only capable of expansion but as central and infinitely cheaper. And then an odd thing happened. Mr. John Burns, the beloved of Battersea, the high priest of æstheticism, forgetting alike the claims of the south side and how water adds to the charm of any architectural conception, disowned his own bank of the Thames. Brushing aside with his customary rigour our scruples of economy, and accusing us of trying to draw a red herring across the track, he declared that never should the London County Council be driven across the river for want of money. And so our amendment was ruthlessly voted down. But we were not at the end of the odd occurrences of that day; for, as the evening drew on, London was saved from a bad blunder by the fact that, while fifty members voted for the Adelphi site, fifty also voted against it; and thus the proposal of the Committee was declared not carried. And then, less than three years later, Mr. Burns's red herring, as he was reminded in the Council, 'came home to roost,' for the majority themselves adopted the Lambeth site, and the re-development of South London had begun. I am confident that no one now realises the value of the decision then taken more joyfully than does Mr. Burns, or will work harder than he will to render it the beginning of a great success.

Now I have said that one of our arguments in 1902 was that the site we proposed in Lambeth was no less central than that at the Adelphi. This statement caused a good deal of surprise. We

proved it then by actual measurement, but we also made our case stronger by showing how accessible and how fashionable it was going to become. Let us now again lay stress upon this point of accessibility, remembering also that in 1902 we were talking of a small site of six acres adjoining Westminster Bridge, while in 1911 we are discussing the importance of a block of land 164 acres in extent, perhaps the whole, certainly the greater portion, of which may be classed as an improvable area. This block is bounded on the north and west by the river, on the east by Blackfriars Road, and on the south by the line of the New Cut, Lambeth Lower Marsh, and Westminster Bridge Road. In shape it is a quarter-segment of a circle. Note, then, that the South-Western Station occupies its middle, that there is a Tube direct to the City, that the Bakerloo and District Railways—the latter with stations just across all the bridges—link it up with every traffic point in the north and west, and that it is the hub of the wheel of the London County Council tramway system.

In London we have long wanted some convenient place for traffic intercommunication, a clearing house for passengers and personal luggage, even perhaps for the lighter classes of goods. Railway systems must have their terminal stations, but there are many theories as to how these can best be arranged so as to serve a great city.

Some say that the happiest arrangement would have been had all our long-distance trains run into—or, better still, run through—one colossal railway quarter. So far as the northern part of London is concerned, this has long been impossible, and probably the arrangement which has grown up, by which they string round an irregular oval and rely on other methods of intercommunication, is the last word in the matter. But in the southern half, where the number of passengers can never be so large, we have almost got this railway quarter already, and if the South-Eastern Railway could see their way to fall into line, moving their main station back across the river to the hinterland near Waterloo, a junction would be formed which would serve all England south of the Thames. Let us consider what the result might be.

From first to last we are working on the belief that, if there are no overwhelming disabilities, any place which can be easily got at must have exceptional value. Here is such a place, left out, forgotten as it were in the development of London, and, far from its disabilities being overwhelming, its potential advantages are immense. It comes to this: Our block of land is the most central and, if one thing were done, the most accessible, spot in London; while the uses to which it is put and the buildings which cover it do not bring out its full value. Being blessed with a mile of river frontage, it has incomparable opportunities for architec-

tural and decorative treatment. Noting both these advantages, the London County Council have already pitched their tents there. They have migrated across the Thames as a hundred years ago the crowded-out citizens of the neighbouring capital of Scotland migrated across the Nor' Loch. Is it not as certain as can be that in London, as in Edinburgh, others will wish to follow?

But even now we have not mentioned the strongest point of all. If we are going to improve property, it is well to ask who are the owners of that property. In congested towns all reconstruction must depend on the answer to this question, for there are always three ways in which improvements can be carried out: first, by the owners of the property looking after their own interests; secondly, by local authorities working for the good of, but also at the expense of, the community; thirdly, by co-operation between these two. Everyone who has studied the progress of London knows that, where land is held in large blocks, either by individuals or corporations, and let on long leases, the first system works well. The great landowners were the only people in the past who grasped the need for town-planning, and the traditions of their estates continue. As leases fall in the new houses erected are always better in every way than the old. There is a healthy competition. If only all the land in London were owned in blocks of a hundred acres, how easy it would be to make it a more finished city! On the other hand, where properties are very small, and even more when individual houses are freehold, all reconstruction becomes difficult and vastly expensive. Nothing is done privately, and uniformity can only be secured and comprehensive schemes can only be carried out by stringent by-laws and a wide use of compulsory powers on the part of the local authorities. There remains the third method, hitherto little used, when a combination of public and private interests working together for mutual advantage may accomplish great results. The present seems an excellent occasion for trying this last.

For it happens that this block of land is exceptionally well held. More than half of it—and that the more important half—is nearly equally divided between three most respectable corporations, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Duchy of Cornwall, and the South-Western Railway; and there are other large holders. If we look along the river bank from Westminster Bridge we find the County Council with 350 yards of frontage; then Jesus College, Oxford, with 200 yards; the Commissioners with 250 yards; and the Duchy with 400 yards. Think what is in the power of these last three, what it would mean to London if they would follow the Council's lead and deal worthily with this line! From Lambeth to the Temple the Thames would be transfigured. Can we not tempt them? I believe we can.

To begin with, we are proposing that they should have thi
bridge with a great road leading over it right into the traffic qu
in their midst, and then on to the south. If the situation is
justice to, it may well be the most magnificent bridge in the
world, and the sites about it could hardly fail to share in this
nificence. We know the price of the land at the one end.
we doubt the future price at the other? Therefore, by givin
property direct access to the wealthier side, we are puttin
the fashion and appreciating it. But I believe we can do
more, that we can actually add to its area, that we can creat
land for them, calling it out of the river.

It would be difficult in these days to trace the ancient
of the Thames, but we know that it ran through swampy g
and that large tracts now covered with buildings were once
logged meadows and morass. Even within the memory of
of us thirty-seven acres have been reclaimed on the nortl
between Westminster and Blackfriars. The width of the
on this stretch was at that time considerably reduced. Is
any reason why this reduction should not be carried further
distance from bank to bank at these different bridges var
follows :

Westminster	270 yards
Hungerford	318 ,,
Waterloo	366 ,,
Blackfriars	278 ,,
Southwark	230 ,,
London	260 ,,
Tower	280 ,,

If 280 yards will accommodate the water at the Tower
surely 366 yards higher up at Waterloo is unnecessary.
arguing thus, when the Council commenced to build its C
Hall, it asked and obtained permission of the Thames Conse
to build out over the mud, and, advancing its emban
wall seventy yards in front of the spot where the old Roman
boat was found buried where it had sunk, thereby added tw
to its site. May I suggest that if the Port Authority, whi
succeeded to the duties of the Conservancy, chose to ass
proposal, it might show itself equally complaisant further
If it said that in its opinion 280 yards was wide eno
Waterloo, more than twenty acres might be reclaimed, of
Jesus College might gain three, the Commissioners five, a
Duchy as much as ten. Here is an opportunity of real pec
advantage. And what do we ask of them in exchange
eighteen acres can be added to their holding, surely among
on their back, and so less valuable land, much of which is a
scheduled for alteration, they can find space towards a re-h

of the South-Eastern Railway, as also for the approaches to the bridge which will do so much to open out their territory.

Civic patriotism is a virtue which we all extol, but, in a complex community like London, it is apt to run in ruts. This is natural, for our sympathies are as varied as are our problems. Some people are very local, others have only one idea, and, where really important bodies are numerous, there must be clash of interests. There is often a lack of consultation, bringing in its train trouble and waste of money; there is even sometimes a danger of petty jealousies preventing any combination for the public good. When, therefore, we are suggesting that a great scheme should be carried out by co-operation for mutual advantage, we have to look very carefully at the possible co-operators, and consider how each would be affected by it.

Now the London County Council, as representing the great mass of Londoners, is affected by all London improvements. It generally pays for them, and sometimes gets pecuniary advantage out of them in an increased rateable value. But in this case it has also a personal interest. It began the movement, it has started out on an adventure, and it assuredly looks to others for support.

It should be unnecessary to point out to the Borough Council of Lambeth how immensely its ratepayers would be benefited, and how the status of the borough would rise. I fear that even when we reach the millennium the wealthier communities will have precedence. Can it be doubted also that, more indirectly, all South London would profit?

Nothing that still further attracts to Charing Cross can be other than to the advantage of the City of Westminster. It is assumed that the fine buildings which would be erected to the right and left of the road leading out onto the bridge would amply compensate her for the lost rating of the larger station. Beyond that, it was shown long ago that, if a proposal on these lines came to fruition, a branch road might cross the Strand, and, circling round the back of St. Martin's Church, come to ground opposite the National Portrait Gallery. Such a road would give the Piccadilly, Regent Street, and Oxford Street traffic a clear run to the south, while it need in no way be ugly. If it were carried over a finely constructed arch, that arch would also make a triumphal entry to a then uncongested Strand.

The South-Western Railway would be immense gainers. In 1906 Sir John Taylor, of the Office of Works, pointed out that a bridge at this spot would greatly reduce the blocks both at Wellington Street and in Westminster, for that most of the southern traffic which came across Westminster and Waterloo Bridges turned right and left handed, intending to pass by Trafalgar

Square, and so perforce going round two sides of a triangl would make Waterloo Station half a mile nearer for most lers, while the heavy climb to its platform levels up steep gra would be obviated. The Company may also have super property which they wish to dispose of.

As regards the over-river property-owners generally, I that, in describing the position of the larger corporations, equally shown how all would reap their reward. But I w prevent any possible misconception. Though this bridge be built as soon as possible, the further development wo carried out over a long series of years. It ought therefore easy to arrange that there should be no hardship to leaseh It comes to be a question of laying down one governin embodying all the modern contrivances for city constructio arranging with the greater landowners to co-operate in rebu according to that idea as leases fall in. That, in old and ened cities, is the nearest we can ever get to town-pla without an inexcusable waste of money.

The Port of London Authority has only lately come into and its responsibilities are heavy. So much depends up unobstructed flow of the Thames that it is bound to look jealous eye on any proposal to curtail its breadth. I under however, from engineering experts that a tidal river would n by such canalisation as is suggested.

The City of London can only be said to be interested extent that she is always the first to assist anything which for the glory of London. But she is the greatest of b builders, and is so fortunate as to be possessed of large fund cated to that purpose. There used to be an idea that this must be expended within her precincts; but the Tower Br outside the City boundaries. It is certain that if she were a to make another splendid gift to the Metropolis, Parliament grant her the necessary powers.

Purposely I have left to the last the South-Eastern Ra Of all the possible co-operators they have the most at Would it or would it not suit them to agree to any proposal kind? Questions of railway policy are not for amateur certain facts are within the knowledge of every man in the This Company have now got four stations north of the Tha well as four bridges to maintain, and it is rumoured th Directors have already considered reducing these nu I notice that the last new town-planner would prop relieve them not only of Charing Cross, but also of Cannon and Holborn, together with all their connecting railway But, without going up into the clouds, would they not b pared to make some kind of a deal? Two ways hav

suggested by which the results we aim at might be achieved, more or less. By the first, the station and all its trains might be bodily transplanted to some spot in the vicinity of Waterloo, and a new road-bridge built to give free access to both stations on the high level. By the second, the station might be retained as it is, arrangements being made by which the grim ferocity of Hungerford Bridge could be toned down or masked, and other traffic besides railway traffic could cross by it. But is there not a third alternative? We can all understand the feelings of a Railway Board, smarting under the crippling of their suburban traffic by tramways and motor omnibuses, when they are told that their station should go back across the river in order to give facilities for their rivals to take their place. Most of the Charing Cross traffic is suburban, and, for suburban traffic, steam will soon be a thing of the past. The new suburban train will require little platform-room, and be less cumbersome and no more dangerous or ugly than a line of tramcars or omnibuses. Surely it would be possible to build a bridge, perhaps two-storied, which would bring across the river these trains as well as all other forms of traffic. The present station stands over five acres, but I believe the Company own land outside it. If the long-distance trains were dealt with in a station south of the river, which could be made capable of expansion, there would be room at Charing Cross for both the suburban station and a new road, as well as for large building developments. The Company could sell their surplus northern land well. We should try to help them to buy new southern land cheap. Might they not gain by the deal?

So we arrive at this: To some of those whom I have suggested as possible co-operators, and more especially to this Railway Company, it must be mainly a matter of business. With the best will in the world, they are bound first to consider the interests of their shareholders or beneficiaries. To others it is simply a question of endeavouring to further the common weal. Is it worth anybody's while to try to discover a basis of agreement?

At the beginning of this article I spoke of an 'impulse.' In order to carry through any proposal which is difficult and not new, an *instant* reason must be advanced. Otherwise, however desirable it may be, from year to year the changes will continue to be rung on all the arguments making for delay. Let us turn again to the heading 'A "King Edward" Bridge.' London is wishful to dedicate something to the late King's memory. I have attempted to outline the material benefits which would accrue to us all could such a bridge be built, and to indicate the various bodies financially interested; for there is no use wasting pen and

ink on such ideas unless they can be canvassed as business propositions. It remains to show that it will be a suitable memorial.

At the moment, here in London, we find ourselves face to face with two new duties. Firstly, Parliament has passed, by the help of both parties, its initial Town-planning Bill, and we have lately seen a Conference, crowded with social reformers representing all nations, considering how the provisions of this Bill can be most usefully set in motion. We, at the heart of the British Empire, are bound to give the subject our close attention. If it were possible for us to give the lead, our example would make itself felt in every congested city. Have we not in this block in South London a spot ripe for experiment? Secondly, deny it who may, conciliation and co-operation are in the air. In all the activities of life, the need of both is being brought home to us, often by bitter experience. And when we come to talk of town-planning, we see that nothing far-reaching will ever be accomplished in that direction unless the principle of acting in combination for mutual advantage is admitted. We suggest, therefore, a great experiment in co-operative work. Surely, in the case of both these experiments, if they could be carried to a triumphant conclusion, their triumph would be worth linking with the name of King Edward?

Then we turn to the methods by which this particular experiment in improvement is to be made financially successful. We rely on a bridge to do this, because we believe that a bridge would actually create fresh value, making things possible which are now impossible. But this last does not apply only to the material aspect. There are things which no money can buy.

Who will deny the charm of any river? It is a living thing. Away in its upper waters, young and fresh and limpid, it burbles to us of the secrets of the hills and of the springs of life. Down in its lower reaches it is older and sterner, for in its pilgrimage it has seen many things. And then, when it comes to the limit of the tides, its mystery is deepened, for daily it tastes of the boundlessness and the lawlessness of the sea. There is no spot on earth where a river is not an asset, and in London the Thames is our greatest asset. Whistler knew this, and to the painter who is not an architect and is steeped in his own art perhaps we cannot improve on the red-sailed barges or the wet mud and unkempt outlines of the Surrey side. Turner would have revelled in that forbidding mass of Hungerford Bridge, with the smoke and steam bellying up above it. But we who deal with mundane affairs have to think; do we value it as we should, do many now look at it because they love it, and do we put it to its fullest uses? Remember how we are always crying out for 'space,' and declaring

that save in our parks we can never get away from our buildings to look at them; and here is our greatest space, our noblest opportunity, and our city stretches along either bank, with riches on the one side and poverty on the other, but nowhere sits astride of it. Imagine what we lose! Why should this be? Go to that little-frequented corner-room in the Royal Academy, where the unfortunate architects expose to public view the elevations of the buildings they are erecting in London. You can see them there hung on a wall. Few of them will you ever be able to see in stone or bricks and mortar. In our streets there is no room. Who, when they talk of the architecture of Somerset House, thinks of aught but the river front?

And so we might wander on, retailing the endless possibilities; telling of the great arcaded buildings which might rise steeply out of the water, of the Embankment walk, of the pleasant gardens where trees and flowers could grow and children play. But is it necessary? Anyone can paint what that neglected Surrey bank might become if a great bridge were thrust out to join hands with it and bring it custom. And might not the bridge itself be fitly royal?

'The King is dead, long live the King!' But still those who recall the tremor that shook London only eight years ago, when our then new King Edward was smitten down on the eve of his Coronation, and, carrying on the remembrance of the curiously respectful affection which grew up among his subjects throughout those too short years, arrive at that evening last spring when we were told that he lay dying, know well that something about him, perhaps his sheer humanity, had captured all classes in his capital. The crowds that surged about the palace gates, ever and again casting their eyes upwards to see if the flag still flew at the top of the mast, were by no means the typical West-Enders. They had come from all parts. For them no statue, however nobly it may be fashioned, however proudly it may be displayed, will suffice. The test and the safeguard of kingship is that it should touch and rest on the imagination of a people. In his lifetime King Edward was famed for his wide sympathies. He had the reputation of taking an interest in the well-being of all his subjects, rich and poor alike. You can raise a statue anywhere; you can move it anywhere. In our history royal statues have been both moved and destroyed; even re-christened. But if once a nation grips on to an idea and harnesses it to something tangible in its everyday life, that idea will remain.

He loved a splendid London. Under his eye was rising the monument of his revered mother, and beyond it the great new road laid out for pageantry. Surely we might continue this royal way; and, if so, should not our object be to embrace all

peoples and all nations? For Edward the Peacemaker was cosmopolitan in the best sense of the word.

In war-time the frontiers of Britain are the shores of her enemies. In peace-time her gates may well be where kings go to meet kings. To-day her portals are her great London termini, and, coming from the South and from the East, from the whole Old World, our visitors must cross our river.

Everyone knows the value of an entry, and of a first impression. Would it not be something so to arrange that all new-comers, as London bursts upon them, should exclaim, 'How fine!'; and then—when they know that the bridge is called by King Edward's name—'How worthy!'?

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

THE MARRIED WORKING WOMAN

A STUDY

II

There is no doubt that the insistent demand of to-day that something shall be done to improve the life conditions of the masses arose from the sudden realisation of the physical defectiveness of the rising generation. The report for the year 1909, just published, of Dr. Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, will not tend to reassure the public. Taking the whole number of children attending the elementary schools as 6,000,000, he estimates that 10 per cent. suffer from defective sight, 3 to 5 per cent. from defective hearing, 8 per cent. have adenoids or enlarged tonsils and require surgical treatment, and that from 20 to 40 per cent. show defective teeth. In the 'forties and 'fifties Lord Shaftesbury was looked upon as a sentimental fool for troubling himself or anybody else about the child-workers in the mills and mines. Their fate was not seen to affect the national fortunes. The poet Southey tells in a letter of a manufacturer who with great pride took a friend over his large and well-appointed mill, and who, on pointing to the children collecting cotton-waste on the floors, remarked with calm regret that few would live to grow up, as their lungs would become choked with fluff. It never occurred to an employer of that date that, for his private profit, he was robbing the community of the wealth-producers of the future, and just as surely was creating a class of 'unemployables' for it to support.

Since those days social consciousness has developed, and people are dimly perceiving that we are all members of one another, and that if one member suffers the whole body suffers with it; but there is still in many quarters a persistent refusal to recognise facts. Men of high repute lament publicly the spread of humanitarianism, which, they declare, is only perpetuating the unfit by feeding the child of the loafer and of the drunkard at the expense of the steady and industrious. They do not, however, face the logical conclusion of their own arguments. If the

scores of thousands of children fed in the schools last winter are really a danger to the State, it would surely be more statesmanlike and less cruel to provide officially for their painless extinction than either to leave them to a miserable death behind the scenes from slow starvation, or to expose them to such conditions that, though they may not actually die, they must inevitably become even worse human material than their parents.

But, in truth, the offspring of the drunkard and of the loafer form but a small part of the problem confronting the school doctor.

The applicants to the Distress Committees under Mr. Long's Act, taken as a whole, are doubtless considerably below the mental and moral level of workmen who manage to exist on their own resources, and yet experience shows that between 70 and 80 per cent. of those who apply are industrious and steady men.

The anxiety about the children's physique arises, no doubt, from different reasons in the case of different persons. The capitalist fears a decrease in his labour supply; the military authorities think of their recruits; the Socialists see an opportunity of organising a millennium on their own pattern, with themselves as directors. Other folk merely obey the natural instinct to ward off immediate suffering from the innocent and helpless, without looking farther ahead. But the remedial schemes put forward all agree in this—that they absolutely ignore the opinions and experience of the one class in the nation which has first-hand knowledge of the matter in question. It may, therefore, be useful to show how some of the proposals appear in the eyes of such typical working women as those the writer has learnt to know at No. 39.[1]

First, as to the provision of free meals in the schools. Each year a larger number of the mothers take advantage of the dinners. The pressure of the home behind them is practically irresistible, but the system excites neither enthusiasm nor gratitude. It is not the solution of the problem of the poverty-stricken child that appeals either to their moral or to their common sense. The English lower classes have so little power of expression, and so often use what language they possess to conceal their thoughts, that it is not easy to find out what they really think and why they think it; but the lukewarm attitude of the women towards the free meals system seems to be due to the following considerations. First, they are sincerely apprehensive of the demoralisation of the men if the responsibility of the children's food is lifted from the shoulders of the fathers. This was voiced by one woman, who said, 'Feeding the children won't do us any good. Our husbands will only say, "You don't

[1] *Vide* the writer's first article on this subject in last month's *Nineteenth Century and After.*

want 20*s*. a week now; you can send the children to the dinners and do with 17*s*. 6*d*.,"' and the whole meeting agreed that this was only to be expected. When the work is of a casual nature, neither wife, nor Children's Care Committee, nor the London County Council organiser, has any means of ascertaining the man's actual income; if he declares he is only working two or three days a week, no one can gainsay him. The women realise how hard their husbands' lives are, and how many small easements could be secured with an extra half-a-crown as weekly pocket-money, and they know it is absurd to expect average husbands and fathers to resist the temptation of lessening the household's demands on their thinly-lined pockets. No class in the nation could stand such a test, as the whole history of endowments shows. But the women, with good cause, dread anything which weakens the link between the breadwinner and his home.

Secondly, the members of No. 39 are convinced that the provision of school meals does lead to an increase of drinking habits among a certain class of mothers, and they support their opinions by citing instances from their own streets. They point out that there are many women who are not, on the whole, bad parents, and who would not spend money in the public-house that was needed for the children's dinners, but who cannot resist the temptation of securing an extra two or three glasses of beer if their little ones do not thereby directly suffer.

They also quote cases where the feeding of the younger members has enabled that scourge of the working-class home—the loafing grown-up son—to live on his family.

Thirdly, the women have a vague dread of being superseded and dethroned. Each of them knows perfectly well that the strength of her position in the home lies in the physical dependence of husband and children upon her, and she is suspicious of anything that would tend to undermine this. The feeling that she is the indispensable centre of her small world is, indeed, the joy and consolation of her life.

Again, the women resent the moral strain of having thrust on them a perpetual struggle between their consciences and their pockets, and the continual irritation of knowing that less scrupulous neighbours are securing help which would be very welcome to themselves. 'Of *course*, we could all *do* with the meals,' say our friends at No. 39; 'if you spend a bit less on food, there's a bit more for coals and boots; and if your big girl falls out of work, you can feed her on what you save on the little ones.'

No one can deny that it is unfairly trying to Mrs. X, who has made a desperate effort to keep her family all the week on a totally insufficient sum, to know that Mrs. Y, no worse off than

herself, has applied for the school meals, and therefore has been able to provide Mr. Y with a hot dinner on Sunday, the absence of which Mr. X will resent.

Notwithstanding the immense strength of their maternal instincts, the cry of 'the hungry child' appeals very little to the members of No. 39. Nothing so rouses them to passionate indignation as ill-treatment of, or cruelty to, the young, but they do not much believe in the existence of the absolutely starving child. 'No,' they say, 'it isn't often that a child goes downright hungry; someone will always give it a bit.' Their experience teaches them that there are other and more common reasons than underfeeding for the physical troubles of the children, and in this connexion it is interesting to note that the Chief Medical Officer's report for the twenty-one months ending the 31st of December 1908 to the Education Committee of the London County Council stated that malnutrition in children may arise from upward of twenty causes, of which deficiency of food, either in quantity or quality, is only one; and, further, that there is no direct connexion between bad nutrition and anæmia.

The conviction of working-class women that it is better for a child to be brought up in even a very poor home where there is kindness than to be reared in the best equipped institution is often startling to people belonging to the more materialised grades of society. The Mrs. C alluded to in my previous article took into her family her husband's orphaned nephew, aged three. Her life for years has been a desperate struggle with sickness and poverty, and she was asked to consider whether she was acting in the child's best interests. 'When he is older,' she replied, 'I shall be obliged to let the Guardians have him; but I can't let a baby like that go where there is no woman to love him, as long as I can find a bit for his mouth.'

The women take little account of the economic side of the question of free meals—that these are practically grants in aid of wages, and so must inevitably depress the rate of earnings; but, as mothers, they resent the idea of having the children taken out of their own and their husbands' hands, having a firm conviction that they, if given the opportunity, will do better for their offspring than anyone else can or will. Their grievance is that parents, through the operation of causes beyond their own control, are so often deprived of the power of fulfilling their natural duties, and it is to this point that the women's political influence, if they had any, would be directed.

Again, our friends at No. 39 regard with amused contempt those theorists, who see a serious remedy for the defects of working-class homes in the development of cookery and housewifery instruction in the schools, though they take just the same

pride in Mary's being able to boil the potatoes or to starch a child's pinafore as the West End mother takes in her small daughter's ability to chatter French. The syllabuses of the cookery classes suggest many cheap and nourishing dishes, and these are readily bought up by the children and taken home as proofs of their skill, but one does not hear of the recipes becoming permanent additions to the family dietary. The mothers know they can do as well, or better, by adhering to their own methods of marketing and cooking. The difficulty lies not in the treatment, but in the procuring, of the raw material. Anyone can convince himself of this by glancing at the returns of the Poor Law schools, in which, under the superintendence of the Local Government Board, cheap catering has been reduced to a science, and which have all the advantages of buying and cooking in large quantities. In the year 1906-7 the average cost per week of food and clothing per child amounted—

In the Central London District School to ...	3s. 5.73d.
In the North London District School to ...	2s. 9.61d.
In Bermondsey Cottage Homes to	3s. 9.15d.

Now the plutocrats at No. 39 are those women with small families who receive regularly from their husbands 22s. a week. After providing, however, for rent, insurance, coal, gas, wood, soap, all unavoidable weekly outgoings, even they do not have left more than 12s. or 13s. for the food and clothing of from five to six people, including two adults; that is, at best, little more than two-thirds of the amount found necessary in the schools for children alone. Less fortunate women do not have more than one-half. The members do not, of course, deny the existence of waste and mismanagement; in fact, they tend, rather self-righteously, to dwell on these faults when seen in their neighbours; but they are clear as to the usual cause. 'Where you see waste,' they say, 'you will almost always find drink,' and though the cookery classes are undoubtedly popular, the women, notwithstanding that few of them are personally teetotalers, would have more faith in an early-closing measure and in a decrease in the number of public-houses as a remedy for foolish and extravagant housekeeping.

The best criticism, perhaps, on the housewifery teaching was the reply of a small girl who was asked if the lessons had helped her in her first place. 'At the school they teach you how to do the saucepans and the sink beautiful, but you could never do them like that in service; no missis would let you take the time.' Much less is there leisure for elaborate processes in the ordinary workman's home. Rougher and readier, if not less effective, measures have to be adopted.

One feels that the proposed baby-minding classes will, in all probability, lay themselves open to something of a like reproach. Teachers, anxious to satisfy the inspector and to propitiate the doctors, whose maxims the community at large do not in other respects attempt to follow, will insist on plans and methods which never could be carried out in a home where the mother is caterer, cook, laundress, sempstress, and charwoman, as well as nurse. Still, it is easy in every department of life to reduce the ideal to within the limits of the practical, and there is much knowledge of human nature in the old exhortation to aim at the moon if one wants to hit the church steeple. No opposition will come from the mothers as regards domestic economy teaching, though they know that the troubles of their homes are not to be thus easily cured.

Quite different is their attitude towards another scheme for improving working-class conditions. The proposed raising of the school age to fifteen, and the limitation of hours (and therefore of pay) of young people under eighteen, though it finds favour in the eyes of men of all social grades, fills the women with helpless dismay. Now it is quite true, as Mr. Sidney Webb has so earnestly pointed out, that the present system of exploiting boy-labour is sapping the mental and physical vigour of the nation. The lads are employed during cruelly long hours —hours only possible because they draw on their balance at the bank of life and there exhaust their credit. The women acknowledge this, but the immediate question before each housekeeper is not what sort of a citizen her boy will be at the age of twenty-one, but how she is to satisfy his demand for food in the immediate present. It is no use telling her that the decrease of boy-labour will, proportionately, increase the demand for men's labour. Industrial history lends but little support to this assertion; but, even supposing it to be true, the mother has not the least guarantee that her husband will be one of the beneficiaries, whereas she is perfectly sure that as the children grow older they will become more expensive to keep, and that it is beyond human powers to make her weekly money provide another ounce of food. Even the labour leaders fail to realise how entirely the burden of the family among the lower grades of workers falls on the wives. The man gives what he can afford or what he considers adequate, and the wife has to make it suffice. Any increase in the family expenses only touches the father after every other member has been stinted. As the income of the family depends entirely on his health and strength, this is not unreasonable. Nor can he be expected to relinquish his few small luxuries. The members of the Lodge reported considerable dissatisfaction among their husbands over the increased tax on tobacco under the Budget of

1909. When asked what other impost would have been preferred, the women replied, 'The men would rather have had it on the tea or on the sugar; *we* should have had to pay that; the halfpenny on the ounce of tobacco comes out of their bit.' Mr. Chamberlain knew quite well what he was talking about when he declared that working men would not mind a small increase in the price of the necessaries of life. True, for it would be paid by their wives. In the political helplessness of the women lies the hope and the chance of the Tariff Reformer.

Opponents of the extension of the franchise to working women may be presented with the following admission. If these women had had the vote, the school age in London could not have been raised to fourteen without very important modifications of the scheme. A short calculation will show that, as regards hundreds of thousands of women, the compulsory keeping back for twelve months of each successive child from entering the labour market was practically an income tax of from 20 to 25 per cent. levied on the bare subsistence income—a demand no enfranchised class would stand for a moment.

The politician, the philanthropist, and the educationalist seized the opportunity of carrying a reform urgently needed in the interests of the whole community, but wrung the greater part of the cost out of the flesh and blood of the mothers. Doubtless an apparently cheap bargain, but of the sort for which a nation pays dearly in the long run. Healthy and happy homes cannot be built up on the physical and moral misery of the home-makers.

Probably few people realise into what intolerable positions the unrepresented working-class mother is being constantly driven by the lawgivers of the country. Take, for instance, a common experience of a 'Notice B' Committee. For the benefit of the uninitiated, it may be explained that, in order to reduce to a minimum summonses for keeping children out of school, parents are first called before a committee of managers, assisted by certain officials, and given an opportunity of defending or of explaining the non-attendance. It is frequently the case that a woman sets forth that she has two children, aged respectively somewhere about three years and eighteen months; that the one three years old suffers from some ailment which involves constant attendance at the hospital, and that she cannot carry both the invalid and the baby. What is she to do? If she keeps an elder child at home to mind the infant, she is breaking the law. Nominally her husband is fined; practically it is she who will have to provide the money by selling, pawning, or starving. If she leaves the baby alone in the house, and it gets the matches, falls out of bed, or in any way fatally injures itself, the mother is hauled up before the magistrate, and, at the very least, is held up to public obloquy as an unnatural wretch. If she refuses to take the child

to the hospital—the only means she can afford of obtaining medical treatment and advice—she renders herself liable under the Children's Act of 1908 to prosecution for cruelty and neglect.

There are variations, of course, in the precise circumstances, but the central fact of them all is the same: the woman is ordered by the law to perform the impossible, and punished if she fails. Another example may be given. Not long ago a mother came before a committee and asked leave to keep her daughter from school one half-day in the week while she herself did the family washing. She explained that she lived in workmen's flats and that the washing had to be done on the roof. Her baby was a lively boy of twenty months, and she could not take him into such a dangerous place, nor dared she leave him alone in her room. A lady on this occasion was chairman and deeply sympathised, but felt bound to refuse the application. Half the mothers in the district were, some time or other, in a like predicament, and the education of the little girls could not be sacrificed to exigencies which were none of their making. Legally, indeed, she had no power to decide otherwise. As the woman left the room she exclaimed, with concentrated wrath, 'Well, Miss, I only hope you will have five children of your own and the washing to do yourself!'

The theory doubtless is that the father is the responsible party, and that failure to make proper arrangements for his family is visited on him. The responsibility of the father, however, among large sections of the population, is a mere legal fiction, and the administrators of the Education Act seldom allude to it. They know the men are helpless, out at work from dawn to dark, and earning far too small wages to allow of their providing domestic assistance for their wives. Still, as it is the officials' business to insist on the children going to school, they have devised a fiction of their own. They assume that there is among the poor an endless supply of neighbours endowed with the loftiest altruism who, without a fraction of pay, are always ready to neglect their own concerns in order to attend to a mother who is lying ill in bed, carry a baby to the hospital, or take charge of two or three troublesome children. To the everlasting credit of human nature this assumption materialises in fact oftener than anyone could expect, but the injustice is glaring. What right has the Government of the country, in order to save the trouble and expense of making proper arrangements, to extort unpaid services from the poorest of the poor by exploiting the pity which one downtrodden and harassed woman feels for another?

As regards the efficacy of the medical inspection of school children in districts like their own, the members of No. 39 are a little sceptical.

They still cling to their hereditary belief in the potency for good of 'a beautiful bottle of medicine,' but they perceive that no amount of medical advice from the school doctor, nor any number of visits from the school nurse, can do much for a child suffering in its home from a deficiency of air, space and light.

The task in London alone of supervising the health of hundreds of thousands of children is enough to appal the boldest, but it is being courageously tackled. The present scheme of the Council, however, whereby the voluntary character of hospital treatment is abolished as far as concerns children who have come under the school doctor, is being severely criticised. The Council points out in its circular of March 1910 that it is compelled by Act of Parliament to fix a charge for every case of medical treatment provided at the Council's expense, though it is not obliged to enforce payment in all cases. Considerable pains have been taken to adjust the scale of charges to the incomes, considered with reference to the liabilities of the wage-earner, and many of the families connected with No. 39 are poor enough to escape the new impost altogether. But even the minimum charge of fourpence for each attendance will be a strain on those mothers whose incomes are somewhat over the amount fixed for exemption from payment. The husband will not increase his weekly allowance to his wife because she has now to pay a hospital fee, and the money must be squeezed by her out of the housekeeping. In practice this usually means out of her own food. Our friends were asked what would happen if the husband were compelled to defray such extra expenses, compulsorily incurred on behalf of the children, out of the weekly cash he reserves for himself, and the answer was startling: 'If the Government tried to make the man give up his "bit" he'd chuck his job altogether.' One really cannot much blame the man. He works hard, and feels he has an indefeasible right to his clothes, boots, club-money, and to a few pence in his pocket. Unluckily for the women, their stake in the home is so great and too intimate for them to secure their similar rights by a similar threat; and of this fact our law-makers take full advantage.

Quite apart from the question of fees, attendance at the hospital with sick children involves the mothers in endless difficulties. The notes of No. 39 are full of the laments of the members over a system which often means sacrificing the whole family to the invalid. The woman's absence during the greater part of the day demoralises and disorganises the entire home. The other children go late to school, the place is not cleaned, the dinner is not cooked, the husband goes off to the public-house, and the grown-up son will perhaps take himself and his board-money elsewhere. It is therefore with keen regret that one reads of the

decision of the London County Council to develop and extend its present system of hospital treatment instead of establishing school clinics in the various localities.

The proposal, however, which strikes most terror to the hearts of the working women of the district is the threatened further limitation, shadowed forth by Mr. John Burns, of the married women's permission to work. They do not realise the political danger of such a prohibition, which would inflict a serious disability on their class and come perilously near repealing, as far as they are concerned, the Married Women's Property Act, but they know from their own life experience the wholesale ruin that would result, under the present industrial system, from the passing of such a law. There is scarcely a woman belonging to No. 39 but has kept her home together and saved her family by her almost incredible exertions during some prolonged disability of her husband. It is not that the women want to leave their homes. It may be different in the North of England, but in the district round No. 39 the hours are far too long and the pay far too small to tempt the mothers away from their children. They know too well how the latter suffer from their absence. The commonest of all explanations given of unsatisfactory sons is, 'When he was little I had to work, and there was no one to make him mind.' Nor do the children themselves ever forgive the loss of their natural home life. Some time ago the writer was pressing certain home truths upon a young wife who was wrecking her life by her undisciplined temper. The girl listened silently for some minutes and then burst out, 'You are too hard on me; you ought to remember that our family never had the same chance as other children, with mother sitting at the head of the table and us little ones gathered around her. She had to work for us and we had to play about in the streets till she came home with the food. What chance had I of being different?' Nevertheless, the women are appalled at the idea of their liberty of action in this matter being forcibly taken from them. To do this and to leave untouched the causes which drive them into the labour market seems to them about as wise a proceeding as trying to cure a broken leg by removing the splints. The bread-winner may be incapacitated by illness, or he may lose his work through bad seasons, the shifting of his trade, or the introduction of a new machine; or he may be a drunkard, or a loafer, or simply incompetent. In each case the proper course is to deal appropriately and efficiently with the man, not to pile disqualifications on his unfortunate wife.

It is, of course, contended that the loafer, and possibly the drunkard, would be driven to earn if his wife could not work. There is probably some truth in this, but to inflict a general dis-

ability on a whole class in order to meet the case of a small section of that class is surely a mark of careless and unintelligent law-making. Unfortunately, much of the legislation affecting women is of this character, and a moment's digression to illustrate this farther may perhaps be pardoned. Some time ago a sensational journalist thrilled the nation by drawing terrific pictures of dishevelled women sitting whole mornings in public-houses, while their infants crawled over the floor and picked up phthisis germs. The Children's Bill followed, forbidding babies to be taken into drinking bars. The members of No. 39 have no bowels of mercy where a bad mother is concerned; they would cheerfully consign her to the deepest dungeon for the rest of her days, but they think it unfair that the liberty of all should be curtailed because those who undertake to manage affairs are too stupid or too weak to deal with the guilty parties. Some of the women described how this clause in the Bill would affect them personally. Mrs. P. is a plucky little woman who is gradually reclaiming a drunken husband whom everybody else thought hopeless. She said: 'If I have his dinner ready punctually at half-past twelve and his glass of beer on the table, I can get him safe back to work for the afternoon. But if I can't go for the beer because of the baby in my arms he will have to go himself, and won't leave till he is fuddled.'

Mrs. B. said: 'The Bill will put a stop to our chief bit of pleasure. Our husbands now often take us on the trams or out into the country in the summer evenings; of course we have to take the babies. About nine o'clock or so the men want some refreshment, and we go and sit with them in a respectable public for half an hour, have a glass of beer or kola, and no harm is done. We are home by 10.30 P.M. But it will be very different if the men have to go in by themselves while we stand outside with the children, and it will end by our never going out with them at all.' As another example of harassing legislation we may quote the recent well-meant Act whereby expectant mothers, in the interests of the future citizens, are expelled from the factories. This means that the poverty-stricken woman—for no one who was not poverty-stricken would work in a factory at such a time—is deprived of means of procuring warmth and nourishment just when she most needs both. It did not occur to the Government to make any compensatory provision for the worker with whose liberty of action it was interfering. That would have meant expense.

But to return to married women and the labour market.

A very common reason for a wife's going out to work, perhaps the most common, is the fact that the man's wages alone are too small or too irregular for the family to live upon. Many extracts

showing this could be quoted from the Lodge diary; a single example must suffice. Mrs. W. said: 'I have been married twenty-two years and have never been away from home a single night. My husband has never missed a day at his work and has never had more than 24*s*. He has always given me 22*s*., but I had to help pay his clothes and clubs. My eldest boy was crippled seven years, and nursing him took a lot out of me. I have had nine children, of whom seven are alive. They are all good children and I have always kept them tidy. When I was "carrying" I used to work at the fur pulling. I never went on Saturdays, but I used to earn 12*s*. for the five days; out of that I paid 3*s*. to have my baby minded. I used to do my washing after I came home at night, and was often up till twelve or one.'

According to the scale of expenditure of the Poor-law Schools, to provide merely food and clothing for Mrs. W.'s children would absorb their father's wages, and no management, however good, could make 22*s*. suffice for the decent shelter and maintenance of nine people.

As in the case of boy labour, the women are, however, told that if they are withdrawn from the labour market the demand for men's labour will probably increase and wages rise. There may be some fragment of truth in this contention, though the Majority Report states that 'only one-fifth of the males of the country are engaged in trades where women enter, to the extent of 1 per cent. of the whole number of occupied females.'

But if anything could convert one to a demand for immediate womanhood suffrage it is such an argument as this. In the case of the brewer and of the landlord the greatest pains are taken that the public gain shall not be at the price of ruin to the individual, and every case of special hardship is carefully considered and met. But men, apparently, think it quite fair to say to gallant souls like Mrs. W.: 'If we keep you and your fellows off the labour market we expect, though without much ground for our belief, that within a few years the wages of the men alone will be about equal to what you and they together earn now. You must, therefore, cheerfully consent to surrender your personal interests and see your own children grow up half-starved and badly cared for.'

And this sacrifice of the individual is demanded by people who abhor the very name of Socialism!

It may, however, be fairly asked what method of improving social conditions does commend itself to the average working woman, seeing she has so little belief in the expedients offered her by an anxious Government.

Small as is the knowledge of politics or of economics possessed by the working-class wife and mother, she has studied life in a hard school, and knows quite well where her own shoe pinches.

What she wants is the general introduction of a system already existing in the case of 2,000,000 of English manual workers and of the whole Civil Service, and the adoption of which would only mean the extension of a principle already proved to give satisfactory results. Had the working women of England votes, politicians would find themselves irresistibly driven into gradually extending the rule of the living or minimum wage till it covered the whole field of industry, and there is little doubt that this solution of the social problem is not only ethically just, but economically sound.

Were this living wage secured to the worker, and the measure fortified by State insurance against unemployment, and by the establishment of fair-rent courts to prevent the increased income from disappearing into the coffers of the landlord, the present costly and clumsy machinery for school feeding, with its inevitable openings for abuses, could be abolished; neither the married woman nor the immature youth would be driven into the labour market, and there would be a clean sweep of all the evils accruing from the employment of these classes of workers; the drunkard and the loafer could be detected and dealt with, the school age could be raised without the risk of half-starving the families affected; mothers could afford to subscribe to co-operative school dispensaries; the ill-health of the workers and of their children, which is responsible for one-half of the huge total expenditure under the Poor Law, would be greatly diminished; and the condition of the woman of the mean streets would cease to wring the hearts of all who realise it.

So far from the concession of the principle of the living wage being a step on the road to Socialism, it would be the greatest barrier to the progress of that creed. English people do not yearn after equality; they have too little imagination to be envious of other people's luxuries, but they have the deepest attachment to their homes and families and are well content if things prosper within their own four walls. Nothing but the present intolerable industrial disorganisation could have rendered possible the Socialistic propaganda of the last few years among a nation of born individualists.

The shrinking from this natural solution of two-thirds of our social problems leads to extraordinary mental confusion. To cite an example. A Paper appeared in June 1908 in this Review by Mr. Montague Crackanthorpe, K.C., entitled 'Eugenics as a Social Force.' In this Paper the author exhorted the public to cease from the folly of taxing the rich to make the poor comfortable, and to employ its energies in teaching mothers how to guard their unborn babes and so diminish the *terrible infant mortality* of the poor, which, he stated, was *a matter of urgent public concern*.

The Paper then went on to speak with scorn of 'the right to work,' asserting that a man's primary right was the right to a chance of a healthy life. But the writer did not grasp the fact that no teaching would enable a woman to guard her unborn child if, through its father being out of work, the burden of maintaining the family fell upon her during her pregnancy, or that no baby, however vigorous at birth, would have any chance of growing up into a healthy man unless someone was able to provide it with the necessaries of life.

The 'Living Wage' formula rests on such obvious logic that any difficulty in defining the term is theoretical rather than practical, as the history of trades unionism shows. Any labour involves the expenditure of a certain amount of energy. To restore this to the worker a certain amount of rest, food, shelter, and clothing is necessary; no employer, using horses in his business, would dream of stinting his four-legged workers in their equivalent of the above. It would not pay him to do so. In order to ensure a supply of future workers the man's wages must enable him to maintain his family, and this expenditure should be the first charge on the cost of all production. If the sum paid as wages is insufficient to maintain the labourer and his family in physical and moral health, the employer, or sometimes the ground landlord, benefits at the expense of the general community, which has to make up the deficiency at immense expense by school meals, infirmaries, workhouses, asylums, and so forth.

It is urged that certain trades would disappear were the employers bound by law to pay adequate wages. This may or may not be true, but no one would argue that a parcels delivery company, for instance, should be enabled to throw part of the cost of the stabling of its horses on the general public because it could not otherwise pay a dividend. A trade that can only keep going by forcing the community at large to pay part of its costs of production—that is, part of its wages bill—is a loss to the country and had better vanish. Labour and capital are being wrongly applied. Often, indeed, it is the consumer who ultimately reaps the benefit of the unfairly low wage. Competition among the manufacturers passes the advantage on to him; but for the halfpenny he may thus save on his matches, or on his biscuits, he has to pay a penny in rates, taxes, or charity. It would be cheaper, as well as more honest, to pay the wages of the human worker as one does those of the equine, direct to the earner. The establishment of the principle of a living wage is the only reform which really appeals to the hearts and minds of the women of No. 39 and their compeers. They do not want charity nor rate aid, but they do claim that it should be put within a man's

power to keep his family. The standard of life would then rise automatically among the whole wage-earning class, and the dread of a degenerate nation would be a thing of the past.

This is not the place to deal with the undoubted difficulties which stand in the way of the adoption of this only honest remedy for our social troubles. It is obvious, however, that the unenfranchised condition of that part of the nation which has the keenest interest in the establishment of the 'Living Wage' theory is in itself an enormous obstacle. To do for the great body of workers what the trade unions have done for their members means alarming and antagonising numerous and powerful interests, and while women are politically helpless a reforming Government could obtain no counterbalancing support. In the meantime, to try and achieve something of the desired ultimate result, at the cost of harrying and harassing a voteless and voiceless class, is apparently a temptation that neither Tory nor Liberal, Labour man nor Socialist, can withstand.

ANNA MARTIN.

CARILLON MUSIC

The sound of bells has been called the 'laughter of music,' but there are times when it is the lamentation thereof and each far-flung note is a tear of melody. Indeed, it is the one or the other—or neither, but something between laughter and lamentation, according to the listener's mood—and it would perhaps be better to define bell-music (as we know it in this country) as an heavenly accompaniment to earthly emotions. The old monastic leonines, hexameters broken twice or even thrice with double rhymes,

> Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum;
> Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro;
> Funera plango, fulgura frango, sabbata pango;
> Excito lentos, dissipo ventos, paco cruentos . . .

sum up the medieval functions of bell-music, work out this definition in detail, and, at the same time, convey an impression of the solemn aerial cadences. It is true that we, living in an age of little faith, no longer toll our great bells or *signa* (as they are styled in monastic records) to break the powers of the lightning, or to disband the storm-winds, or to drive away an epidemic of disease. Nevertheless, we might set our bells to some of these antique tasks without incurring the scorn of scientific observers. After all, the booming of great bells might be as effectual in dispersing a gathering storm as is the firing of the wide-mouthed noise-guns which are used in southern wine countries to prevent the destruction by hail-fall of the ripening grapes. The wise old Benedictine monks, the only scientific farmers of their age, knew that the air-quakes caused by an 'Abbot of the Bell-tower' were an antidote to the sudden devastating storms of summer and early autumn. And in the same way the bluish reeking mist that was the visible contagion of the plague in the Midi and in Italy might be dissipated. And there is no sound more beautiful, more reassuring, than that of a great bell tolling steadily through the clamour and clangour of a thunderstorm. Once and once only have I heard this tremendous omen—on a summer evening in

Oxford many years ago, when Great Tom of Christ Church was sounding his solemn curfew as a thunder-storm passed down the deserted river. There is no finer bell in England, a country famous for its *signa*, and his profound voice, which has been heard far beyond the limits of his county, seemed the cause of the storm's departure. Lewis Carroll, who often counted the strokes of this traditional curfew in the vain hope that the total would some evening fall short of the statutory hundred-and-one, said to me: 'We must remember it is Great Tom's prayer, and he is not ashamed to pray aloud.' He, like other members of the society founded by Cardinal Wolsey, always regretted that the process of re-casting had deprived the bell of his quaint motto,

In Thomae laude resono bimbom sine fraude,[1]

which has been replaced by an inscription in elegant but rather colourless Latin prose. Nowadays the ubiquitous investigations of the 'bell-hunter,' who searches every belfry in the land for odds and ends of historical evidence, have brought about a great revival of interest in our myriads of time-honoured bells, and every bell-founder is careful to reproduce as accurately as possible the ancient mottoes and decorations (often beautiful and always significant) of any historic bell which has cracked at the rim and is sent to him for re-casting, the only remedy for such a catastrophe. The restoration of ancient bells is now as carefully and conscientiously carried out as that of the fabric of a church famous in history. Here is one of many proofs that the welfare of the 'aerial choir' which lives in his belfry is now as much considered by the average incumbent as the well-being of the other singers who help him to render his daily sacrifice of prayer and praise. It was not so twenty years ago, when the belfry was commonly regarded by the people of a parish as outside the parson's jurisdiction, but within that of the village publican. The thirsty legend on a bell (cast in 1702) at Walsgrave in Warwickshire,

Harken, do ye heare,
Our claperes want beere,

is one among many vestiges of the bad old days when the leader of the ringers could say (as was actually said in my hearing): 'T' new parson 'll never dare to poke his nose into our bell-loft, not he.' As a matter of fact, that new parson succeeded in convincing the ringers that his jurisdiction extended from the crypt to the weather-vane of his church, and I myself helped to eject them and their beer-barrels.

The revival of interest in bells has put an end to this form of

[1] Bim! Bom! Saint Thomas for to praise
A guileless voice again I raise.

the desecration of churches and has also given a great impetus to change-ringing, which is a modern innovation and practically confined to England. It is true we hear of guilds of bell-ringers at Westminster Abbey and other collegiate churches in pre-Reformation days. But these men, who were often clerics in minor orders, did not ring changes in the modern fashion. Indeed, the universal method of hanging bells in those far-off days effectually prevented them from making the almost complete revolution, starting from an inverted position, which causes the clapper to strike the rim twice at each stroke or pull of the rope, and is the essential feature of modern change-ringing. Nor is there a scrap of historical evidence to show that the pre-Reformation guilds had any knowledge of the various methods of ringing bells in succession but in a varying order, which are known to the ringers of to-day. The way in which the succession varies is the basis of the different forms styled Grandsire Triples, Treble Bob-Major, and so on—terms which are all fully explained in treatises on change-ringing, whereof the earliest was written and printed by Fabian Stedman, of Cambridge, the father of this characteristically English art. Why change-ringing should be the Englishman's favourite form of bell-music is, I think, easily explained. It involves much physical exertion, which tries, but need not overtax, as many muscles as are used in rowing, and is unquestionably one of the finest exercises known. I am acquainted with a professional boxer of great ability, and a 'very complete chap' (old Nyren's phrase) outside his profession, who thinks there is no better means of keeping in good condition, though he has a still more praiseworthy motive for playing his part regularly in an East-end belfry. There can be no doubt that change-ringing, which is a real science only to be acquired by long and assiduous practice, is popular with young men both in town and country chiefly for this reason, and it is to be hoped that the popularity of so healthy a diversion will be duly maintained. Nevertheless, we must not forget that there are higher forms of bell-music which ought to be more widely cultivated in England than is the case at present. Strictly speaking, change-ringing is not music at all; though when the voices of the bells used are mellow and melodious it decorates the passing time with simple, subtly-varied sound-patterns, and forms an acceptable accompaniment to the elemental emotions of an individual or of the nation. Unfortunately, too many of our bells have the brassy tone of the used-up soprano's voice, and very few of our peals are properly in tune. London, on a Sunday, is a veritable inferno of harsh, strident bell-voices which have cracked, or are on the point of cracking, because of the detestable practice of sounding them by means of ropes tied to the clappers, which causes the same spot to be struck

repeatedly and prevents the vibrations spreading freely. 'Clocking,' as this method of bell-slaughter is called, would not be tolerated for a moment anywhere in Belgium or Holland. The majority of our *signa* are excellent. Great Tom of St. Paul's, which hangs in the south-west tower, and is tolled to announce the death of the Sovereign, has a magnificent tone. So has Great Paul, his near neighbour, and one of the few very heavy bells which has a satisfactory *timbre*. The same cannot be said, unfortunately, of the huge bell that hangs in the Clock Tower of the Houses of Parliament. Big Ben the Second (the first of the name was heavier and soon cracked, being sounded by a hammer for the amusement of the public as it lay in Palace Yard before being hung) had to be quarter-turned before he had been long in his tower, and to-day his familiar voice is harsh as that of an irate member in the talking shop below. Nor is the number of his vibrations what it ought to be; indeed, the bells in that tower are an ill-tuned company, a sort of aerial German band, which ought to be put in order, if possible, without undue delay by the First Commissioner of Works. I remember how a Belgian friend, his ear attuned to the delicacies of Flemish bell-music, shook his fist at that high-placed wrangling brotherhood. So would anybody else trained to appreciate the accompaniment of bells dancing not only in time but also (to quote Tennyson's unjustly criticised phrase) in tune to the beating of our hearts. I pass over the host of small, tuneless 'ting-tangs' (the little fellows that ring hurriedly before service), which may be called the mosquitoes of discord's dominion, and are distressingly numerous in London.

To be free from such unmusical bells and to hear the finest kind of bell-music one must go to the cities and towns of Belgium, Holland, and North Germany, where the art of the carillon has been carried to a pitch of perfection undreamed of by the vast majority of English bell-lovers. For the mechanical form of the carillon, which is common enough in this country, there is not much to be said. The principle of the mechanism usually employed is precisely that of a musical-box, bells taking the place of tongues of metal. A drum set with pegs is put in motion by a clock, and these pegs, as the drum turns, raise levers which pull wires connected with the striking hammers. With the eight bells commonly found in an English belfry only a few tunes, within the compass of an octave, can be played, and even when the bells are well-tuned and melodious this bald mechanical music is quite uninteresting. In the case of some of the older carillons the apparent hesitation or 'stuttering' (to use the bell-maker's phrase), which is due to the imperfect mechanism, has a quaint and pleasing effect, suggesting, as it does, that the bells are being struck by a living performer who is picking out the notes of the

tune. Anything, even the hesitation of this non-existent beginner, is better than the soulless, inhuman, stereotyped accuracy of a mere machine. The mechanical music of the great Belgian and Dutch carillons (such as that produced by the huge cylinder at Mechlin, with its 17,000 metal pegs) is always fully harmonised, and is much more satisfactory—at any rate when one hears it for the first time and does not feel the absence of the human interpreter who never plays the same piece twice in the self-same manner and always, consciously or unconsciously, allows his mood for the time being to affect his interpretation.

But the carillon with a keyboard is a very different thing from the mechanical carillon, which, after all, is merely a monstrous musical-box. No doubt the former has its limitations. It is impossible to prolong a bell-note or to eliminate its harmonics, which form a mist of shimmering sound ascending and descending. None the less, this tremendous instrument, which is nearer akin to the piano than to the organ, is capable of the most surprising effects, and gives full scope for the interpretation of a vast amount of excellent music not especially written for bells. Ten years ago, when cruising in a fishing-boat from Harwich off the Holland coast, I heard this instrument for the first time, and guessed that a living artist, not a mechanical contrivance, was making music—music as magical as it was majestical—in his far-off unseen tower across the moonlit levels of the still sea and the low-lying shore hidden by fog-drifts. I think now, but am not sure, that it came from the belfry of Gouda. Gouda—all who have read Charles Reade's masterpiece will remember the name and recall the happy sorrow of the auburn-haired Margaret in Gouda manse. At the time I thought it music from the moon, moonlight made audible, so strange and other-worldly were its fugal cadences, flight after flight of prismatic sounds. Afterwards I discovered that the piece was one of the *Morceaux Fugués* composed for carillons by Mathias Van der Gheyn, who was born in 1721, and was the most famous of a long line of bell-founders whose masterpieces are found in many of the belfries of Belgium, Holland, and Northern Germany. Many English travellers voyaging along the Dutch coast must have heard such music and wondered at it, without being moved, however, to find out its meaning and method of production. So far as I know, there is no book written in English and dealing with the subject of carillon music to which the curious traveller could refer on his return to England. We have many admirable treatises on bells and their ancient uses, but not one of them makes more than a casual allusion to the bell-music of the Low Countries. The whole subject is practically ignored or—as in the case of Grove's indispensable Dictionary—dismissed with the suggestion that the *carilloneur* or

beiaardier (to use the Flemish term) is forcing his bells to a task beyond their capacity when he plays a fugue by J. S. Bach (whose music is so often 'universal' and independent of the help of this or that instrument), or one of the numerous pieces written for the carillon by Belgian or Dutch composers with a perfect knowledge of the possibilities of the instrument. The truth is that all such insular critics are absolutely ignorant of the subject in general, and, particularly, of the notable advance which has been made during the last twenty or thirty years in the technique of carillon-playing. It is clear that they have never heard any of the modern masters of this art and are also unacquainted with the work of a long line of composers, beginning with the bell-masters of the sixteenth century and ending (for the present) with Jef Denyn and his disciples, the list of which includes the name of only one Englishman, Mr. Wooding Starmer. By no means all the music which can be played on the piano or spinet (the spinet had much the same limitations as the carillon) can, or ought to, be used as bell-music. The virtuoso of the carillon often forgets that the executant who achieves the impossible sometimes attains the inartistic. If he be a true artist, however, he soon recognises what may be called the spiritual limitations of his instrument. In the course of many visits to Belgium and Holland I have heard carillon players attempting music which is utterly unsuited to bells, and have silently sorrowed over the excesses of this virtuosity. Yet, despite the technical success which is an artistic failure (one meets with that in every habitation of music), I have been fully persuaded that the carillon has its own sphere of musical influence, and is not to be placed in the category of superfluous instruments. And nobody who has heard the great continental carillons artistically played from the key-board is likely to refuse his assent to that assertion. To-day nearly every city and town in the Low Countries has its official *carilloneur* (who has the standing of the organist of a great English church), and it is only necessary to visit one or two of these places to be convinced the municipal authorities are wise and far-sighted in their encouragement of bell-music. The largest and finest carillons are to be heard in Mechlin (forty-five bells), Bruges (forty-eight), Ghent (forty-eight), Antwerp (forty), De Tournai (forty-two), Louvain (one of forty and another of forty-one); but many of the smaller carillons in Holland and Belgium are as fine in quality as these famous instruments, though their scope is more restricted. It is the general opinion among continental bell-lovers that the Mechlin carillon is the finest of all. It includes six great bells, the oldest cast in the fifteenth century, which were the original tenants of the tower of St. Rumbold's, the metropolitan church of Belgium, and age has but mellowed the magnificent tones of these veterans.

The others, perhaps the most melodious sequence of bells in the world, were made by Peter Hemony, the Stradivarius of bell-founders. All these bells are perfectly in tune, and there is not one which has a suspicion of 'brassiness,' or is ever so slightly cracked. They are placed in a great open chamber, nearly three hundred feet above the *Groote Merkt*, so that the vibrations are not checked, and even the voices of the tiniest bells, weighing but a few pounds, can be heard for many a mile on a calm day. Here let it be pointed out that the people of the smallest town in Belgium or Holland would never tolerate bells out of tune or any of the failures of the bell-founder's craft so lamentably frequent in English cities. They inherit the musician's ear from their ancestors, who were, like themselves, lovers of bell-music and keen critics of the 'concerts in the sky' which they so delight in hearing.

In the second half of August an international competition for bell-masters was held at Mechlin, which gave me an opportunity of comparing the finest players of Holland and Belgium. Many of them I had heard before. The chief prize was presented by the King of the Belgians, and there were no less than seventeen competitors, every one of them an acknowledged master of his art. It was not so much the hope of winning the King's guerdon of a gilt shield of honour, or one of the lesser prizes, as the desire of meeting brother artists and practising on the famous carillon of St. Rumbold's which brought all these famous players to the ecclesiastical capital of the ancient Brabant. Such a gathering had not taken place for nearly twenty years, and the beautiful old town, which still keeps its medieval aspect of austere meditation, was thronged with thousands of visitors. The winner of the King's prize was Alphonse Rolliers, of St. Nicklaas-Waas, who may some day inherit M. Denyn's robe of artistry. But the chief event of the festival was the latter's recital, which was a never-to-be-forgotten object-lesson to the few English visitors present in the possibilities of carillon music. Throughout Belgium and Holland M. Denyn is regarded as the master of bell-masters, the Liszt of his tremendous instrument, and as much superior to other modern composers of bell-music as he is to all executants, living or departed. Here, in a word, is a musician of genius who has extended the frontiers of his art and reigns unchallenged—as yet—over the lately conquered territory. His shakes and trills were executed with amazing dexterity, but it was in his treatment of flowing *cantabile* passages, which form the ultimate test of the bell-master's arduous art, that his supremacy was most clearly revealed. There were times when the carillon, which suggested a spinet when some of the visiting masters were playing delicate running movements on the smaller bells, became a kind of modern

piano under his hand of steel in a silken glove. But, like the true musician, he was never merely a virtuoso for virtuosity's sake; his interpretation of great music was never once marked by the petty cleverness which, to take an appropriate example, is the besetting sin of Belgian organ-playing. Under his hands (and busy feet) the Mechlin carillon was obsequious to his mood in all things. He made it just what he wished it to be: a splendid soulless insect, a colossal cicada singing one of the simple traditional airs which, non-emotional in themselves, yet revive in us memory and hope and other emotions; or, again, a creature made in the likeness of man, capable of the whole gamut of feeling and the expression thereof—

Colossal, yet compassionate and kind,
A fellow-creature called Leviathan;
Smiling in sunshine, weeping in the wind,
Yet in his heart no greater than a man.

The competing *carilloneurs*, who had possession of the tower for the whole of the two days preceding, had played pieces by all the famous composers, from Mozart to Mascagni, and many of their renderings were admirable not only in technique but also in feeling. To take one of fifty examples, the interpretation of Mendelssohn's *Frühlingslied* by Nauweiaerts, of Nien (who did not win a prize), was a marvel of delicate manipulation, and would have been sufficient by itself to prove the power and range of the carillon and its unique individuality as a solo instrument. But M. Denyn's programme, which included no less than thirteen pieces of bell-music, explored the possibilities of the carillon exhaustively. Indeed, his selection had been made for that very purpose. Lest the huge attentive audience (the whole great square was packed) should have too much of the bells, several numbers were given by a band of horns and trumpets stationed on the top of the tower. At that great height above the square the voices of these instruments, somewhat overpowering at close quarters, were soft and mellow and subtly commingled—so that they suggested, as a German student sitting near assured me, the *vox humana* of the great organ in Cologne Cathedral. The mysterious *Lied van der Nachtwaker*, from Tinel's historic opera of *Franciscus*, which was given by the horns alone, was eerily impressive; the ghostly voices, heard at long intervals of silence, seemed to advance and recede in the clouded dusk with its few lambent stars. All this was a novelty and interesting, but the crowd was assembled to hear the carillon-playing and could not have enough of it. The first piece was a stately and sonorous *Prelude*, which might have been written—but for bells!—by J. S. Bach, and was M. Denyn's own composition, a long-meditated tribute to the occasion. By way of a compliment to the few, too

few, English people present two English airs followed. *Home, Sweet Home*, though the player made Hemony's smaller bells shed veritable tears of sensibility, struck one as somewhat unsuitable for the carillon, which is not intended to enter into rivalry with a soprano singer, Patti or another. But *Rule, Britannia* was a magnificent thing on the Mechlin bells, the deep thrilling voices of Salvator, Michael, Gielis, and the other heavy bells coming in with tremendous effect. (The sound of each of these six veterans has been heard as far as the sea.) Equally soul-stirring was Viota's *Triomfantelijk Lied van de Zilverfloot*, a glorious air that marched with fiery footsteps through the night and made it difficult to keep one's seat. 'The tower's cake-walk,' said an American lady; I could have slapped her for it. Peter Denoit's *Mijn Moederspraak*, which was rendered with bewitching delicacy (for all that the carillon-player's muscles are as much taxed as a wrestler's), exhibited and explained just how far carillon music may be the expression of sheer emotion. Just so the playing of the *Moderato* from G. F. Richter's First Sonata proved that there is really no limit—at any rate, not until one comes to Richarc Strauss—to the instrument's intellectual range. But perhaps the most interesting and instructive of M. Denyn's selections was set of ancient French ditties made for carillons at various dates. This was really a brief and delightful history of the evolution o bell-music. It occurred to me as I heard it that some of our newly discovered folk-music, more especially the quaint morris dances with their bright recurring rhythms, would go very well on bells.

But this analytic programme must come to an end. The point is this—the modern carillon-player will introduce you, if you will hear him, to a new interpretation of fine familiar music and also to a vast number of pieces written especially for bells, the very existence of which is practically unknown to all save a very few English musicians. It was surprising to see how attentively the audience followed this concert in the sky. The vast majority hac to stand the whole time, and they stood motionless, speaking not a word and not even clicking their wooden shoes until the tower had ceased singing. These *Maanblusschers* (moon-extinguishers) of Mechlin and its trim countryside take so great a pride in their vast singing tower that one can easily understand why they ran to put out a fire when the red harvest-moon shone through the great open windows of the bell-loft. If that tower had been finished according to the original plan it would have been the loftiest in the world. But the stone for completing it was cartec off into Holland between 1582 and 1584 to built the fortress-towr of Willemstadt. The theft has never been forgotten nor forgiven. Yet the tower is well enough as it is; Vauban called it the eightł wonder of the world. And to the people of Belgium it is more

than that, for they see in it a fixed forefinger of their elder faith, an upright scroll of national history, and a leaping fountain of many-coloured music.

In England we have only one keyboard carillon of any consequence. Formerly we had two, but that which could be heard at Boston in Lincolnshire no longer exists, sad to say. But there is an admirable instrument of thirty-five bells, made by the bell-founders who inherit the traditions of the Van der Gheyn family, at Cattistock, in Dorsetshire, and there M. Denyn himself gives a recital every year on the last Thursday in July. It is well worth going into that corner of Wessex to hear him, though it is better to go to Mechlin, which is only half an hour (by rail) from Brussels or Antwerp. Let us hope that the builders of London's county hall will place a first-rate carillon in its tower. Here is a great opportunity to teach millions the beauties of harmonised bell-music at no great cost. But an open chamber would have to be prepared for the bells, and it would not do to use granite, which is a petrified wet blanket, so to speak, and absorbs the vibrations in wondrous wise; as the people of Aberdeen know only too well, for many years ago they spent 4000*l.* on a carillon, which gives them only a vague, almost inaudible, tintinnabulation that does not reach the verge of the sea. The same thing has happened in what was once Poland, where many carillons are now being set up.

E. B. Osborn.

COMPULSORY SERVICE: THE WAR OFFICE VETO

THE United Kingdom is practically the only country in Europe which has not adopted some form of conscription: before many years have passed compulsory service will be the rule of life in all the oversea dominions; owing to their sparse populations, if every able-bodied man is trained to arms only relatively small forces can be raised.

To many civilians who watch the growing armaments of Continental countries with something of the same fascination of fear that seizes an animal in the forest when confronted with a boa-constrictor it appears inexplicable that the British people as a whole should take no part in home defence, and should be content to leave it mainly to officers and men who are sometimes contemptuously styled 'mercenaries' by Continental critics, but are more correctly described as 'professional soldiers,' with a second line consisting of 'volunteers.'

From the earliest days of history home defence has been recognised as the primary duty of every man belonging to a clan, community, or nation. It is a basic principle that, *if need be*, the citizen must give himself and all he has in defence of the State. Consequently the question naturally arises, Is the peculiar machinery for defensive purposes which we have created in the United Kingdom necessary owing to a want of patriotism on the part of the manhood of the nation, or has it been created—and created, let it be borne in mind, many years ago—to meet some special circumstances which exist in the British confederation of nations, and do not exist at all—or, if so, in only a very modified degree—in other European countries?

The British problem of defence differs from the problem of every other country in the world. If an inhabitant of Mars could look down on the British Empire as a whole, what would impress him most is that its component parts are almost entirely surrounded by water, that all its business is conducted on the sea, that more than half of all the shipping passing to and fro on

the great trade routes flies the British flag, and that the sea completely isolates not only the people of the British Isles, but the kindred peoples who live in the far-flung dominions, from the incursions of great land forces organised by other nations. In glancing over the world he would pause to note the only two land frontiers in the British system of States—the northern frontier of India with the buffer States of Afghanistan and Thibet, and the land frontier which divides the Dominion of Canada from the great English-speaking Republic of the United States. In surveying these two frontiers he would be impressed with two further factors: first, the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of any European Power with its conscript army, maintained for defence of hearth and home and not for long-arm operations, wrenching India from the British Crown by a land campaign, owing to geographical obstacles, and owing to the strength and efficiency of the Indian Army of nearly a quarter of a million men as reorganised by Lord Kitchener; and, secondly, he would note that the American Republic is a non-military State with a standing army of less than 100,000 men.

This inhabitant of Mars, studying the configuration of the Empire in perspective, with its sea frontiers and its sea arteries, would understand why the British people have always regarded a fleet of unchallengeable strength as the first link in the chain of imperial defence, and a relatively small but highly trained professional army as the essential elongation of the naval arm. He would ask for no explanation of the fact that, while the nations of the Continent of Europe have pressed their best manhood into the ranks of their armies, the British people have chosen to spend their treasure and their energy mainly upon the vast mobile army on the seas—an army which can be carried with marvellous celerity to any threatened point in the far-flung Empire, and a sea army which, by the very nature of its environment, acquires greatly increased fighting power in proportion to the number of men engaged—a *Dreadnought* needs only 900 officers and men. Such an observer, watching the vast army corps of the Continental Powers manœuvring for the defence of land frontiers, would see that mechanical science has done little or nothing to increase their mobility. An army corps can move to-day little faster than it could move in the times of Hannibal and Cæsar—except when it is carried by rail, an easy form of locomotion for a division, but extremely difficult for an army corps—and its difficulties when it reaches the sea are still colossal. On the other hand, the Martian would be amazed to notice the increased strength which the development of mechanical science has conferred upon the British people for the defence of their sea frontiers. A hundred years ago, when the Napoleonic wars ceased,

the ships could not cover more than about seventy miles in twenty-four hours, whereas now, owing to the water-tube boiler and the marine turbine, a fleet may easily cover seven times that distance in the same time, and as it moves it can by wireless telegraphy keep in touch with its homeland.

Unfortunately the British people cannot obtain such an all-embracing visual observation of the defensive needs of the British Empire, but they can at least study its needs with the aid of a map, and a map, studied with intelligence and some imagination, is a great educator. This absence of broad views is largely responsible for the progress of the movement in favour of some form of compulsory service in the British Isles—or is Ireland not to be trusted with the rifle? The campaign, influential in its character, widespread in its activity, and highly successful in its results, has been permitted to leaven society, without any effort emanating from responsible quarters to explain why, neither under Conservative nor Unionist nor Liberal Administrations, has the principle of compulsory service been adopted.

Mr. Haldane has now taken the bold course of issuing a statement dealing with the whole problem of the defence of the British Isles and the British Empire, showing what machinery exists for studying the subject in its many bearings, and indicating the principles upon which the defensive policy of the Empire is now based. This official *apologia* for the voluntary system of defence is contained in a volume entitled *Compulsory Service.*[1] It opens with a long Introduction written by Mr. Haldane himself, while the body of the book consists of an interesting study of the problem of defence by General Sir Ian Hamilton. This is a strong combination. Intellectually Mr. Haldane towers head and shoulders above the ordinary type of politician. He is probably the most scholarly man in the House of Commons. An economist, a philosopher, and a man of affairs, he has devoted himself to the colossal task of reforming our military system and giving to the British people a military organisation suited to their needs and the needs of the far-flung Empire with its hundreds of millions of population. Mr. Haldane has had the advantage of living in Germany as a student, and in later years of studying the German Army at rest and at work.

In the preparation of this *apologia* the War Minister has obtained the co-operation of the British General who knows most, at first hand, of the inner working of the military systems of Great Britain and foreign countries. Sir Ian Hamilton has served with the British Army in varying circumstances. He took part in the Afghan War, the Boer War of 1881, the Nile

[1] London : John Murray.

xpedition of a few years later, the Burmese campaign, the Chitral elief expedition, the campaign in the Tirah, and the South frican War, when he organised the wonderful defence of Lady-mith, and afterwards he became Chief of Staff to Lord Kitchener. part from these experiences, Sir Ian Hamilton has filled a umber of Staff appointments both at home and in India, latterly cting as Adjutant-General at headquarters in London, and he 'as with the Japanese Army throughout the greater part of the ampaign in the Far East, besides having 'soldiered' at various imes with the armies of Prussia, Saxony, Austria, Russia, and the Inited States of America. On questions of military organisation, onsequently, Sir Ian Hamilton, on whom has rested the esponsibility of recruiting the British Army, writes with wide xperience and deep knowledge.

One truth which this volume conveys is this : British defence is ot now organised on indefinite principles and administered in a aphazard manner. Perhaps the most interesting section of Mr. Ialdane's Introduction is that in which he gives a description of ie means now adopted to enable the Government of the day to arn the well-considered opinions of the responsible experts, ival and military, and indicates the facilities which now exist for iabling those experts to discuss together problems of defence on :oad lines, and evolve schemes of co-operation. The clearing-ouse of these experts is the Committee of Imperial Defence. It largely the creation of Mr. Balfour, who was the first Prime inister to study the defence problem with patient care. The ommittee is an extension of the mind and authority of the Prime inister, and he is its President. It has no executive duties, and purely advisory. It exists for the purpose of considering ques-ons of imperial defence from the point of view of the Navy, rmy, India and the various component States of the Empire, and their financial and commercial resources. Its function is to tain information from the various departments of the State d to sift it; to prepare documents required by the Prime inister and to furnish advice; and to keep a permanent record the defence policy of the country for the information of suc-ssive Cabinets. The Committee, besides the Prime Minister, s as permanent members the Cabinet Ministers who are sponsible for the Navy, the Army, Finance, Foreign Affairs, the lonies, and India. Its expert members consist of the First a Lord and the Director of Naval Intelligence, representing the Service, and the Chief of the General Staff and the Director Military Operations, representing the Army. At the present ment, in addition to these responsible experts, it includes the pectors-General of the Home and Oversea Forces (General Sir n French and General Sir Ian Hamilton), Admiral of the Fleet

Lord Fisher, Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, and Lord Esher. It is this Committee which co-ordinates the whole of the thought of the Empire on questions of defence. Mr. Haldane in his Introduction lifts the veil which has hitherto screened its proceedings from the nation. He tells us:

> The Committee affords to the Chief of the Staff at the Admiralty and at the War Office a meeting-place where they have a constant opportunity of bringing their operations into harmony, and of working out in detail objects and principles common to both Services, which are to be followed by those who serve under them.
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> But the Committee does more than this. Recently it has developed the scope of its procedure. The Foreign and Colonial Offices, the India Office, the Home Office, the Treasury, the Board of Trade, and the Post Office are now, not only through their Ministerial chiefs, but in the persons of the permanent heads of Departments, called into council whenever occasion renders it useful.
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> The organisation works largely through carefully chosen sub-committees, of which several are always sitting and collecting and investigating materials. When the main body assembles the Prime Minister presides, having summoned not only the permanent members but Colonial statesmen who may be in London and are concerned in the particular problem of defence which is under investigation.
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> More and more each year the Committee is being transformed into a body of which the Prime Minister is the controlling head, but which works mainly through experts. The sub-committees, which report to the main body, deal with work, much of it so highly technical that it is necessarily carried out by experts.
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> This work the highly qualified secretary, Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Ottley, and his special staff arrange under the eye of the Prime Minister. With the Admiralty and the War Office the secretary is in daily communication. . . .
>
> The Committee has now become a body which is in effect sifting and working, largely through the medium of its sub-committees and officials, almost as continuously as is the General Staff of the Army. If war were threatened it could develop into a War Council for the Prime Minister, the duty of which would be to furnish him, and through him his Ministers, with the expert knowledge required before policy could be settled in the Cabinet. It is a body the function of which is to study in time of peace, as a General Staff ought, possible situations with a view to the nation and the Empire knowing what to do should war come.

Mr. Haldane contends that 'the Defence Committee thus organised contains the germ of a great General Staff for the Empire'; but, if so, the germ must be very weak, because this Committee has no administrative or executive authority: it is merely consultative—a clearing-house for ideas. It is more strictly in relation to facts to regard this body as an advisory War Council, which embraces within its functions the consideration of every aspect of the defensive problem, imperial, financial, commercial, industrial, naval, and military. In this Committee all the threads of national life are gathered together and, with the assistance of the responsible Ministers and the permanent officials,

an effort is made for the first time to study imperial defence problems systematically and with due consideration of all the elements which go to the maintenance of the well-being of the nation and of the Empire. It marks a great step forward. The various offices no longer work in water-tight compartments.

Among the problems which have been considered by this body is the danger of invasion, on which the demand for compulsory service mainly rests. The Committee of Imperial Defence under Mr. Balfour, and later under the presidency of Mr. Asquith, studied in all its bearings the possibility of the British Isles being invaded. The findings of the Committee may be thus summarised:

(1) Mr. Balfour and six Unionist Ministers, supported by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, General Sir William Nicholson, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Kerr, and Vice-Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg, gave the assurance in 1904, after the fullest inquiry, that 'serious invasion of these islands is not an eventuality which we need seriously consider,' even under circumstances unfavourable to this country—namely, with the Regular Army absent and the main fleet out of purely British waters.

(2) The present Prime Minister and six Liberal Ministers, supported by General Sir William Nicholson, General Sir John French, General J. S. Ewart, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher, and Rear-Admiral E. J. Slade, gave the assurance in 1909, after another full inquiry, that 'invasion on a large scale is an absolutely impracticable operation.'

After examining witnesses holding every shade of opinion on the question of invasion, including those who took the extreme view that the country may be overrun by a large foreign force, the Committee on these two occasions with all the facts at its disposal unanimously came to the conclusion that the 'command of the sea is the essential foundation of our strategy not only for imperial but for home defence,' and that it suffices as a protection against invasion. Mr. Haldane, one of the members of the Committee, remarks:

Writing as a layman who has had the duty of endeavouring to weigh the statements on the question made by the only people whose opinions are of real weight on this point, the responsible representatives of the Navy, I add here that I have reason to believe that the Admiralty is to-day in a position to make this undertaking good, and, if we do not in our policy stray away from first principles, and divert our resources into a wrong direction, I see no reason to doubt that the ability to afford this protection will continue.

Moreover, the undertaking of the Admiralty extends to this: that on the existing lines of policy the guarantee will be made good without tying to these coasts ships which are required for command of more distant waters. Our first and fundamental duty in the organisation of our defences is thus to keep the Navy at such a strength as will maintain this strategical position.

This is the basic principle of imperial defence—the unassailable supremacy of the Fleet must be maintained at all costs. The

Fleet is like the police force in our towns: it creates an atmosphere. The police do not—and cannot—guard every one of the 7,000,000 houses in England and Wales, for there are less than 25,000 police on duty every night in the streets. They create an atmosphere inimical to crime against property and the person, and at the mere whisper of trouble can be concentrated. The Navy cannot guard every mile of coast, but it creates an atmosphere inimical to invasion, and the guard which it maintains over British interests is very complete, and may be thus summarised:

(1) We have an extended guard on the trade arteries. On the shorter route to India, the Far East, and the Orient we have a series of fleets—twenty-seven ships in the Mediterranean, nine ships in the East Indies, twenty-seven in the Far East, and nine in the Australian waters, while three cruisers cruise on the Cape of Good Hope station, and two ships are on the West and three are on the East Coast of America. Our foreign squadrons are larger than the combined foreign squadrons under the flags of all other European Powers.

(2) The strategic centre of the Empire is in the 'home seas,' where the power of the next strongest fleet in the world is concentrated. In British waters we have sea-going fleets, under one supreme admiral, far stronger than those of the Triple Alliance.

(3) Behind these main fleets in home waters we have a system of mobile defences, stretching from Dundee in the north, past Dover, to Portsmouth and Devonport, and consisting of destroyers, submarines, and torpedo-boats.

Invasion of the British Isles in these circumstances is impossible, and a raiding force has first to elude the main fleets in home waters and then to elude the mobile torpedo defences on our coasts.[1]

We can now study our needs of military defence in the light of the work which our first line can, and does, do. We must have—and at present have—a supreme Fleet, mobile defences along the eastern littoral of the British Isles, and a home-defence army of such size and efficiency as will compel the enemy, if he sends a raiding force, to send one so large that it cannot elude both the high-sea fleets and the mobile torpedo defences. The larger the raid, the greater the accumulation of shipping to carry it and the less possibility of its eluding the double network of our naval defences. It has been calculated by an experienced naval officer, who writes under the pseudonym of 'Master Mariner,' that an invading force of 70,000 men—with horses, guns, and transport—would need at least 160 vessels of sorts, or about 200,000 tons of shipping.[2] Three or four days would, in his opinion, be required to get the troops on board; one or two days to get the 160 ships

[1] A compulsory service Army would, of course, not be serviceable in India, Egypt, or anywhere oversea.

[2] When Prime Minister, in 1905, Mr. Balfour gave it as the opinion of the experts that 210,000 tons of shipping would be necessary to transport 70,000 men from Brest to England.

clear of the harbours; and another two or more days would be needed for the passage. Allowing two days for news of such a venture to leak out, our Admiralty would thus get at least five days' notice of a threatened attack. The convoy of ships would, he estimates, cover at least twenty miles from van to rear, and would throw up smoke visible for another ten to fifty miles. On arrival off our coasts the business of getting the ships in their proper places and rightly anchored would, he says, be 'a colossal task far exceeding anything of the kind ever attempted before.' Even given fair weather throughout, and assuming that there was no opposition afloat or ashore—'an assumption that no seaman will concede'—this naval officer concludes that 'three weeks would elapse from the moment the shipping was commandeered in foreign ports to the day on which the invading army would be ready to advance inland.'

Admiral Mahan, in a recent contribution to the *Daily Mail*, has given his opinion that 'under the Triple Entente it remains possible to Great Britain to control the maritime situation, because by the Entente the naval forces possible to be arrayed against her are limited to numbers over which she can decisively preponderate if she firmly so decides. It remains true, in his opinion, that navies dominate the communications of sea commerce, and through them the financial prosperity of countries, upon which depend not only the maintenance of land war but the reasonable welfare of populations.

> As a student of military and naval history it is to me certain that the advantages of the situation, regarded as commercial and military, are almost wholly with Great Britain, granting the continuance of the present laws of capture; and the German strenuousness in naval development silently confirms this contention.
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> The reply that a Continental country can repair this disadvantage through its Continental frontiers is so flagrant an ignoring of facts as to be scarcely worthy of respectful consideration. Such a country can live; yes, but when it has built up a huge, complex industrial and commercial system, based upon the sea, it cannot sustain such cut off from the sea. Railroads, by the very nature of things, cannot alone replace the copiousness of water traffic, and besides, they are rarely more than commensurate to a certain maximum of carriage dependent upon known normal conditions. The suppression of sea communications, total or approximate, means now, as it always has meant, financial disorganisation, military embarrassment, and popular misery.

These conclusions of the historian of *Sea Power and its Influence upon History* merely confirm the views formed by all responsible British experts who have studied the problem. The British Navy, so long as it is maintained in adequate strength, dominates European policy. As a talented student of defence problems—'Civis' in the *Westminster Gazette*—has remarked,

an incontestable naval superiority means, not the mere threat, but the actual possibility of such an iron constriction upon the oversea commerce and maritime communications of German industry that war with England, whatever be the cause, must inevitably bring paralysis and ruin to the whole financial and commercial system of a Power that more and more depends for its life-blood upon ventures oversea.

These are the conditions which govern our preparation of a home-defence army : it must be able to repel raids, and the more efficient and large our Fleet the less the possibility of raids being attempted ; and the more efficient and large our home army—in due relation to our whole responsibilities of Empire—the greater the force which must be employed in a raid and the less therefore the possibility of eluding the Fleet and our mobile defences. Would not compulsory service, it may be asked, aid us in obtaining such an army? What is the answer? Mr. Haldane explains that the Adjutant-General of the Army[1]—until recently Sir Ian Hamilton—among other duties, has to find and organise in peace the men to fill the cadres which the General Staff demands for war.

The Adjutant-General of the British Army has more than one thing to consider, and he must resist temptations into which the abstract mind is prone to fall. He has to approach the proposition to fill cadres by compulsion, even for preliminary training, with anxious regard to certain peculiarities which are characteristic of the British Army, and of it alone among the armies of the world.

What he has never lost sight of is that the little islands on which we live are the centre of an enormous and scattered Empire, the parts of which are separated by great stretches of ocean from the parent islands and from each other. No other nation possesses this peculiar feature to anything approaching the same extent.

It is therefore no accident or result of haphazard conjecture, but rather a deep-seated instinct, that has for generations past led our rulers and our sailors and soldiers to base their strategy on a principle to which they have held tenaciously. It is that, first in the order of importance comes sea-power, backed up not only by adequate oversea garrisons, but by an expeditionary army, kept at home in time of peace, but so organised that it is ready for immediate transport by the Fleet to distant scenes of action, and is capable of there maintaining long campaigns with the least possible dislocation of the social life of the nation. Such an expeditionary army is essentially a long-range weapon, and can be raised only on a long-service basis. Those who compose it must therefore accept the Service as their profession for some years, and with it the obligation to embark without any delay.

Next to the supreme Fleet comes this oversea expeditionary force. This must be maintained at all costs. It must be, and is in point of fact, larger, enormously larger, out of all possibility of comparison, than the similar forces of Germany and France put

[1] Lord Roberts was never Adjutant-General.

together. The main necessity of these countries is how they may best defend open land frontiers. For this purpose they have pressed into the ranks every able-bodied man, and have thus obtained huge short-service armies, which are a kind of militia. The citizens are trained as soldiers with a view to serving in a brief, though it may be a colossal, campaign. The British problem is entirely different from this. A relatively small army is required for home defence, but a large army is absolutely essential for oversea operations.

For an oversea army equipped for long campaigns the conscript is unsuited. Sir Ian Hamilton, with his wide experience, has come to the conclusion that the military forces employed for the defence of distant frontiers such as those of Rome and Great Britain must be raised on a voluntary basis.

Rome possessed a perfect militia system, but the moment she began to expand imperially she was forced to abandon it in favour of the professional and voluntary system. The examples of Spain in Cuba and of Italy in Abyssinia show how futile, nay, how disastrous, must be the attempt to conduct imperial defence on the basis of compulsory service. In Germany certain Generals did suggest that conscript troops should be sent for the relief of Pekin. Not only were they overruled, but they suffered in reputation for having shown so little appreciation of what the country would or would not stand in the way of forced service.

Nor is this all. Besides the troops employed oversea there must also be a strong central reserve kept at home in order to reinforce those troops in time of need.

Neither politically nor militarily (says Sir Ian Hamilton) would it be just or advantageous to create such a reserve on a compulsory basis. Kuropatkin has told us how poorly the reservists from European Russia fought when compared with the Siberian reservists, who were defending their own frontier, and explains that the distance from their homes had become so great that the Europeans were no longer sustained by the national idea. The British could not employ a conscript reserve with good results in such a contingency as another Indian Mutiny, or even a war with Afghanistan or Persia or Egypt. Who is to guarantee that the parents of the men would let them go, or that if they did go they would fight? No instance can be drawn from history of the successful employment for such purposes of men compelled to serve against their will. No; not even if they were only wanted temporarily at a crisis.

The employment by Japan of her national army in Manchuria represents the extreme point to which long-range action by such a force can be carried. Up to the battle of Mukden the whole of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men felt they were fighting for the defence of Japan. After Mukden, this idea lost force, and correspondingly the energy of the army began to fade away. The reaction was not very pronounced, owing to the intensity of the initial patriotic impulse and the natural secretive tendency of the Japanese character. But it was unmistakable to the initiated, and the elder statesmen were far too wise to listen to the hotheads who spoke of marching on Harbin.

At a time when the tendency is to depreciate an army raised on voluntary principles, it is refreshing to have from a British General testimony such as is given by Sir Ian Hamilton. He tells that a voluntarily enlisted army possesses greater staying power than a 'nation in arms.'

The aching nausea of home-sickness, the exasperation to the strained nerves of the ceaseless danger and the intermittent crackling of musketry, the sheer physical revolt from dirt and rags and starvation, the enervating dreams of decent food and of the girls they left behind them : all these influence conscript campaigners in double or treble degree. For three solid years, he adds, did our British Regulars in South Africa see local corps dissolved and reconstituted; see Yeomanry and Volunteers and oversea Colonial corps sail away to great receptions in their homes; see them relieved in due course by fresh substitutes drawing more than four times the Regular pay for identical work less efficiently performed. Still these British Regulars stuck to it, always ready for a fight if only their Commander would let them go; grumbling not more than usual; and then, at the end of it all, remaining to garrison the desolated, war-stricken wastes they had created—but had won! Search the world over, there is no conscript soldier, European or Asiatic, who could have done what our voluntarily enlisted Regulars did in South Africa only ten short years ago.

General Hamilton has accumulated experience abroad which sheds some light on the British problem as seen through the eyes of foreign officers.

After compliments, the first remark made by a foreign officer to a British officer is now, almost invariably, 'Is it the case you are going to adopt conscription?' To such an inquiry I invariably, if I have time, avoid making a direct response, but give my interlocutor instead a brief sketch of the British oversea Army, with its annual requirements in recruits and drafts. Having done so, I ask, in the case of a German, 'Now, supposing you wished to maintain 121,000 European soldiers in South-West Africa by voluntary enlistment, would you be able, by the offer of good pay, to get men to come forward?'

Whether my friend happens to be a corps commander or a subaltern, a colonel or a warrant-officer, the answer is always more or less decisively in the negative. All are equally eager to explain that German conscripts are proud to serve two years, and that, for the rest of their lives, they look back upon their period of military service with pleasure. None the less, they have had quite enough of it, even before they have finished their recruit's drill, to make it most difficult to bribe them to accept a longer period of voluntary service abroad. Far from being able to keep 121,000 men abroad on such a basis, Germany could not afford, unless she were to cut down other imperial services, to increase her foreign-service army much beyond its present microscopic dimensions.

France, Germany, and Russia have attempted to combine compulsory service with the provision of an army suitable for long-

range operations and they have failed. The relatively small force—less than 3000 men—required by Germany in South-West Africa, and the small Foreign Legion needed by France for Colonial service, are obtained, with difficulty, by voluntary means at a cost which is at least twice that of the British Regular soldier, and the whole organisation of the State on a business footing is interfered with owing to the need of making this oversea service attractive by means of offers of subsequent State employment.

Nor are we without experience ourselves of the failure of any modified militia system for oversea work. Some years ago the War Office enlisted men for three years' colour service in the belief that it would not be difficult to induce them to extend their service. The scheme was a failure. Sir Ian Hamilton adds:

> The refusal of the young infantrymen to extend came as a great shock to some of our military authorities. Soldiers by their own choice, their disinclination to continue in the Service astonished those who had believed that a closer acquaintance with peace service must render young men desirous of devoting their lives to it. Certainly the originator of the scheme had bad luck. If the unhappy experience of that experiment were not behind us it would probably not seem too unreasonable to any of us to imagine that a very large proportion of our well-cared-for, voluntarily enlisted, apparently happy young soldiers, would take on for sixpence a day extra. Once again the incalculable idiosyncrasies of the youthful Briton baffled the theorists. But we are no theorists now. We have an example to guide us how not to do it.
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> The breakdown of the scheme resulted in our having to send men all the expensive journey to India merely that they might remain there for one year. It led to the bounties. In March 1906 bounties were offered to three-years men serving in India at the following rates:
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> 10*l.* to extend to 6 years.
> 12*l.* ,, 7 years.
> 15*l.* ,, 8 years.
>
> It was hoped that by these sums, in addition to the extra sixpence a day, 3772 infantry soldiers might be induced to extend, but only 1586 did actually take on. The bounties paid amounted to rather over 23,400*l.*, and yet, despite the extravagant sending of soldiers for one or two years to India, and despite these bounties, we fell short in our duty of keeping up the Indian establishments. There was a corresponding shortage in all Colonial battalions.

Sir Ian Hamilton, as a student of men, has come definitely to the conclusion that compulsory service is unsuited to our temperament as a people, and who will question his conclusions? He regards it as certain that if we had universal Continental conscription we should not be able to get the necessary number of volunteers from the ranks of the home army to keep our foreign-service army alive. Any system of compulsory service would, in this officer's opinion, endanger the existence of the whole

expeditionary force, 'composed at present of the finest troops in Europe,' while at the same time the Army Estimates would be largely increased, perhaps doubled. Conscription, as it is practised abroad, is impossible.

Sir Ian Hamilton regards with even greater disfavour the watered-down scheme of the National Service League, under which every able-bodied man would become liable to do his term of service on the 1st of January following his attainment of his eighteenth birthday. This scheme provides that on joining the recruit should receive four to six months' training varying with the arm; in his second, third, and fourth years he would undergo fifteen days' continuous training and be put through a course of musketry. From his fourth year until he is thirty a man would receive no further training, but would be liable to embodiment in case of imminent national danger, although he would *not* be liable to be ordered out of the United Kingdom, a point to be specially noted.

But at what price should we obtain this compulsory militiaman? The existing Territorial Force would disappear. The Special Reserves would be abolished and would be replaced by men serving compulsorily in the Territorial Force, who might be induced by a money payment to accept a liability for service abroad in case of emergency. The Regular Army would remain. The adoption of this scheme would in the first place cost approximately 8,000,000*l*. a year, and Sir Ian Hamilton adds that from an ex-Adjutant-General's point of view the arrangement whereby in exchange for the Special Reserve we should obtain a number of individuals without any unit or other organisation is 'pernicious,' while 'the infantrymen, as recruits, would be two-thirds less thoroughly trained than are our present Special Reserve.' Sir Ian Hamilton, with his intimate knowledge of the recruiting problem, is convinced that compulsory home service, with continuous recruit training, must deprive the Regular Army of many thousands of eighteen to nineteen years old recruits. As to the men over nineteen years of age, he believes that the annual withdrawal of large numbers of men from civil life would make it easier for men of nineteen and over to obtain civil employment. It is true, he admits, that men might enlist in the Army after they had finished their recruit training, but they would be released from training in the summer, when work is plentiful and the winter wolf still seems far from the door. 'They might do so,' he adds, 'but would they do so? Experience in the Adjutant-General's Department says No!'

Apart from the impracticable character of the proposals of the National Service League, apart from the very heavy

cost which would fall upon the Exchequer, apart from the interference with the labour market which would result, Sir Ian Hamilton, writing as an ex-Adjutant-General who has formed a high opinion of our present home defence army—the Territorials—has come to the firm opinion that the acceptance of the proposals of the National Service League 'would within two years bring about something very like disaster in the recruiting market for the Regular Army'—the essential complement to the supreme Fleet. We should obtain a mass of men who had put in four months' drill; and will it be suggested that these partially trained men—bought inevitably at the price of a reduction of our Fleet—would be fit to meet the two-year conscripts of a Continental Power who, as soon as the Navy is weakened, could be poured into this country—adopting the line of argument of the League—not in battalions but in divisions and army corps? Why any Power, after gaining control of the sea, should invade us, when to starve us would be a much easier and less costly task, has never been explained.[5] Not invasion but starvation is our peril, and against that peril the British Fleet is our only insurance.

But, it may be asked, if we are in no danger of invasion on a large scale, may not compulsory service be desirable on other grounds? We are told to look at Germany as an example of what military drill can do. It is forgotten that the creation of the German Army is merely an incident in the progress of the German people. Only 0.86 of the population is under arms, less than 1 per cent. Because Germany has had a system of compulsory military service for a matter of a hundred years there is a tendency, perhaps a natural tendency, to regard the patriotic instincts and high discipline of the majority of the German people as the direct fruits of this military system. The tendency is to forget that the German citizen is the product of many influences, and the creation above all of the master-mind of Bismarck, who was not a soldier, and who realised that the man-power of a nation depended only to a degree, and that not a predominant degree, upon the compulsion exercised to drive its manhood into the ranks of the imperial army. Germany as it exists to-day, with a system of education which has been the envy of the world, with a series of social measures such as old age pensions, invalidity and employment insurance, State savings banks, and other legislative enactments which in the past the self-reliant British people have been inclined to regard with ill-concealed amusement as grandmotherly, shows to-day the result of a widespread and well-directed movement

[5] In order to bring our vast population face to face with starvation, it would be necessary to shut out only a relatively small amount of food, and a strict blockade would not be essential.

engineered by the State in the interests alike of the State and of the individual—and a movement of the fruits of which the German is proud. The German of to-day is the product not of conscription but of inherited traits and State policy in the workshop, the factory, and the home.

Whether the policy developed in later years by statesmen of lower calibre and less breadth of view than Bismarck will survive is a matter of some doubt. At present the most significant movement of German opinion is the growth of Socialism, not only among the wage-earners, but among the professional classes. There is little doubt that in the next Reichstag the Socialists will form the largest single party. While it would be a mistake to regard this new force as anti-national in its sympathies and lacking in patriotic instincts, it is at least certain that its ascendancy in Germany will have a considerable influence upon national policy in so far as it is directed towards the defence of the Empire.

The second ground upon which compulsion is advocated is that a period of military drill would have an important influence in arresting the physical degeneration which, it is declared, is rapidly reducing our man-power. This is the aspect, perhaps, of the movement which has appealed most strongly to the best thought of the British nation. The argument in favour of military drill as in itself desirable is based entirely upon the contention that the character of the German people to-day is to be traced solely to forced military service; it entirely ignores every other influence which has gone to the building up of the German nation. It takes no account of the fact that military service is compulsory in other countries besides Germany, that it is compulsory in Russia, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Turkey, and in practically every State in Europe. If military drill is the panacea for inculcating in the youth a high ideal of citizenship, and if it is also a sure and certain agent for arresting the physical degeneration which follows upon the aggregation of large masses of population in workshops and factories in towns, why is it that it has not had the beneficent influence in other countries that it is claimed to have had in Germany?

Another weakness in the argument for compulsory service arises from the fact that there is no intention of applying compulsion to the physically unfit. Appended to the National Service Bill, which was debated in the House of Lords on the initiative of Lord Roberts, was a schedule of exemptions and disqualifications. Among the persons to be exempt were the following:

(1) Any person who satisfies the Army Council in the prescribed manner that by reason of physical or mental infirmity he is permanently unfitted for training.

(2) Any person declared by the Army Council to be disqualified for service as being a criminal, an habitual drunkard, or otherwise undesirable by reason of bad character.

Under the system of national training, therefore, it is only the physically and mentally fit who might or might not be made fitter, and it is those who are most in need of whatever beneficial influence military drill may exert who would be exempt. Persons physically or mentally infirm, criminals, drunkards, and others of bad character would still remain citizens; they would still enjoy freedom to marry and bring up families, probably, if there is anything in heredity, similarly tainted. Compulsory drill would apply only to those who are 'fit,' and by such a system of four months' training for infantry and six months' for other arms the nation would obtain a militia. We had a militia for many years, and it may be put to the advocates of this new scheme of militia whether it was possible to trace in the old militiamen that wonderful development of physical and mental character, that high ideal of citizenship, which is now claimed to be the inevitable result of military training.

The truth is that if we could obtain it without jeopardising the Navy and the essential oversea army, we do not need a nation in arms raised by any system of compulsion. The Territorial Force, with an establishment of 315,000 officers and men, fulfils our requirements for defence against sporadic raids. If there was any possibility that the voluntary principle would fail us, as it has not failed us, we should have serious cause carefully to consider all the pros and cons before as a nation we determined upon a departure from our traditional policy. A vast home defence army would cramp the national thought. To the healthy development of the British Empire the width and breadth of the sea and all it connotes are as the breath of life. Once the British people decide on the creation of a national army on a vast scale, their thoughts will be turned from the sea, and that national army will absorb more and more of the national energy and the national funds.

Apart from all immutable arguments against compulsory service, it is impossible to sympathise with the claim for larger—far larger—military expenditure at a moment when the cry is raised that owing to the competition of naval armaments it will be impossible in the future to maintain the British Fleet at its traditional standard. At all costs that standard must be preserved—in ships, in men, in docks and in all the adjuncts of sea-power. Next year there must be a further great increase in the expenditure upon the Navy. The maintenance of the supremacy of the Fleet is our first duty; it is vital to the people of the British Isles and to the people of the oversea dominions; it

is vital to our trade and commerce; it is vital to the working classes throughout the Empire, who would be reduced to idleness —and possibly to revolution—directly our sea communications were interrupted and we could no longer obtain food to eat or raw material with which to work. The problem of British defence is essentially a problem of sea defence and a problem of finance; and, while we do not need a great home defence army, it is equally certain that we cannot afford it.

ARCHIBALD HURD.

AN OUTPOST OF OUR EMPIRE

For southern wind and east wind meet
Where, girt and crowned by sword and fire,
England with bare and bloody feet
Climbs the steep road of wide empire.

OSCAR WILDE.

THEY told me here at home that a woman could not go to that particular part of West Africa, they told me plenty of horrors about the climate and the discomforts, but, apart from my personal determination, it seemed unjust to condemn anything untried, and, because no white woman had ever lived there, I could see no reason why it should not be possible for me to do so.

So we made up our minds to try, my husband and I, and, starting as well equipped as it is possible to be, we turned our backs with a feeling of thankfulness on civilisation. The last sight of England disappeared over the horizon, and we went from soft wet clouds to a sky of brass, from the known to the unknown, to Africa, immense and impenetrable.

Many miles from the surf-washed coast is a long ridge, rising out of a huge expanse of gently undulating country; on that ridge is an European station, a little corner of our Empire, where a handful of Englishmen live and work, and govern an unthinkable number of natives.

To reach it you must go by railway from Sekondi; and very early one morning in December 1908 we started on the twelve hours' journey to Coomassie. Down at the iron-roofed station all was bustle and confusion; nearest the engine, the cars were full of natives, their brightly coloured cloths wrapped closely round them, against the chilly air of the morning—such a medley of women and babies, men and boys and girls, some strolling idly about, some dragging weirdly assorted bundles from car to car. Nearer the end of the train smartly dressed 'coloured ladies and gentlemen' carried on somewhat stilted conversations in very indifferent English, as they stood about the platform or leaned out of the windows. The last coach was a special one, reserved for us; our 'boys' were settling in the luggage, arranging things

in the tiny kitchen compartment, and putting out inviting-looking deck-chairs on the observation platform.

It was an entrancing scene to me, and only just at the end I turned away to take a last look at the sea, and listen once more to the boom of the surf. Then there was a clanging of bells and whistles, the shouted good-byes of the friends who had come to see us off, and the train moved slowly up the incline towards the mist-veiled hills that hid from me the secret of Africa. All day that train bore us onward, beyond the cool of morning to the relentless sunshine of midday, and again to the coolness and soft night. All day we travelled through the narrow cutting, the forest shutting us in on either side. It was very beautiful: some of the trees were a brilliant scarlet, some golden-brown, and always the background of vivid intense green. It is an impenetrable jungle, which, though never really silent, never perceptibly changes. To me, a tenderfoot then, it all stood for prosperity—even the swamps, for it seemed hardly credible that such luxuriance could be wasted. I know now of the malaria hidden in the rank undergrowth, of the toll of men's lives paid for every conquered yard of that country.

Coomassie is the last touch with civilisation; there the railway ends, and ten days later we set off on foot to do the last three hundred miles of our journey. I remember standing at the end of the broad road through the Zongo, waving good-bye to the men who had ridden out to wish us God-speed, and then, turning away from the houses and people, we had only gone a few hundred yards when I found it was suddenly dark and strangely quiet. The broad road had become a narrow path, where no ray of sunlight ever falls, and where growth and vegetation have gone on unhindered for æons of time. The noises of the town, the sound of voices, all were gone, and in their place was a stillness which made me feel I must speak in a whisper. I have never lost my dread of the forest; though the first feeling of awe eventually wore off; it always tells me of the force and immensity of Africa, and while I admire I am afraid.

For six days we trekked on, generally walking, but sometimes in our hammocks, and sometimes riding when the road was good enough, sleeping in tents at night, till gradually the forest grew thinner, there were little patches of country flooded with sunshine, and the narrow strip of sky to which my eyes had become accustomed changed to an increasing expanse of hard, relentless blue. Then one morning we came suddenly to the river Volta, the boundary between Ashanti and the Northern Territories, the line between forest and open country. Since that day when I first looked down on its waters shimmering in the sun, a broad navigable river, I have seen it not very many miles further up

change to formidable rapids, and again to rocky fords, and silent hippo pools with steep wooded banks.

After crossing the Volta it is all open country, and our marches began in good earnest. At a quarter to five my husband would sound his whistle, and somehow—I have never fathomed how—five o'clock would find us having breakfast in the middle of the compound, amidst the babel of shouting and scrambling which always accompanies the packing up and sorting of loads. My thoughts about the short period which elapsed between the whistle and breakfast are rather vague; I have confused recollections of strings and buttons, of the stiff laces of my boots, the straps of my spurs, and one clear thought—the 'boys' would be in to pull down my bed in five minutes, whether I was dressed or not. Anyway, I always was dressed, and I used to go thankfully into the cool darkness outside and eat largely of bacon and eggs by the light of one hurricane lamp! Then the long line of carriers would start, each with an odd-shaped load on his head, winding out one by one, till the scene of recent activity was a deserted enclosure and a few empty mud houses. Sometimes we would wait until they had all gone; but it is not good to walk behind your carriers at any time, so more often we would leave the orderly to do rearguard, and start off first of all, with just our guns and ponies, and the man who carried the drinks and was known as 'drink-polly.' Those early mornings were hours I can never forget, and one day especially has fixed itself in my memory. We were the only living things in the hush around us as we slipped into the grey before the dawn, and the clean soft air that came across miles of desert seemed to have a greeting for us. The grey turned to pale gold, I could see the dew sparkling on the grass, but still all was silence—the earth dared not breathe until the day had come. It came at last with a flush of tender pink, and then, growing bolder, turned to flame and crimson, kissed the clouds with the light, and whispered to the trees. The world was awake again, a myriad insects filled the air with song, and the birds woke echoes down the path we were treading. Five hours later the same world lay gasping in the fierce relentless heat, and our column moved slower and slower, as one by one each carrier put on his rough sandals to protect his feet from the burning ironstone. It was two o'clock before we reached our destination that day; heat and hunger had reduced me to speechlessness, and yet, very little later, the glories of a sunset were no more marred for me by recollections of the merciless heat of midday than my appreciation of the dawn had been spoilt by any thought of the stress to come. That is only typical of those who know and love Africa; perhaps it is just by the very audacity of her changes that she obtains her strongest hold over the hearts of men.

Evenings on trek are very delightful too: the welcome change to coolness and dark, the feeling of pleasant fatigue, and then at last, when all the camp was still and the 'boys' asleep like dogs on their little mats, we would go to our mosquito-netted beds on the far side of the compound, right in the open, and sleep like children, with only the gorgeous canopy of stars overhead, the open bush country at our feet, and the innumerable night noises sounding from near and far.

At last, one day, when the coast and England seemed to belong to another existence, that long ridge came in sight, and I saw the mounted escort of constabulary coming out to meet us, a dark moving mass on the sun-baked road. It was Tamale at last. Tamale, that at one time had seemed more far off than any dream-country, and in my memory I see it as clearly now as I saw it then. The deep red earth of the parade-ground, the native town on the left, its grass-roofed huts clustering together under the biggest trees or broken up here and there by an open square or road, and the white gleam of the mosque against the deepening blue. We rode the last quarter of a mile at a wild gallop, the escort thundering behind us; and I see again the flags along the road, the archway with its huge written 'Welcome,' and the clouds of dust as we reined up to acknowledge the salute and inspect the guard of honour. When that was over, we turned to greet the various chiefs and their followers, who were arrayed in all the splendour of flowing coloured robes and silver ornaments, their horses decked with leather and leopard-skins. There was many a friendly handshake, many a greeting in unknown tongues, and always a smile of pleasure and welcome. Most of the natives had never seen a white woman before, and I sometimes feel I must have been a great disappointment to them, for there was nothing in my khaki shirt and riding-breeches to distinguish me from a man, and my helmet hid all my hair. Anyway, they were undoubtedly very interested, and it was some time before we could ride away, past the guard-room and offices; on to the cantonment, where for nearly eight months three shingle-roofed two-storied houses stood to me for all that I needed of home.

Life is very simple and very friendly on an out-station in our Colonies; the work is hard, and there are many disadvantages, but the spirit of service seems to pervade everything, and brings out all that is best in a man. A country like West Africa needs the very best men that England can produce, because they will have to face the worst odds, because they must depend entirely on themselves, and because in dealing with natives example is such an important factor. According to many standards, the nigger is demoralised to start with—is innately demoralised; but this is rather sweeping, and it is hardly just to compare any one race

with another. Still, I think it is a well-proved fact that the black race possesses none of those qualities which make for progress, and the uncivilised, untaught, up-country savage is just a child—a lazy, ignorant, very superstitious child—who will unconsciously copy his superiors, as any white child imitates his elders. That is why on any station you will find two or three brown-faced, generally rather thin, Englishmen, in clothes which, if worn, are clean, in boots that shine, and helmets newly whitened. You may meet them riding on well-groomed ponies, or about their several tasks in office or hospital, or in the court-house, whose furnace-like atmosphere is laden with the acrid odour of the black race, with still that quiet manner and that bearing of power and superiority which marks the immeasurable distance between black and white.

There had never been a white woman at Tamale before, and some of the men were doubtful if they ever wanted one; but I think it must have been all right, for the greatest compliment I have ever been paid in my life was told to one of my friends in London by a man who was home on leave: 'It was just like having another man out there.' Certainly they were all perfectly delightful. It went without saying that I was to be in everything that was done, from golf to shooting; and always on the nights of our weekly dinner-parties five white people would assemble, in all the ceremony of mess kit and medals, round a table that would not have disgraced any English home. I can remember so many discussions on those Saturday nights—talks about anything and everything. There are few houses in London where I have met with anything like the power and originality of thought which were displayed in that far-away room, to the very entrance of which rolled the bush country of Central Africa, cutting it off by many miles from the world of civilisation.

Looking back now, it seems as if the days were uneventful; but it never appeared so at the time, and they were certainly not idle. Ordinary days at Tamale would begin about six A.M. with tea and biscuits, sitting on the verandah and watching the morning lights on the blue range of distant hills. An hour later we would ride along the half-mile which separated our house from the rest of the cantonment, and, meeting one or two of the other men there, we would go round on inspection; either to the native town, the constabulary lines, the little native hospital, or to the caravanserai, where the nomad traders stay on their journeys between Timbuctoo and the far-away coast. It generally meant rough or slow riding, and at the end we always used to cut across a short bit of bush country and get on to the main road south, fondly called 'the London road.' Tired of picking their way through stubble and over yam-fields, our ponies would answer

willingly to rein and spur, and the morning ride ended in a triumphant gallop and a cloud of dust. The sun begins to get hot by eight A.M., and we used to go back gladly to the dim shuttered house, whose cool white walls offered a pleasing contrast to the glare outside. When I had changed my riding kit we would have breakfast, and then my husband went to his office and I to the interesting but somewhat arduous task of ordering my household.

I must say a word about the West African servant—he is so unique and so uniformly bad. Few of these 'boys' are accustomed to having a white woman at the head, and just to start with they resented my authority very much. As servants they are bad, quite hopelessly bad, every one of them, and naturally the average official, who has just about as much work to get through in twelve hours as he could comfortably do in twenty-four, has not time to fuss round with his domestic arrangements. Therefore, the reins of power are with the head boy or steward, and as long as things are fairly comfortable on the surface your nigger is tolerably certain that 'master' will not complain. When I arrived on the scene there were many upheavals, and for the first few weeks it was a sorrowful world for my staff. I refused to have every course served up with fried onions, I utterly declined to eat curry more than once in every three days, and I organised a daily round of inspection to pantry and kitchen. They were horribly worried, poor boys; it makes me laugh now to think of 'William's' face as I told him I must see every one of the dozen dusters I had given him a week previously. When I tell you that in West Africa a duster is used for the whole gamut of cleansing purposes, from lamp-cleaning to polishing the glasses, you will understand my fastidiousness. I meant to raise the standard of living, and I ended by doing so, but I had no idea it would be such a hard task. I had first to learn the two important things in dealing personally with natives—namely, to make up your mind instantly, and then, having made it up, never to alter your decision. Also there was the difficulty of language, and pigeon-English is not easy. It is annoying, when you send your 'boy' to look for a book or cigarettes, and he calls from upstairs, 'Yes, missus, I find him,' to have to wait another ten minutes and then get this reply in answer to your shout, 'Yes, missus, I find him, but I no see him.' 'Find' merely means 'I am looking.'

Another amusing incident occurred one day when I said I wanted my room turned out. I could not make my 'boys' understand, so I started to do it myself, and then sat on a table, amid a sea of soapsuds, and laughed till I cried at the sight of five full-grown men who took over an hour to scrub a floor that an English

housemaid would have finished in twenty minutes. The most important of my morning duties was the dividing up of the slender supply of vegetables from the Government garden. There were always enough tomatoes to go round, but I used to keep a book to show me when I last gave the Doctor a lettuce and whose turn it was to have the long-coveted cabbage! Except for these delicacies, a limited supply of very tough beef and mutton, the eternal goat, and chickens and guinea-fowl, we were entirely dependent on the tinned stores we brought out from England. It is wonderful how much you can do with tinned food, and really how little you miss the fresh fruit and the fish that here in England are considered almost necessities of life.

Half-past twelve brought lunch-time, and I can picture my husband playing the piano and turning on the gramophone, while I prepared the *pièce de résistance* in the invaluable chafing-dish. After lunch till four P.M. is the most trying period of the day, and for people like myself, with whom sleeping does not agree, it is hard to know what best to do. However, for me there was always a mountainous basket of household mending and always books to read, so I managed fairly well.

Four o'clock brought some abatement in the temperature and the longed-for tea. At five we would ride down to the golf-links, of which we were justly proud, play nine holes, and then, when dark came, play bridge at one of the houses till dinner-time.

There was no difference in dinner whether we were alone or had people dining with us, and on almost any night at eight o'clock, if you could have looked into the house, you would have seen a table covered with clean linen, a sparkle of silver and glass under pink-shaded lights, and two people in evening dress as conventional as that prescribed by any London restaurant.

We always had music in the evening, for although Kipling says 'You couldn't pack a Broadwood half a mile,' our tiny yacht piano stands up at Tamale to this day a mute witness that it was carried every yard of the three hundred miles that lie between Tamale and Coomassie, and carried by five niggers, who probably used it to sleep on, even if they could not sandwich it ''tween the coffee and the pork.' Dear little piano, it shared with me the honour of being the first of its kind to reach the Northern Territories, and it has the luck to be there still. My husband used to play, at every odd moment during the day, snatches from operas we had heard in London and regimental songs from all countries. Men coming casually to the house used often to stand on the verandah listening, and sometimes a look on their faces would tell me of some chord of memory set vibrating by the music. 'It does away with all the feeling of exile,' a man once said to me

as we listened to the pleading strains of Elgar's *Salut d'Amour*, and I knew what he meant.

Sometimes there were men staying a few days at Tamale on their way home or going northward, and then the quiet routine was disturbed; there would be golf-competitions, perhaps a race-meeting, and a series of dinner-parties. I remember on one occasion we were ten white people on the station; it was quite unprecedented, and that dinner taxed my powers to the utmost. There was only just enough crockery, and we had to borrow chairs and lamps, but for once my 'boys' rose to the occasion, and it all went off without a blunder. I always used to consider my big dinner-parties a failure if we had to resort to bridge; we played so much, and I am sure the men got tired of winning and losing each other's money. Anyway, on that particular night there was no need for it; we had speeches at dinner, long discussions and arguments afterwards, and many a rousing chorus. At the end, when I had sung myself hoarse, and our répertoire seemed exhausted, they started singing hymns, every man of them, because they all knew the tunes and the tunes reminded them of home. It was done with the most absolute simplicity—a simplicity that brought tears to my eyes, and that I never expect to see again.

In the Northern Territories there is a hard-and-fast line between the wet and the dry seasons. From November till April the country is swept by the harmattan—the desert wind, which brings with it a fine brown dust to fill the air—and a gasping, burning heat, turning the whole country to a dry, pitifully brown waste. It is nominally the healthy season, for the tremendous heat of midday gives place to cooler nights. I say nominally, because no time of the year is healthy, and because, although I can remember a distinct need for a blanket, I have also a very clear recollection of a week in March, which I spent under canvas, when the thermometer stood at 110 degrees in the shade at noon and the nights were anything but cool. We were on trek then, and the Doctor, who was with us, used to mete out a whisky and soda apiece at seven A.M., the first break in our march, and then would sanction no other liquid but hot tea till after sundown.

With the rains comes occasional coolness, especially during the first month; but as they definitely set in the atmosphere becomes rather like a Turkish bath, and the absence of sun is really depressing.

The first tornado I saw left an indelible impression on me, an impression that even exceeding terror could not dim. It was up at Tamale; all day we had heard far-away thunder, and by five o'clock the sky was flecked with ominous clouds, emanating from

an angry-looking mass on the south-east horizon. The sunlight failed, a pregnant silence enveloped all our world; there was no sound from bird or beast, nothing save the growing menace of the thunder. Gradually the clouds thronged together and seemed to advance rapidly—an immense purple and black mass, the forward line marked with deep brown, and the lightning streaking down the dark background. Still the silence reigned immediately around us, and as we watched, spellbound, there came to us across miles of parched country the smell of the rain. It was cool and fragrant and intensely sweet, and it seemed to bear the thanks of all those miles of gasping country which it had refreshed with its blessed moisture. Then, close at hand now, a low roar, gaining in strength till the zenith of the wind and dust storm lashed itself on our little cantonment. The wind and the thunder were deafening, the lightning literally blinding, the dust everywhere; and I suppose it must have lasted quite twenty minutes before the rain broke, adding to the clamour, but breaking the spell of horror which had held me ever since the eerie stillness first heralded a storm. For two hours it must have rained without ceasing; a rain that is never seen in England and is actually a sheet of water. The incessant lightning, reflected from perhaps four different storms, turned the whole country to a fairy world of shining steel-like radiance.

It is all very well and wonderful to stand and watch a storm when you know your house is well built and of stone, and you can shut doors and windows against the ravages of the dust; but it is quite another thing to wake in the middle of the night, in a jerry-built house of mud, with a grass roof, and nothing but flimsy 'chick' blinds to protect your worldly goods. Things happen something like this: you wake, you decide that the storm is coming, so you drag on a pair of long boots and a waterproof, shout for all your servants, who sleep in huts a little distance from your house, and, with their help, you put under the beds and tables all the things you value.

Generally there is not much time, and you sit miserably on your bed, a hurricane lamp by your side, waiting to run to the first place that gives way before the fury of the storm and praying for the rain in case the roof is struck. The tension is over in half an hour. I remember one occasion when it ended in a frantic hunt for the whisky-bottle, which had got hopelessly hidden, and which was our only defence against the shivering cold that comes up with a tornado; the more necessary as the roof leaked badly and the rest of our night promised to be damp!

In addition to all those observations of surface things I got an insight into the work and wonders of administration, and learned something of what it means to govern a country in the

face of a very bad climate and a lack of almost all the things which civilisation has taught us to consider necessary to progress. Surely it is not difficult to understand the fascination of walking into a country that is centuries behind the civilisation of Europe, with orders to bring that country into line with the rest of the world so that none of it be wasted, either the strength of its sons or the fruit of its soil. For, even if the people are a lower and dissimilar race, and although the soil is at the mercy of a ruthless climate, it is all new material, to be moulded for good or ill, and that moulding depends on the lives of the Englishmen who serve England in her Colonies.

Of course, to all there come moments of utter loathing. It may be that the mail is lost! Ah! you people in London, with your hourly posts, you cannot know what it means to wait for your letters through six long, hot days, and on the seventh, when your heart has leapt at the sound of the post bugle, to find the runner has only got a bag for the next station, eighty miles north, and owing to some careless clerk on the coast your mail is travelling up the western road on the other side of the country. It may be mail-bags, or nerves, or fever—it does not matter what brings the depression, sufficient that while it lasts it sweeps a man off his feet, and Africa has one voice less among the thousands who praise her. But those are only bad moments, and even they form a part of the extraordinary supremacy which Africa holds over the men who serve her. For the most part the work is engrossing, and the discomforts are easily out-balanced by the freedom of the life—a life I found it very good to share and of which share I am very proud.

Here at home they say that England has passed her zenith; but out there in England's Colonies her sons still give the best of mind and body, her women more than life, and give gladly, as their share of the price that is paid for our nation's glory, in which they, at all events, still believe.

Ah! 'Cromwell's England,' can you forget, have you ceased to hear

> . . . across the sea,
> The farewell of the dead,
> The dead who died for thee?

NORAH WATHERSTON.

A PLEA FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF OUR SCULPTURE

MAY one venture to formulate a plea for the nationalisation and better patronage of British sculpture?

Just recently there has been at the Japan-British Exhibition the second representative collection of works by British sculptors, the first of such collections having been shown in the same galleries at the Franco-British Exhibition two years ago. That two such large gatherings of our sculpture could be got together so closely following one another confirms the now often-expressed opinion that in this branch of the fine arts there is recently great evidence of a renaissance here in Great Britain.

The works were there exhibited in such a manner and under conditions so favourable as to space and lighting that, for the first time, a somewhat just estimate of our sculpture—as a school—could be made. Placed, as it was at the Franco-British Exhibition, alongside so much French sculpture, it was quite justifiable that a Britisher should feel some pride, seeing how the craftsmanship of our works stood the test of that comparison.

But after careful thought and analysis devoted to the works individually, when they are seriously considered upon a broad basis collectively, a question forces itself more and more to the fore: Is this British sculpture? Have we any modern school of our own? Speaking generally, our work is exotic; certainly in but a small degree can it be considered really British: born of national thought and bred on our soil. Yet in all directions there is evidence of vitality; the very diversity of aim and manner of working, the range of skill in craftsmanship, would be a real matter for rejoicing if only there was present a bond of national thought. So many attempt speaking in a foreign language rather than in our mother-tongue. One sees a large number of works almost French, works greatly influenced by the severer realism of the *Cinquecento* Italian, others attempting the vigorous mannerisms of the Michelangelo school, while some pose as followers of the Greeks; but there is terribly little which is our real own.

We shall not be ourselves until we recognise that we must

throw off this preponderance of foreign influence. Of course, we are a young school as yet, but are we content to remain in the age of childhood? While we are children we think as children and do as children, but when we are men we put away childish things. Now imitation of its elders is one of the chief characteristics of childhood; we must establish our manhood by putting away this imitation if we are ripe for manhood's work.

In the Gothic days England was in the forefront with its sculpture applied to architecture and upon tombs; some of the figures, such as those upon the west front of Wells and at Exeter, were, despite their somewhat crude craftsmanship, never excelled in their art feeling by any Gothic sculpture abroad. If we could lead then, surely we have it in us to lead now. But to do so we must first throw off the foreign reins that hold us, and unitedly determine to be ourselves again and in the van. Unfortunately, there has not been any continuous British sculptural tradition connecting us with those days of the best Gothic sculpture, and so we have rightly gone abroad for our necessary training; but having now the full benefits of the good influence, technically, of our foreign teachers, we need not continue under the magnetism of their thought as well. Surely the time has come for us to say our own say and to make British sculpture the embodiment of British thought.

It is the thought and *motif* which is the vital spark in all such work. Consider literature for a moment. What constitutes the greatness of a Shakespeare, a Darwin, or a Carlyle? Not the fineness of technique or the great mastery of words, although the writings of these men have such qualities in the highest degree; it is the thought and matter in their works which make them tower as giants above others. What a drop from their high standard to Pope and men of his eighteenth-century school; yet they, too, have a scholarly and brilliant technique of a kind based upon famous classic writers, but so closely based that they exist as a school of imitators—greatness of thought and *motif* is almost missing from their works; they have added no richness to the world's 'Temple of Thought'; they practically begin and end as imitators. Our sculpture now may be a fair parallel to Pope and his school, and we may take warning from the comparison: full of grace, of good colour, of brilliantly turned phrases, based upon a fine foreign tradition, but much in want of the spark of our British thought to give it real life. Much of it, like the writings of the Pope school, is full of good technique, but dead as ditchwater—futile attempts to reclothe dead bones in the manner of the French and Classics and give them forth to masquerade as living things. Our sculpture could do with even a little less brilliance of performance, if it could have instead a good bit more humanity and thought.

Are we never to have a British National School of Sculpture?

It is of no use to say 'The best art is cosmopolitan'; it can be *understood* by the cultured of all nations, but it cannot in its highest form be a cosmopolitan *product*. There never has been a very great period of sculpture which has not been national—Assyrian, Egyptian, fifth-century B.C. Greek, and fifteenth-century Italian are examples. On the other hand, classic Roman sculpture was not of the greatest—it was an imitative school, a product of the foreign influence of Greece; Italy only reached her greatest period in the fifteenth century, when her sculpture was undoubtedly nationalised. Then it was the outcome of the thoughts of the people, ranging from works personifying the character of their religion to others rendering the life of the times. Truly there were a few examples of work with a classic *motif* produced then, but they were very few compared with the works which were the outcome of the real feeling of the time. During the life of Lorenzo the Magnificent a certain artificial school of philosophy was in vogue among the people who posed as the highly cultured—I refer to the worship of the teachings of Plato, which was a passing phase—and no doubt the few classic figures by fine sculptors produced at that time were owing to a demand for them by the Platonists, who were often the art-patrons as well.

Unless we are to be an offshoot of foreign sculpture, as Roman sculpture was of Greek, we must get out of the foreign yoke, although at first we may feel a want of the guiding reins.

May it not be a reasonable assumption that some, at least, of the neglect of the sculpture rooms at the Royal Academy exhibitions by the public—the lack of interest they show in our art—may possibly be owing to the fact that they feel it is so foreign, so out of touch with their own lives and thoughts? I do not mean that they actually formulate any such idea, but there is so little British in it to appeal to them that they stand aloof, untouched, and will, I believe, continue to do so until we sculptors make the change and arrest the public interest by infusing our work with a national character. Now, alas! so many of the works are mere *réchauffés* of foreign work, from foreign sources of inspiration; indeed, there are few but have just a foreign smack somewhere. I venture to believe healthy national work is wanted, and that such would soon draw us and the people together; but we must speak with simplicity of language, a language easily understood by the many. Keep the dead languages of art for the antiquaries and for our own professional study, and with British language for British people sculpture here will advance by leaps and bounds. Such works would be vital art. Surely we have enough scope to draw our inspiration from things British? Of the things in the thoughts of our people are, amongst others, our national history

past and present, our various forms of religion, our fables and myths; but above all, perhaps, to see and record the poetry of the life and incidents of our own times. Such works would really tell something to future generations, and consequently will, if we do them finely, appeal to them then as the great schools of the past, for similar reasons, appeal to us now.

What have pseudo-classic and pseudo-French nudes, which we go on producing, to do with British thought or character? A short time, comparatively, separates us from the days of the statues and busts of our forefathers in Roman togas, yet already we see the grotesque absurdity of such treatment. In the same way we, or others, will soon see the falseness of much of the sculpture being done here now. One cannot protest too strongly against classic nudes *plus* French realism continuing to be encouraged as the *summum bonum* in British sculpture. The Greeks and Romans made the nude in sculpture their own; it was of their times—for example at the public games the competitors were nude or practically so, and although in winter thick costumes were worn, yet from the drawing on vases and from bas-reliefs it is evident that there was at times a much nearer approach to nudity than with us now. Then, of course, it was of their mythology, and therefore in the everyday thoughts of the people; their sculptors did it superbly: it was not mere realism to them, it was the nude *treated*, treated and simplified in a very masterly manner. Are we to believe that if mere realism (of which so much is thought nowadays) could have added a quality to their sculpture those great artists of Greece would not have added it? They saw that there are qualities far above mere realism; they went for those qualities and got them, and the world will ever be grateful to them for their greatness. I believe sculpture in those days was appreciated by all because it was actually akin to the life of the people, drawn from themselves or personifying for their aid the things about which the people thought: it was national. The nude is certainly not a British characteristic; it is not of our climate; the people associate it with little besides birth, bath, and indecency. We must not forget that the nude, which is familiar to us artists owing to our course of training—wherein we rightly class the human figure as the most beautiful object in Nature, and therefore the fit object for our study—is not similarly in the thoughts of the British people. Now it is absurd to say, as some of us do: 'That's only the prudery of the British, and the sooner they get over it the better.' The mistake, I believe, is with us; the majority of the British people are not prudes, but the nude to them is unfamiliar, to them it does not appeal. Yet I am sure that when a sculptor has really got something new to *say* and, as an appeal to the intellect and in order to express himself, he uses

the nude, then I am sure our people, the thoughtful ones anyway, would welcome it for what it has to tell them. But I am equally sure that they do not want the life studies which so many persist in serving up for them as substitutes for works of art. The use of the nude or semi-nude in ornament seems quite justifiable, as in such cases it merely forms parts (more or less of importance) in a decorative scheme; the way it lends itself to flow of line renders it of great artistic value therein. Remember the beauty of *Nature* is one thing, the beauty of *Art* is another, and the great fascination of natural beauty for an artist often makes him mistake its reproduction for art. Let our studies be kept in our studios—their proper province—to be used as a means to that greater thing, art.

We can hardly do too much in equipping ourselves as craftsmen, making for that purpose a most thorough and thoughtful study of the past, using all the great accumulation of knowledge which tradition hands along; but we must not be slaves to it, it must be our servant and helper, that we may become strong and capable in singing our own national song. Take the greatest periods of our art, to which I have already referred—Egyptian, Greek fifth century B.C., Gothic, and Italian fifteenth century—was there any one of these wherein the sculptors adhered closely to any past period for the inspiration of their works? Not one. Their art was in each case national; they drew inspiration from their religion and history, the fighting of their soldiers, the games of their athletes—from the people around them. The perfection of their craft, that source of power which enabled them to express their ideas finely, was no doubt the result of handed-down tradition, and of that they took every advantage. Such, however, was their craft, craft in the widest sense, including design, composition, scale, modelling and treatment of materials; but the little bit, that little bit beyond which means so much—*Art!*—that was their own.

Now, having ventured to urge our sculptors to unite in a national spirit is not all there is to be done, however sympathetically they may receive the urging; there is another and equally necessary side of the question if the renaissance, of which there is so much promise, is to become an accomplished fact, for without it the life of any school can only be spasmodic and crippled. Patronage is required, patronage in no stinted sense as at present, but a patronage which is prepared to show some confidence and can risk some partial failures especially at first. You have a plant at hand filled with vigour and ready to burst into flower and fruit, but which, without the necessary sustenance, cannot develop to anything approximating real perfection, but must be stunted and backward. It may be said: But why not create the patronage by the

sculptor first producing the work and so awakening real interest and causing a demand? There is already a considerable quantity produced on chance, but that there is not more is a mere question of cost. Sculptors are not capitalists, and few laymen seem to realise that to produce a life-size group, even to the stage of a finished model in plaster, involves an expenditure of several hundred pounds, and if this is to be put into marble or metal another 500*l.* does not go far—this is a calculation without counting anything for the sculptor's own time. Those great periods to which I have made reference all had public and private patronage in a high degree. Important as this is for any of the arts to flourish well, for sculpture it is absolutely a vital matter; whereas a painter can produce and accumulate his works in permanent form at comparatively little actual expenditure, considerable capital is essential to put a sculptor's works into lasting material. It is quite distressing to think how many able works, even under existing conditions, are now produced to the plaster model stage, only to become broken and end their days on the scrap-heap for want of the wherewithal to pay for putting them into lasting form.

The finest sculpture of the past was the outcome of patronage both national and private, yet besides a few public statues, put up more to glorify some individuals than with any idea of encouraging a great art, we have little or no public help. To show how little the public statues are intended as patronage of the art of our times one can refer to the almost invariable habit of the British Press, when describing such a memorial or the unveiling of it, to avoid mention of the sculptor unless perhaps he be a Royal Academician. The private persons who really take a practical interest in our modern sculpture by making any collection of it could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Our brothers the architects, when they are dealing with important buildings frequently make proposals for introducing sculpture, but these are of the items which are the first to be deleted from the scheme, at the order of the clients, on the score of needless expenditure. Most of such sculpture as is used now with architecture is required to be a mere revival of some old style, and does nothing for modern and national thought in sculpture; of Gothic, for instance, in which so many attempts are made to revive the old forms of sculpture for our modern churches. It is merely the masquerading of dead bones in lieu of living sculpture, with results that are a mere affectation and sham, deceiving only the unknowing and gullible donors, and filling our churches with sculpture as lifeless as the stones of which they are carved—our churches, the places of all others where only the most living work should find a place! What is the highest province of art in a church but to teach: to set the beholder thinking? How can

a twentieth-century individual draw the required lesson from a *réchauffé* of any fourteenth-century work? For, mind you, even the original work of that old time is not easily understood by the lay mind of the present. It was written in the language of the fourteenth century to be understood by the people of the fourteenth century. If the people of the twentieth century are to be interested and taught they require the language of the twentieth century, and that spoken in the words of the sincerity and truth of a real artist. Even these *réchauffés* are seldom the work of individual artists, who might squeeze in a bit of their own character. Mostly, even in London cathedrals, they are works manufactured by trade firms, whose chief aim is naturally the commercial one of making money, and who could not, if they would, reproduce the art qualities of the works they copy and caricature.

British sculpture cannot make any lasting effort until the British—collectively as a nation, in our capital and all great cities, and individually as lovers of beautiful things in the home and garden—become patrons of the art.

While Great Britain, with her place as a leader among nations, does practically nothing publicly to encourage the execution of our modern national arts, other countries have for years been acting as the public patrons of the arts of the time, sculpture receiving a large share of recognition. In France any model for a really fine piece of work in sculpture sent to the annual exhibition is almost certain (if otherwise unsold) to be commissioned by the State for execution in metal or marble. In Germany—as we learn through the Press—the Government have lately been seriously considering an added grant of 70,000*l.* per annum for patronage of one branch of the arts alone—the theatres! But, of course, the German Emperor has a great love of the arts, and realises how much prestige is to be gained by a country where they flourish; his influence personally has much to do with the payment of such grants. Austria also spends official moneys on the arts, and even the less wealthy countries, such as Italy, do what our Government never thinks of doing. Here, while huge sums are spent on Old Masters and ancient art, the arts of our times flag for want of real encouragement. One respectfully hopes that our new King and Queen will help us to a day of better things for national art throughout the British Empire.

There should be erected in Hyde Park, by the Government, the London County Council, or by public subscription, a fine, low, widespreading building for national art illustrative of British thought—one to give joy and recreation and rest for all classes of people, in the place where they usually congregate on Sundays and holidays: to bring the refining influence of art and beauty into their lives and not keep it so isolated as now. Such a building, sur-

rounded by gardens and even with a bandstand to bring the people together, should, in parts at least, be permanently open free to the public, and even the parts containing the annual exhibitions of the foremost art societies be open free on Sundays and holidays. I picture one form this Temple of Art might take: in plan an equi-armed cross, consisting of four quadrangles springing from a somewhat larger central one, the sides of each quadrangle being formed of single-story exhibition galleries for pictures and the like, while the central spaces could be laid out as formal covered-in gardens—the ideal place for displays of sculpture. The four outer quads could be retained for the annual exhibitions of the leading art societies; the central one, to be always open free, should contain works in sculpture illustrative of British thought and belonging to the nation; for such there is really no adequate home now. The building, consisting of single-story top-lit galleries, should be without any windows piercing its outside walls, and have a rich external frieze sculptured of coloured materials, illustrative of British national life. A colonnade round parts of the outside would form a home for other permanent works in sculpture, and full in the open around could be yet others. This colonnade would be a harbour of refuge and rest for the people in time of rain or heat.

That the Academy is now inadequate for the display of works available is on all hands acknowledged; the galleries at present devoted to sculpture are quite unsuitable for any but a comparatively few, and those small-sized, works. The architectural water-colour and black-and-white rooms are all quite insufficient. Yet all could have proper space if removed to such a central Temple of Art. Then the other societies, now already crippled by the shutting of the New Gallery, could have an adequate home as well, the upkeep of the place being provided by the rents to be paid by the various participating societies. With a modest Government grant of, say, 5000*l.* per annum for the purchase or commissioning of any really fine national sculpture sent to the annual exhibitions year by year, and a building with adequate spaces such as I have outlined for a permanent home, sculpture, one of the greatest and most enduring of the arts of all times, would be enabled to hold up its head. There is no fear that such a sum would pamper the art, for it would but provide for about two large and two small works per annum, but the friendly competition involved would effectually raise the standard of work and stimulate the workers. Under such conditions sculpture might flourish and become a national pride. Can this not be brought out of the land of dreams? It should be so, for art, which takes so slight a place, as yet, in our national life, has in the past been the invariable accompaniment of a nation at the height of its greatness: art with other culture being the jewels in its crown.

We cannot get our work forward without much wrestling with thought, and these words are written with a hope of giving the movement a reminding jog. I trust they will be accepted as the very serious thoughts of a sincere student of the great art of sculpture.

There is a proverb abroad, the remark of a great thinker of the far-away past, when his city, swollen with the pride of its strength and culture, was becoming lax: 'Behind the mountains there are also men.' All praise to the continental sculptors, the example they have set, the lessons they have taught us; but, instead of being classed as a continental offshoot, let us force the world to say: 'Across the Channel there are also men.'

W. Reynolds-Stephens.

'TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS'

A REPLY TO DR. CLIFFORD

THE scheme of settlement of the vexed question of religious instruction in elementary schools which was promulgated nearly a year ago by the Educational Settlement Committee has met with quite as good a reception at the hands of critics and reviewers as the members of the Committee had any right to expect.[1] Hostile criticism has been, of course, duly forthcoming from the expected quarters, but in some cases a more friendly tone has been adopted than might have been anticipated.

The scheme did not profess to be a Bill, but it presented what seemed, after prolonged discussion among experts widely differing in experience and in principles, to be the only practical suggestions that were worth making on the disputed points. Those who were discussing the question round the table knew what was the *ultima ratio* of each of the contending parties, and their problem was to get from each side for the others the best terms possible. Neither side could hope, in the long run, to get all it wanted, the point was to get for each as much as was compatible with the interests of the rest. Dr. Clifford, in the article contributed to the October issue of this Review, quotes Abraham Lincoln as having declared that 'nothing is ever settled until it is settled right.' This meant that the sufferer will continue to agitate, and did not mean 'nothing is ever settled until it is settled as Abraham Lincoln thinks right.'

But as in ordinary conversation the phrase 'a sensible person' usually means a person who agrees with the speaker, so, in this case, when the reader gets to the end of Dr. Clifford's article an impression is formed, in spite of all the conciliatory remarks that occur in the first section of the article, that Dr. Clifford would consider no settlement a righteous one that does not completely square with his own views. If such had been the attitude

[1] *Towards Educational Peace*, published by Longmans.

of members of the Committee no progress could ever have been made.

Dr. Clifford apparently does not see that one object we had before us was distinctly (using his own words) '*to provide for the Church free play for its own spiritual activities*' as far as possible consistently with the principle that *it is not the business of the State to win or to retain adherents to any Church.* And the object was not 'to provide, &c.,' for '*the* Church' only, but for '*any* Church' (provided it be a Christian Church).

Why Dr. Clifford declares that the Cowper-Temple arrangement disappears it is impossible to say. For he himself advocates instruction in the Bible, and he says the Cowper-Temple arrangement would content him, but when instruction in the Bible is enjoined he seems to think the Cowper-Temple arrangement destroyed. Is it because the principles of the Christian religion are to characterise the Bible instruction that he objects to our proposal? It would seem so. These are his words: 'Instruction in the Bible under the limitations of the Cowper-Temple clause we know, but instruction in the principles of the Christian religion is a new and a different matter.'

Dr. Clifford goes on to describe this proposal as '*concurrent endowment*,' apparently oblivious of the fact that no teacher (under our scheme) is to be paid more or less whether he consents or refuses to give religious instruction.

Dr. Clifford seems to assume that the principles of the Christian religion cannot be taught except in 'credal form,' a curious and dangerous admission for so strong an opponent of creeds! But that is not to be inferred from our forty years' experience of instruction under the Cowper-Temple clause. That experience had not produced in the minds of the Committee any impression that the 'amount of genuine religion outside of all the Churches' (to adopt again Dr. Clifford's own words) was other than Christian, and accordingly they have not scrupled to provide that the instruction from the Bible shall be of a Christian character. It is, of course, perfectly true that the Committee proceeded on the definite principle that, where it is possible without injustice, those people who desire denominational schools shall be allowed to provide and use them, and that such schools, when so provided, shall be recognised as part of the national system.

Where a denominational school is at present the only school, the scheme endeavours to correct the position with the least possible hardship to those who would be the sufferers from the change. Dr. Clifford agrees with the Committee in 'gratefully recognising the long and fruitful services of the Church of England to the cause of national education.' But he says 'he cannot

see that they constitute a valid claim for the continuance of special favours received for a century and more from the State, and also for the extension of similar privileges to other Churches.'

He would find it difficult to show from the scheme that 'special favours' are to be continued to 'the Church' which are not by the scheme open to all other Christian denominations. On the contrary, one of the main branches of the scheme is to arrange in course of time, as gently as may be, and only where it is necessary, for the conversion of non-provided schools in single-school areas (these are, it is not to be forgotten, chiefly Church of England schools) into Council schools. Further, in such schools it is not proposed, as Dr. Clifford's words would lead careless readers to suppose, to continue a majority of Church managers.

In fact, the real truth is that Dr. Clifford objects to any form of denominational instruction. He would not even tolerate the denominational training of young teachers in the art of imparting religious instruction to the very young of their own denomination. But his dislike to the idea of denominational instruction leads him into a misconception of the scheme. He says that the scheme would 'abandon the national ideal of education, and make universal the denominational.' That distinctly is not the case. The converse is nearer the truth. For it is part of the scheme to ensure that in the 6000 single-school areas the single school shall no longer be denominational. This applies to the larger part of the rural districts.

It is, on the other hand, proposed that in populous places where, besides the undenominational school, there are a sufficient number of persons (*i.e.* not less than 150) who care so much for a denominational school as to be willing to build another school and keep it filled with children, the State shall recognise that school, and allow the children of one denomination to be instructed in religion by teachers of their own denomination.

I suppose that it is this 'special favour,' or 'privilege,' which Dr. Clifford has in his mind when he speaks of the State 'compelling citizens to support the Romanist and Ritualist propaganda,' although, as has been already stated, under the scheme every teacher in a Council school has the choice of whether he will or will not take part in religious instruction, and his salary is not to be affected by his decision. Every teacher is to be free, except the head teacher, for in Council schools no head teacher is to be allowed to give denominational instruction, except in transferred schools such as are now doing so, but they may refuse to continue to do so without loss of salary.

It is true that those teachers who do volunteer to give the instruction they believe in will not be fined for doing so,

and the taxpayer will have to contribute to their salary, earned as it will be entirely by secular instruction. But that amount of compulsion will be necessary in any system which permits 'Romanists or Ritualists' to earn their livelihood by teaching, and if the continuance is permitted of denominational schools as a part of the national system of education aided out of national funds. But no taxpayer will be compelled to pay for any religious instruction as such.

It is difficult to see why, where Wesleyans or Romanists or members of the English Church are both numerous enough in any area, and keen enough about special religious instruction for their children, they should not be allowed to provide a school for their own children. In that case the State will employ a staff of teachers who voluntarily give the religious instruction, each according to the principles of his or her own denomination.

If this liberty to denominations were refused, as Dr. Clifford would have it refused, there would remain only two alternatives. Either all children must be dragooned into undenominational schools, and denied the denominational instruction which it is unquestionable that many parents prefer for their children; or else different denominational instruction would have to be given to different groups of children in the same school, a system which it needs no argument to prove to be most undesirable. Dr. Clifford calls this 'increasing the number of favoured sects, and so increasing injustice.' But under the scheme there would be no 'favoured sects.' Biblical Cowper-Temple teaching would be provided for all who desire it. Those who desire more would, when possible without injustice to their fellow-citizens, be permitted to provide it.

And for those who do not desire Biblical instruction there would remain, as now, the liberty to withdraw their children from it without destroying the provision for the much larger number who *do* desire it. Other work would be assigned to such children.

But Dr. Clifford is probably right in thinking that not many parents would desire so to withdraw their children.

It is perfectly true that the first object of the scheme is to *keep the Bible in the schools*, but it is also true that it aims at establishing a national system. The third object is to utilise *all* existing schools, while maintaining public control, and also utilising the denominational zeal to which we are indebted for the existence of most of the village schools. If what Dr. Clifford seems to think the only 'righteous' plan were attempted, it is not too much to say that not only would the righteousness be more than counterbalanced by the hideous injustice committed in ignoring all that has been done by denominational zeal, but an

unjustifiable waste of public money would be incurred, and a fresh outbreak of hostility, the very thing we wish to avoid, would be the result.

If such a plan were put forward there can be no doubt that the 'Romanist and Ritualist' would join with those at the other extreme, and would drive Bible teaching out of the State schools altogether. But they would not succeed in destroying the national system. They could not cover the area with voluntary schools of their own atmosphere, and the children in the vastly larger part of the country, especially in the urban areas, would be in the position of the children in the French State schools.

For the danger of secularism does not come from the 'Romanist and Ritualist' alone. If the State once secularised the schools it would be very difficult (great as is the amount of 'genuine religion outside all the Churches') to replace Biblical teaching in the course of study. But the recent example of Queensland shows how great an impression can be made upon public opinion by a combined effort of denominations to reverse the policy of secular education.

It seems unfortunate that Dr. Clifford appears not to have observed that the most formidable opposition to the adoption of the proposals embodied in the scheme comes from the parochial clergy in rural districts.

It is certainly not in this sense that he says, what is true enough, that it is from the 'Romanist and Ritualist' that the real danger of secularism arises. But the real fact is that while Dr. Clifford would raise the outcry that denominationalism is being established by the scheme, the parish clergy cry out that the scheme gives practical endowment to undenominationalism and is destructive of denominationalism. Extremes meet, we are often told, and verily they do so here.

Dr. Clifford complains that Cowper-Temple teaching is destroyed by the scheme. Mr. Lathbury, from the Anglican point of view, complains that it is established and endowed, and so they both oppose a scheme which neither destroys nor endows what is called 'undenominationalism,' and which permits, but does not endow, denominational schools where population admits of them alongside of Council schools, and permits denominational teaching in most of the schools in which it has hitherto been the practice.

It would not be right to close this article without a word in defence of Mr. Shakespeare. Nowhere in the article from which Dr. Clifford quotes does Mr. Shakespeare admit that anything is not 'right' (in the ordinary sense of the word) which he supports, though he does admit there are some things which '*he does not*

like '; but that is a very different thing. Mr. Shakespeare defends the scheme from the obviously right, religious, and statesmanlike standpoint, that it is the fairest arrangement by which the Bible can be kept in the schools. Nothing would satisfy Dr. Clifford but trampling upon the denominational schools without compromise or consideration. But is this the best way to achieve either peace or righteousness?

C. T. D. Acland.

A LAND VENTURE

The problem of land and its ownership is one which has exercised the minds of successive generations since the days of the Witenagemot, but for the majority it would still seem to be merely a subject for heated discussions and party politics. It may, therefore, be of interest to a large section of the community to know how that problem has been faced by a gentleman in Wiltshire, and with what results.

It was as a member of the Wilts County Council, in 1889, that Major Poore first perceived the opportunity for starting a system of Small Holdings which it had long been a dream of his to establish.

The initial processes of this undertaking, capable of such brief description, absorbed, however, a great deal of time and energy in their development, for ideas are grasped slowly in the South country and ambitious effort needs stimulating.

Frequent house-to-house visitations in one of the districts served by the Wilts County Council, and constant discussions with the inhabitants of the villages awakened the interest which became crystallized into action as time went on; and it is interesting to note how the 'establishment of Private Property on a permanent basis,' as Major Poore expresses it, has contributed to the 'uplifting and the moral improvement' of the inhabitants themselves.

The first proposal to divide each village into Wards was at length adopted: each Ward to contain ten houses and to form itself into a Committee, appointing a Chairman from among its members: these Chairmen to compose the final Committee for the Village.

For three years these Ward Committees met to discuss freely the subject of Peasant Proprietorship, the Chairman in each case bringing the result of these deliberations to the Village Committee, not only for further consideration, but in order that some course of action might be evolved which it would be both possible and desirable to pursue.

As a consequence of this dissemination and interchange of ideas and the various suggestions which ensued, Major Poore decided to launch his scheme by purchasing 192 acres of land in Winterslow at 10*l.* per acre, with the object of selling it under certain conditions to those inhabitants of the village represented by their Committee, who wished to establish Peasant Proprietorship.

The conditions were left to the Village Committee to settle.

First they selected their valuers in the persons of the surveyors of Lower Wallop and a neighbouring village, and within a few days they succeeded in dividing 112 acres of the land in question into acre plots, and pricing it on the average basis of 15*l.* per acre: some plots, however, being as low as 8*l.*, while others went up to 30*l.* The remaining portion of 80 acres, being heavier land and not likely to command immediate offers, was sold by the purchaser soon after his original transaction.

This valuation accepted, and the knowledge of it conveyed to each Ward through its Committee, applications for the plots were soon forthcoming from, it must be noted, men whose average weekly wage did not exceed 16*s.* These applications were dealt with by the Village Committee in the order in which they were received; and it is encouraging to learn that within six months of the valuation, viz. early in 1893, the plots were all taken up by the surrounding inhabitants, some even being bought outright.

When the applications had all been dealt with, the landholders were divided off into five groups or divisions, each group supplying its Chairman as representative to what afterwards came to be the Land Court.

The work of the Committee being done, they dissolved in favour of the Land Court, to whom the landowners now looked, as they do to-day, for any necessary legislation and the conduct of affairs.

The first duty of the Court was to draw up the terms of agreement between Major Poore and his tenants. They were briefly these:

The plots were to be held on a lease of 999 years, all payments to cease when the average capital sum of 15*l.* per acre had been paid up.

On the original price the leaseholders to pay 5 per cent. towards capital and 5 per cent. towards interest. As security they were to discharge the first half-year's payment on entry, and subsequently pay six months in advance.

That is to say, Major Poore was ready to lease the land on 15 years' purchase on deferred payment of principal and interest.

To all intents and purposes the land was to be freehold, but difficulties of transfer turned the scale in favour of the leasehold form: hence the 999 years. There was the further object of keeping the title alive as in a copyhold.

The following statistical table was drawn up:

Year	Amount of Principal and Interest Paid	Interest	Principal Repaid	Balance of Principal Due
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
End of year 1	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	9 10 0
,, ,, 2	1 0 0	0 9 6	0 10 6	8 19 6
,, ,, 3	1 0 0	0 8 11½	0 11 0½	8 8 5½
,, ,, 4	1 0 0	0 8 4½	0 11 7½	7 16 10
,, ,, 5	1 0 0	0 7 10	0 12 2	7 4 8
,, ,, 6	1 0 0	0 7 2½	0 12 9½	6 11 10½
,, ,, 7	1 0 0	0 6 7	0 13 5	5 18 5½
,, ,, 8	1 0 0	0 5 11	0 14 1	5 4 4½
,, ,, 9	1 0 0	0 5 2½	0 14 9½	4 9 7
,, ,, 10	1 0 0	0 4 5½	0 15 6½	3 14 0½
,, ,, 11	1 0 0	0 3 8½	0 16 3½	2 17 9
,, ,, 12	1 0 0	0 2 10½	0 17 1½	2 0 7½
,, ,, 13	1 0 0	0 2 0	0 18 0	1 2 7½
,, ,, 14	1 0 0	0 1 1½	0 18 10½	0 3 9
,, ,, 15	0 3 11	0 0 2	0 3 9	—
Total . .	14 3 11	4 3 11 *	10 0 0	—

* Suppose a man borrowed 10*l.* at 3 per cent. he would pay 6*s.* per year; 6*s.* × 14 years = 84*s.* = 4*l.* 4*s.*

The interest, that is to say the difference between the original price paid by the purchaser and that paid under the above scheme, was utilized by Major Poore to form a Reserve Fund for the benefit of the property. It can only be drawn upon with the advice of the Land Court, and for the common good and benefit of all the landholders: *i.e.* for an investment that would increase the Reserve, or for a business or expenditure that would bring a common benefit.

There is nothing much to meet the outward eye in all this, for Winterslow to the casual observer is merely a pretty prosperous-looking village on the slopes of the Wiltshire Downs. But within the boundaries of its stuccoed walls and well-kept hedges, it holds in great measure the solution to the land problem that is occupying all thoughtful minds to-day. For it tells the history of kindness and enterprise in the direction of giving short credit: of the awakening of intelligent forethought and energy on the part of village communities: of self-government and independence of officialism: and of the consequent 'moral uplifting' of the inhabitants themselves.

There are now 47 members of the Land Court: there is a Reserve Fund created by their aided efforts standing at 1382*l.*—

for all payments have been completed: and out of the original leaseholders there are 37 heads of families each enjoying the fruit of his own industry, application and thrift, in a well-built cottage of his own, standing on the ground he has bought and toiled upon to improve, and that now supplies his sustenance and that of his family.

These facts should surely provide some food for inquiry free from all party bias, and serve to emphasise the small need there really is for what we call charity, in the working out of great schemes for the benefit of our fellow-men.

Major Poore himself says, 'My object in starting this venture was to show that the principles which guided my actions were not merely visionary. They do not begin and end in Small Holdings. It is the organization for administration which is the important part . . .' And again, 'It is undeniable that every sound effort to help must be self-supporting, which means that it must depend on the application of judgment to knowledge by the men themselves. No man has ever become prosperous except by his own exertions, and no man is independent that cannot help himself.'

There are more openings in this direction for those who are fortunate enough to have the means at their disposal in the first instance, and those means need not be great. And the success of the Winterslow enterprise, which, as Major Poore expresses it, 'has not cost me a sixpence,' should ensure to our communities who so sorely need it further action undertaken on these lines and in the light of this experience.

E. M. Boyd.

A STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

Listening the other day in one of the courts of Denver to the catechising of the jury which is a preliminary feature of an American trial, I was surprised to hear eleven out of twelve jurymen publicly avow that they took no practical interest in party politics, and had no bias whatever in favour of one side or the other. This in the very citadel of democracy, and in a State which has crowned it by the bestowal of votes upon women! But in America, as in England, party politics are still very generally the business of the few and the amusement of the many. With us, in times of great popular excitement—and especially when there is any question affecting popular self-esteem—voters may crowd enthusiastically to the ballot-box. At other times their interest in elections is largely of a sporting character—a desire to win victory for the particular colour they admire. And, as candidates for parliamentary honours know only too well, this feeling does not suffice to bring to the polling booth a large proportion of the electors unless it is assisted by laborious canvassing, by unreasonable appeals to sentiment, and by what are called in America 'joy-rides' in motor-cars. Politicians feel that this indifference lessens their importance, and they are at pains to declare that the differences which divide them are dictated by stirrings of the great heart of the nation. They warn us that an appeal to the people on a constitutional question will rouse the bitterest feelings: they even hint at civil war. I was in Granada at the time of the last Spanish election. The issue involved was of grave importance—Liberalism *versus* Clericalism. The town was peaceful to dulness, and it was entertaining to read the telegrams which were despatched to the newspapers of Madrid telling of the disorders in which the citizens were venting their feelings. What a contrast our recent general election has afforded to the ominous prognostications of the rival partisans!

In theory a democracy substitutes the rule of the multitude for that of the few. Unless we can believe that mankind in the aggregate is unconsciously wiser than it is consciously and in detail, it is obvious that until the mass of our electorate gains very

largely in intelligence it is quite unfit to decide questions of difficulty. The most that can be said for a reference to an ignorant electorate is that, when the well-informed disagree, it is better to consult the ill-informed than to draw lots for a decision. We would rather be overruled by numbers than be defeated by chance or oppressed by violence. For this reason a democracy is comparatively secure against subversive revolutions: it provides a safety-valve for restlessness or discontent. And it is of no small value in presenting to the public a drama which keeps them amused and interested. Mr. Lloyd George is certainly a more entertaining personality than we can reasonably expect to emerge from an hereditary aristocracy. It may be that in the fulness of time the consciousness of power will bring about a fitness for it, and that the whole population of a country will take an intelligent interest in public affairs and insist upon directing them. Long steps towards this ideal have been taken in America and Australia, where democracy has been untrammelled by the clingings of old-time prejudices. Matters of 'live' importance, such as education, sanitation and temperance reform, there excite general and practical interest, although large numbers of people are not moved by the less definite questions which have been drawn within the vortex of party politics. But so far, in this country at all events, it is clear that, as under a monarchy or aristocracy, men follow leaders, and do little thinking for themselves.

On scientific grounds we may value democracy because it affords scope for the gradual development of the judgment of mankind. The variations of human opinion may be compared with those physical variations of plants and animals which are the only, if imperfect, instruments of progressive evolution. Some are useful, others are injurious; but if all be crushed, the capacity for progress is atrophied, and such stagnation follows as in India has been the consequence of Brahminical despotism. Under a monarchy or aristocracy peculiarities of opinion threaten the established order of things, and are promptly stifled. The community becomes as a flower-bed the plants of which are kept true to type by the rigid elimination of all varying blossoms. The restless or enthusiastic men who represent the varying florescences of human thought have, after centuries of struggle, succeeded in establishing a court of appeal. They have claimed the protection of the masses, and have conciliated the masses by winning for them a voice in the management of affairs. Many years may pass before the enfranchised multitudes take an intelligent interest in the schemes that are propounded to them. Having obtained the privilege of a vote, they are not particularly anxious to exercise it. But none the less keenly do they value the privilege—indeed, they will risk their lives for it. Its possession enhances the self-

esteem which is the most precious treasure of humanity. You may call this feeling vanity if you will: it certainly has something in common with vanity. It is strongly self-conscious, and lies poles apart from such sentiments as reverence and faith. But it has been of immense service in raising the standard of human comfort and respectability. It pervades the atmosphere of the political meeting hall, and those orators are most successful whose words most effectually appeal to it. Whatever be the tendency of popular legislation, it is invariably subject to one condition—that it does not detract from popular self-esteem. Pensions are accepted where poor relief is spurned. The people may at times show indifference to justice, to liberty, or even to self-interest. But they are never indifferent to feelings of self-respect.

The growth of a consciousness of self-respect before all men, and its spread to the humblest elements of the population, is the most characteristic feature of modern civilisation. Anciently it was the monopoly of the few. In classical days it was beyond general attainment; in some countries half the population appears to have lived in actual slavery. Traders and manufacturers painfully struggled for it, and the politics of the Middle Ages were largely concerned with the ambition of the richer townspeople to stand erect and unabashed in the presence of the nobly born. Little more than a century has passed since it was first conceded that this ambition might not unreasonably be entertained by the mass of the population. It opened to them a fresh and stimulating outlook. To feel the glow of self-respect the poor were no longer dependent upon the mutual admiration of a small circle of caste fellows. The idea that in spite of obscurity of birth, and of poverty, a man might claim to be treated with respect by all of his fellow-men—from the highest to the lowest—gave to life, for the multitude, an entirely new meaning. Its circumstances were no longer fixedly defined and stereotyped: they might be controlled and modified by individual effort. There was an end to such doctrines of fatalism as still dominate the East. This step was gained, no doubt, by some encroachment upon the domain of faith and of reverence. Faith is associated with submissiveness and contentment: it consoles the oppressed by promises of future recompense, and even glorifies their afflictions by lofty ideals of transcendental self-sacrifice. Reverence makes custom the standard of life, and is impressed by the continuity of hereditary succession. These ideals have now been limited by the recognition of human dignity: this is the characteristic of the spirit of the age. It has stimulated an amazing human activity. We are no longer fettered by the present or by the past: a vista which seems illimitable is opened to individual effort. Circumstances are no longer to be accepted, but are to be subdued: in the campaign against them

'eryone, down to the poorest, can subscribe his services; and ere has resulted an expansion of trade and industry which would ve been unattainable if pioneers had not been enlisted from the hole of the population. We may trace the new doctrine in oral progress also. Self-esteem makes for at least the respect-ility of the Pharisee. And reforming persuasiveness best cures a foothold for its influence by recognising such good quali-es as even the most vicious possess. What wonder that a feel-g of self-respect has become the most cherished possession of e poor!

Granting, however, some will say, that the franchise gratifies e self-esteem of the masses, do not they value it still more for e satisfaction it affords to a desire for power, for justice, or for eedom? With the spread of education and intelligence we may rtainly expect that the electorate will use their authority for ever-creasing practical purposes. But so far, in Europe at all events, ch definite ideals as these seem to make no very strong appeal them. For, if power be their desire, how are we to explain eir very general indifference to the issues that are raised at ections, and the need which politicians experience of exciting their terest by ignoble appeals to passion and prejudice? Moreover, e patience with which voters on the losing side possess their uls during long years of impotence is incompatible with an sistent itching for power. Disappointment which really uched their hearts would be resented with bitterness and th violence. As it is, having asserted their rights by ting, they are content to wait for a turn of the tide. And ose of the winning side, after carrying their candidate through triumph, are usually satisfied with their victory at the polls, d show no desire to control or interfere with the leaders they ve established in office. There are exceptions. There are nstituencies which, moved by the activity of local politicians, ke a practical interest in parliamentary proceedings, and even sume to dictate to their representative. To him their inter-ntion is by no means palatable, and it is generally deprecated no part of the game. To men whose party is out of office mocracy offers no power at all: those of the winning side are posed to stand apart unless at any time the support of their ces is needed. It can hardly be a desire for power which renders nocratic institutions popular with the multitude. How slowly e electorates, the vast majority of which are working men, erted their claims to be represented by working men in Parlia-nt!

If power be not the object of popular desire, is this object rty? It pleases us to think of democracy as marching to the ompaniment of songs of freedom. But if we consider, not the

protestations of the multitude, but the circumstances to which they willingly submit themselves, we shall find little to show that they desire to live uncontrolled in the free exercise of private judgment. Indeed, experience is all the other way. Mankind is disgusted by the coarser forms of tyranny, and we owe it to the force of the people's will that the State cannot penalise us in person or property except through the formality of an open trial. It was the people's will that banished slavery. But in respect to actions which stir the imagination less vividly—in the matters of everyday life—the popular tendencies of the present day violate the principles of liberty rather than uphold them. Time was when it was the creed of Liberal politics that the interference of the State should be limited to the provision of a force of police and a staff of magistrates, and that any intervention with private contracts was wholly mischievous. Cobden himself was opposed to factory legislation. Oppressed by the misery and wastage which labour suffers in unrestricted competition at the doors of capital, we have changed our opinions; we are recognising that circumstances may render freedom in the hands of capitalists, employers, and trusts as dangerous for the masses of the population as if allowed to the criminal classes; and each year adds to the statute book measures which employ State agency for the restriction of liberty. Socialism is an extreme development of this conviction. Chimerical though it be, and opposed to the profoundest of our natural impulses, it attracts much sympathy and is growing in attractiveness. It is the very antithesis of freedom: it would regulate the most intimate domestic concerns of mankind—would even use physical pain to compel the idle to do their duty. But we need not impress these extreme doctrines to assist our argument. It suffices to reflect upon the working of Trades Unionism. There have been few tyrants in history who have wielded so imperious an authority as a Trades Union committee—who would have dared to insist that thousands of families should relinquish their income and live upon a pittance for weeks at a time, however important be the general interests that are advanced by such a sacrifice. It may be urged that the extreme measure of a strike offers the only escape from a condition of industrial servitude which, for all practical purposes, is as oppressive and degrading as slavery itself. We may agree. But the last thing which strikes, and the circumstances which attend them, could be taken to illustrate would be a popular appreciation of the excellence of liberty. The truth is that for the majority of mankind the exercise of free judgment is an embarrassing and distasteful experience. Which of us in selecting a wedding present has not felt bewildered and oppressed by variety of choice, would not have been thankful were there but one suitable article

offered for purchase? If the State relaxes its authority, tyrannies are elected in its place. The liberty which the Government has accorded to Catholic Ireland has merely assisted leagues and the Church to establish the most overbearing of despotisms.

And what of justice? If power, if liberty be not active popular ideals, may not justice be the beacon which attracts their aspirations? Reasonably enough. Inexplicable though it may be on scientific grounds, man, living in an environment which shows no traces of justice, is convinced of the existence of justice and cries for it insistently—so long, at least, as it does not conflict with his private interests. Beyond doubt a desire to remedy gross injustice has been a moving force in popular upheavals. And yet it does not clearly explain the ambition of the people to be a force in politics. For if justice be their object, how is it that, in parliamentary elections, they yield so readily to corrupting temptations? Having gained political rights, so lightly do they hold their exercise that honest voting can only be secured by stringent legal penalties. In these circumstances justice can hardly have been the standard under which they struggled for the right to vote. Moreover, history demonstrates abundantly that popular movements may be quite indifferent to justice when it conflicts with the fancied interests of self-respect. It is sufficient to refer to the gross injustices from which Irish Nationalism has not shrunk to win support for its propaganda—injustices which its leaders have never chosen, or dared, to condemn. Home Rule is apostrophised as 'justice for Ireland'; but it is pressed by the offer of injuries to thousands of Irishmen. Can it for a moment be imagined that justice and not self-esteem is uppermost in the minds of those who clamour for an Irish Parliament—or in the minds of those who in Egypt and in India are striving for the subversal of British authority? Is it to be supposed that any government the latter could establish would secure the justice now enjoyed by all classes under a rule which is disinterested and equitable because it is alien? Misery on the Congo did not stir very deeply the hearts of the Belgian people. Take again the indifference with which Trades Unionism regards the injustices that are occasioned by a strike or boycott. In truth, earnest politicians, of whatever colour, are not checked in their reforms by tenderness for the rights of others. Even so estimable a movement as that for the advance of temperance is impatient of justice when lying across its path. Leaders whose careers are flattering to popular self-esteem, or appeal to popular imagination, are excused from the ordinary rules of morality. Napoleon personified the victories of France, and was expected to show no scruples in his ambitions. Democracies may admire virtue and justice in the abstract. But they are often content under leaders who are unjust and immoral.

Only, however, so long as their policy or behaviour inflicts no injury upon popular self-esteem.

There are some who hold that the instincts of democracy are merely predatory—that the people desire influence only that they may use it to appropriate for themselves the goods of others. This opinion is libellous to human nature. Sometimes, it is true, the poor are attracted by measures that display jealousy of the rich: but when envy is a moving force in politics, it is oftener imported by politicians to give grip to their arguments than a spontaneous growth in the hearts of their listeners. As a matter of fact, on a dispassionate survey of the course of democratic governments, we may feel surprised that the multitude have made so little use of their opportunities for attacking property. Spoliatory legislation has been practically unknown in France or America; in England the Small Holdings Act illustrates the tenderness with which vested rights are treated, even when they impede the course of popular cry; in Australia we may wonder at the deference which has been shown to the landed monopolies of squatters, in conflict although they are with the urgent need of peopling the country. Democratic legislation may sometimes be swayed by a desire for spoil. But this desire is certainly not the fundamental impulse which has urged the masses to demand the franchise.

We may gain some light from this conclusion as to the real meaning of the demand for female suffrage. It is beside the point to reply to suffragettes that, as a matter of fact, in Christian countries woman has been conceded a position which she could never have won—or attempted to win—for herself; that the dignity with which she is invested in the Gospel narrative has so impressed the mind of man that he has raised her socially to an equality with himself, and has secured her against injustice, to which she would willingly have submitted, by a marriage law that not infrequently constrains his own natural feelings. It is useless to inquire what, as a matter of fact, are the hardships which woman expects to alleviate by the possession of a vote. The question is not practical but sentimental. Women desire the franchise because men possess it, and because, so long as they are in this matter less privileged than men, full growth cannot be attained by their feelings of self-respect. The development of these feelings would, they urge, be of as much advantage morally and materially to one sex as to the other, and would enable women to turn to better purpose the opportunities life offers to them. The question is whether to increase woman's self-respect it is worth while to run the risk of admitting a new element into the Constitution. Whatever be our view, we may conceive that the influence of women in politics would have its advantages. Reverence and religion find deeper soil in woman's than in man's nature

and women's votes might serve to bring them usefully into the balance against increasing egotism.

So long as democracy is merely an institution under which restless, enthusiastic or ambitious men find opportunities for exercising their energies, the politician will be the leader rather than the representative of the people. Politics will tend to become a craft, with a feeling of exclusiveness which may actually suppress vitality of opinion. This is not perhaps an unfair description of our own present condition. The voice of the private member has been silenced. But this development is merely a phase in the progress of evolution. It is especially characteristic of the democracies of Europe, which (save perhaps that of Switzerland) have not been planted in virgin soil, but have struggled to the light on soil that is (from the reformers' point of view) cumbered with the relics of bygone days. In these circumstances the energies of politicians are very largely absorbed in directing a strife between the doctrine of equal opportunity for all and the claims of privilege. The United States and our overseas dominions are not troubled by this discord, for in them privilege has never established itself, and has no claims to be over-ruled. The equal dignity of all white men is taken for granted, and one passes to the consideration of practical issues. But in the democracies of Europe advanced politicians are concerned not merely with the improvement of the present but with the extirpation of the past. This excites much bitterness of thought and language, since the contest between the privileged and unprivileged classes touches very keenly the self-esteem of both. The fruit of this bitterness is the extraordinary unpatriotism which is displayed by popular leaders on this side of the Atlantic. In the United States and Canada public opinion would give short shrift to such eccentricities as disrespect to the national flag. It waves from every schoolhouse, on motor-cars, and even on perambulators. In the New World, it will be urged, there is less poverty than in the Old, and less of the discontent that is caused by hardship. But the sting of poverty does not enrage unless it is embittered by a feeling of humiliation. And the English working classes have by no means a monopoly of the Englishmen who exert themselves to belittle their country's greatness. In the United States and the colonies democracy is a national, not a sectional, creed. There the multitude has an open field, and does not feel itself blocked and circumscribed by sympathies and prejudices which rest upon implications of its social inferiority. We may hope, then, that with the gradual decay of the past a more healthy tone will pervade the politics of the future, and that here, as now across the seas, they will be concerned less with personal than with practical issues, and will appeal more to intelligence and less to sentiment. In America,

as has been already stated, public feeling is not deeply stirred by the broad differences which distinguish political parties. But the whole population takes a lively interest in practical questions that affect the moral or material well-being of the community or the dignity of the nation. We can read our destiny in the lives of the nations across the seas that have sprung from us; and who can believe that an electorate, at least five-sevenths of which are working men, will not ultimately insist upon the establishment of a Government which is subservient to the interests of the majority—will not control state-administration either by means of extra-parliamentary conventions or by a Labour cabinet? As the political atmosphere clears and the objects of politics become more definite and practical, the status of the politician will suffer a transformation. The public will require agents rather than champions, and, so long as they can depend upon them to carry out their mandates, they will not require nicety of manners or even sincerity of conviction: they will be ready to pay them, and may not even be greatly scandalised if they add indirectly and dishonestly to their emoluments. The corruption which report universally attributes to the people's representatives at Washington and Ottawa is a deplorable feature of transatlantic politics. But this degradation is not inevitable. There is no such dishonesty in Australia and New Zealand. It would be checked were general opinion set against it, and there are signs of an awakening of the public conscience.

The final and logical development of democratical theory is the Referendum, which confides to the masses the selection not of men but of measures. For its successful employment is required not only a high range of general intelligence, but an atmosphere which is unclouded by feelings of wounded vanity; and an expedient which has proved successful in Switzerland, the States of America, and the Colonies may not be found equally suited to the less advanced conditions of English politics.

A democracy offers an open field for the discussion of opinions which may be either useful or injurious, and its success depends upon its ability to adopt the one and reject the other. Undoubtedly under the stress of excitement or passion the people are liable to accept a course which is against their interests, and which they will ultimately discover to be so. A safeguard against hasty legislation is a necessary condition of progressive evolution; and this is provided by a Second Chamber. But with a waning respect for privilege and tradition this chamber will be effective—that is to say, will command respect—only when its constitution appeals to the sentiment, in which democracy is rooted—the sentiment of self-esteem. The electorate must feel that it is their own creation. In respect of our House of Lords it is

futile to plead that it is historically venerable and has played its part efficiently. Nor will opposition be conciliated if the average capacity of its members be increased by any system of selection from within. It lies open to attack because its constitution makes no such appeal to the self-esteem of the electors as would be the case were they consulted from time to time in forming it. Their sentiments would hardly be opposed to the inclusion in the Upper House of a permanent nucleus consisting of peers who had held high office under the State. The qualification being of service, not simply of hereditary rank, could hardly offend the most jealous susceptibilities. To these might be added representatives of the principal shades of religious opinion. For the rest, no lesser concession will permanently satisfy the people's self-respect than that the members of the Upper, like those of the Lower, Chamber should be elected by the people's votes and hold their seats at its discretion. But at the cost of no surrender of popular dignity a limitation might be imposed upon this discretion which would maintain that ripeness and breadth of judgment which a second chamber must possess. Candidature for election to the Upper House might be limited to a senatorial class, which would be precisely and formally defined. It might include, let us say, peers, privy councillors, presidents of chambers of commerce, and of the principal philanthropic, industrial, university, and artistic societies, chairmen of county councils, and mayors of the principal cities. Constituencies for the Upper House would be, of course, much larger and fewer in number than those for the Lower House, and such a list would include a sufficient number of men of both shades of political opinion to enable each constituency to provide itself at each election with a representative who commended himself to the majority of the electors. It would, of course, be possible to avoid changing the historic designation of the House by giving such of its members as are not peers the title of Lords of Parliament. We may shrink from contemplating so radical a change in one of the most venerable and most useful institutions which our history has presented to us. But it is not probable that any less drastic reform will finally secure the Upper House against dangerous fits of popular jealousy. Where earthquakes are expected, it is prudent to build against them.

BAMPFYLDE FULLER.

THE
NINETEENTH
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XIX XX

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BRITISH DEMOCRACY AND INDIAN GOVERNMENT

In more senses than one the ingenious saying of an eminent Anglo-Indian authority, that the British rulers of India are like men bound to make their watches keep time in two longitudes at once, is true and apt. How are we to make our watches keep the same time in England and in Asia? It is upon this point of the two longitudes that I propose to submit some observations. They may have the good fortune in England and in Anglo-India to be thought worth considering by temperate and reflective minds. Among two or three stock admonitions only too familiar to anybody who has taken part in action or discussion about our rule in India, none is more well worn than that wise rule there will be overthrown by the folly of democracy here. To call it well worn is far from meaning that it does not deserve consideration. On the contrary, if we realise the enormous weight, complexity, delicacy, and hazards of all the obligations, actual and contingent, that arise from our connexion with the great Asiatic continent, Indian questions need far more close, and especially more con-

secutive, attention from politicians, press, public, perhaps even from cabinets, than has hitherto been the fashion. As matter of history, empire over distant dependencies has not been broken down by democracy at the metropolis. Our own unforgettable disruption was due to a patrician oligarchy in charge of the machinery at Westminster, misreading and mismanaging democracy in Virginia and Massachusetts. The British government of dependencies during the last forty years—taking 1867 roughly as the opening of a democratic system—has nothing to fear from comparison with its predecessors, or with either imperial France or imperial Germany. It was under absolutism, not democracy, that the refulgent orb of Spain slowly sank away in South America. Bureaucracy wore down the stupendous fabric of New Rome and the Eastern Empire. It was legionaries, tax-collectors, barbarians from the North, not assemblies in the Forum, that loosened and dispersed the majestic sway that held mankind from the Tweed to the Orontes and the Nile in Roman obedience. The Oligarchic party was at the root of Athenian declension. I do not imply that these convulsions to and fro of world-wide realms have special morals for us in India to-day; but they are a useful corrective against passing off for universal truth about democracy what is in fact little more than an illusory catchword of the hour.

I

On the whole, it looks as if the deficiency of interest in India were being repaired. Among the elements of this improvement it is impossible not to count the remarkable letters printed by Mr. Chirol in the *Times* last year, and the wide interest they kindled among a host of readers who had never found Indian subjects interesting before. The letters have now been revised and republished in a volume of moderate compass [1] with a commendatory introduction by Sir Alfred Lyall, whose own insight, imagination, and genius have made him the most instructive and luminous of the writers that Indian experience has produced. The book is well written, and therefore easy to read; the topics are varied, profoundly exciting, and often picturesque; the tone is grave and careful, as befits a theme so tremendous in its import. Instead of theoretic disquisition, sonorous generalities, or imperial declamation, it is thoroughly actual and alive, with a well-selected supply of chapter and verse. The scientific explorer goes hand in hand with the critic of the occasions of the hour. Not composed in the air, it has the attraction of wide experience and long observation, for the writer has visited India some nine times in thirty years, and has had excellent opportunities of knowing its

[1] *Indian Unrest.* By Valentine Chirol. Macmillan and Co. 1910. 5s. net.

rulers both there and here at close quarters. By the title of his volume and otherwise, he is thought by some to make the difficulties labelled as unrest the only facts worth attending to; and people coming home exclaim that they find unrest bulking much larger here than there. But all will agree, whatever the proportions, depth, and vitality of unrest, it is in spirit near enough to downright revolt, to deserve examination, and this is what Mr. Chirol performs on a scale and method demanded by its significance, if it were only an isolated and transient phenomenon. Above all, we are conscious of being in the hands of a man animated by that peculiar sense of practical responsibility, the lack of which makes so much political discussion, whether on India, Second Chambers, Referendum, or anything else, however ingenious, sustained, and plausible as literature, yet essentially worthless for extricating statesmen from dilemmas.

It is a prime motto for a book like this that there can be no safe politics without history. Maine was never wearied of saying that the Mutiny in 1857-58 was a supreme trial of strength, which made it the most important fact in the whole records of our Indian connexions. Painful as its memories in many ways must always be, some estimate of that sanguinary and desperate transaction is doubtless essential to a really well-bottomed judgment of later events. Fortunately, it was not within the scope of the present volume to reopen one of the overwhelming political and military chapters in British history. The writer naturally contents himself with exploring the roots of his own upas tree within the time of our own immediate generation. Whether the historical section, presenting a connected narrative of the rise and spread of disturbance in the political atmosphere during the last twenty years, assigns the right degree of importance to each link in the chain of unfavourable incidents, we are not here concerned. Experts differ as to the exact proportions of this or that event or personage, and their precise relations with one another. Even a less careful and connected survey than this, of all the uncomfortable signs before our eyes would be a decided gain, by dissipating the illusion that all was sunshine and smooth water until the partition of Bengal. What is styled Unrest means much more than this, and goes far wider and deeper. Whether, again, Mr. Chirol has confined his examination too narrowly to the cities, and not gone deep enough into the evidence of seditious spirit in the villages, appears to be doubted by some not incompetent critics. Whatever deduction that may make from the complete character of an inquiry so singularly comprehensive, it does not affect his right to his general conclusion. The point has been taken that he underrates the share of economic causes in producing political disaffection.

Another objection is that his colouring is, as a whole, too sombre. Some say he is too cold. Well, anybody can be hot. To be violently heated either way, in a case so complex and inscrutable as India, is to be a simpleton. Undoubtedly the cheerful stoic's heart is a regal help to the responsible ruler. *Sæva indignatio* has its own due hour; but hope is the better vein; it is nearer the working daylight. Still, a public instructor is none the worse, rather he is much the better, for seeing the facts through a field-glass as they are, instead of composing them into an artistic picture to suit a foregone decision.

In view of the great general question how the omnipotence of democracy, and all its influences direct and indirect, are likely to affect Indian rule, the particular question of the relations between the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council is cardinal. It is not a branch of the main issue; it is, in fact, a trunk. Mr. Chirol looks to the greatest possible decentralisation in India, 'subject to the general, but unmeddlesome, control of the Governor-General in Council, and to the greatest possible freedom of the Government of India from all interference from home, except in regard to those broad principles of policy which it must always rest with the Imperial Government, represented by the Secretary of State in Council, to determine.' This is well enough, but Mr. Chirol knows far too much of the range of administration not to be aware that his exposition is too loose to be a real guide in everyday practice. The difficulty arises in the demands of each particular case. A local government, for instance, proposes a stiff campaign of prosecutions for sedition. The Viceroy in Council, on the broader grounds of his policy at the time, disapproves. Who is to decide whether his disapproval and disallowance are 'meddlesome'? In this diametrical opposition of views, is the Lieutenant-Governor or the Governor-General in Council to have the last and decisive word? So in larger issues. A Viceroy insists that a particular change in military administration is unwise, and at any rate that the appointment of a certain military officer would be the best if the change were accepted. How can we say on 'broad principles of policy' whether the Cabinet would be justified in overruling the Viceroy on either limb of the business, until we have investigated all the circumstances of qualification and personality? And is it not upon this investigation that the applicability of the broad principle, whatever it may be, and if you were quite sure of being lucky enough to find it, must necessarily depend? It would be easy to find a hundred illustrations, some known to all the world,

many more of them judiciously hidden away to dusty eternity in pigeon-holes and tin boxes. Suppose a parliamentary debate were to arise. For one argument turning on a broad principle, a score, and those the most effective, would turn upon items of circumstance.

There has been in both Indian and English journals much loose, inaccurate, and ill-informed argument on this important matter during the last six or seven years. That is what makes it well worth while to clear up some of the confusion, certainly not for the dubious pleasure of fighting old battles over again, but to reach a firm perception of the actual constitution of Indian Government, with a view to future contingencies that may any day arrest the attention of Cabinets or Parliaments. The controversy came into full blaze in 1905, when, as Mr. Chirol puts it (p. 311), the Viceroy of the day felt himself compelled to resign, because he was overruled by the Home Government. Mr. Chirol seems to accept, though not without something like reluctance, the only tenable principle—namely, that 'the ultimate responsibility for Indian government rests unquestionably with the Imperial Government represented by the Secretary of State for India, and therefore in the last resort with the people of the United Kingdom represented by Parliament.' This is incontestable, as will be shown in a few moments, and no responsible person in either of the two Houses will ever dream of getting up to contest it, even in days when such singular anxiety prevails to find new doctrines and devices for giving the House of Commons the slip. Nobody will dispute that the Cabinet are just as much masters over the Governor-General, as they are over any other servants of the Crown. The Cabinet, through a Secretary of State, have an inexpugnable right, subject to law, to dictate policy, to initiate instructions, to reject proposals, to have the last word in every question that arises, and the first word in every question that in their view ought to arise. On no other terms could our Indian system come within the sphere of parliamentary government. Without trying to define political relations in language of legal precision, we cannot shut our eyes to the obvious fact that where the Secretary of State or the Prime Minister has to answer a challenge in Parliament on Indian business, he could not shield himself behind the authority of the Governor-General, nor could he plead (except in expenditure) the opinion or action of the Indian Council at Whitehall. And here I would interpose a *caveat* against a position incidentally taken by Mr. Chirol, as it has often been by a great many people besides, which comes dangerously near to the exclusion of India from Parliament, or of Parliament from India—put it as we will. No prudent man will be in a hurry to unlock the arcana of empire,

even if he had a master-key—and the most harmless arts are not always without innocent arcana of their own—but it is an unmanly and impolitic sort of caution, because pregnant questions that have been raised command reserve in handling, to leave the wrong answers to pass muster by default. Not by such tremors are difficult constitutions successfully worked.

What does Mr. Chirol say? The doctrine of the Governor-General in Council being the agent—as he has been called—of the Cabinet 'ignores one of the most important features of his office—one indeed to which supreme importance attaches in a country such as India, where the sentiment of reverence for the Sovereign is rooted in the most ancient traditions of all races and creeds.' 'The Viceroy,' Mr. Chirol proceeds, '*is the direct and personal representative of the King-Emperor*, and in that capacity, at any rate, it would certainly be improper to describe him as the agent of the Secretary of State.' In all that follows as to the importance of upholding the figure of the Governor-General, nobody concurs more whole-heartedly than the present writer. As Lord Salisbury once said, 'I hold the monarchy must seem to be as little constitutional as possible.' Still, any serious politician, with the sincerest respect for all the 'solemn plausibilities' of these stately, imposing, and substantially important human things, will be incorrigibly slow to believe that either this great officer or any other servant of the Crown is, or can be, constitutionally withdrawn from ministerial control. Nor is it easy to discover any good foundation either in law or established practice for the contrary doctrine. Mr. Disraeli, writing to Queen Victoria about the new law of 1858, spoke of further steps that were necessary 'to influence the opinion and affect the imaginations of the Indian populations. The name of your Majesty ought to be impressed upon their native life.'[2] Nor will any wise man deny the enormous political value in India of all the ideas that are associated with the thought of personal sovereignty. This is a different question, or, in fact, it is no question at all. But let us distinguish. In the debates of 1858 the direct connexion with the Crown was recognised as of great importance by Lord Palmerston and others,[3] but among the resolutions on which the Bill was founded was this, as finally reported: 'That, for this purpose [*i.e.* transfer to the Crown] it is expedient to provide that her Majesty, by one of the responsible Ministers of the Crown, shall have and perform all the powers and duties relating to the Government and Revenues of India . . . which are or may be now exercised and performed' by the old Board of Control and Directors of the East India Company.[4] There is nothing here

[2] Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, iv. 233.
[3] *Hansard*, vol. 148, p. 1283.
[4] *Hansard*, vol. 150, p. 2253. A speech of Mr. Disraeli's (April 26, 1858), *ib.* vol. 149, p. 1658, is worth reading on the point under discussion.

about direct personal representation; the unmistakable implication is exactly the opposite.

What is, or is not, constitutional quality in act or policy, as innumerable debates are now showing, takes us on to slippery ground. Happily for our immediate purpose, the Indian system is a written one, resting on statute and instruments as good as statute. Mr. Chirol, as I have said, admits that ultimate responsibility rests unquestionably with the Home Government represented by the Indian Secretary. Yet he tries his hand at making out a case for limitation of the Indian Secretary's power, authority, and duties, so severe as to make such responsibility perilously shadowy and second-hand. His examination of the texts bearing on the matter hardly professes to be exhaustive, and its implications must be pronounced somewhat misleading. Let us see.

In 1858 Queen Victoria announced to the princes, chiefs, and people of India that she had taken upon herself the government of the territories in India heretofore administered in trust for her by the East India Company, and further: 'We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin . . . constitute and appoint him to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, *subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.*' The principle so definitely announced has been uniformly maintained. The Royal Warrant appointing the Governor-General always contains the provision thus set forth in the Mutiny Proclamation: 'Now know that We reposing especial trust and confidence in the Fidelity, Prudence, Justice, and Circumspection of you the said Victor Alexander, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, have nominated, made, constituted, and appointed you to be Governor-General of India . . . to take upon you, hold and enjoy the said Office . . . during our Will and Pleasure subject nevertheless to such instructions and directions as you . . . shall as Governor-General of India in Council from time to time receive under the Hand of one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.' This language of the Mutiny Proclamation, and of the Warrants of Appointment, clench the question so far as the Governor-General in Council is concerned.

The position, on the other hand, of the Secretary of State under the statutes is quite as clear, though it takes a few more words to set it out, and a trifle more of trouble to follow. The law of 1858 calling the Indian Secretary into existence enacts that 'save as herein otherwise provided, one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State shall have and perform all such or the

like powers and duties in anywise relating to the Government or Revenues of India, and all such of the like powers over all officers appointed or continued under this Act, as might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company.' This section continues to the Secretary of State all the powers of the Company, and the relations of the Company to their Governor-General were defined in the Regulating Act of 1773: 'The said Governor-General and Council for the time being shall, and they are hereby directed and required to, obey all such orders as they shall receive from the Court of Directors of the said United Company.' Then by the Act of 1784, which plays so famous a part both in his own career and in party and political history, Pitt called into existence the body of Commissioners who became known as the Board of Control. Their business, as set forth eight years later, was 'to have and be invested with full power and authority to superintend, direct, and control all acts operations and concerns which in anywise relate to or concern the civil or military government or revenues of the said territories and acquisitions in the East Indies.' All these powers and duties, formerly vested either in the Board of Control, or in the Company, the Directors, and the Secret Committee in respect of the government and revenues of India, were to be inherited by the Indian Secretary. In short, as it is plainly summed up in that magnificent enterprise, the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, composed, I think, officially at Simla, the Secretary of State 'has the power of giving orders to every officer in India, including the Governor-General.'[5]

It may seem waste of time to labour all this, as if we were forcing what, twenty years ago at any rate, was a wide open door. Though occasional phrases of a splenetic turn may be found in the printed correspondence of a Governor-General, there has never been any serious pretension to deny, dispute, or impair the patent truth that the Cabinet is the single seat of final authority. One powerful Viceroy, in a famous speech full of life and matter, did indeed declare that if the day should ever come when the Governor-General of India is treated as the mere puppet or mouthpiece of the Home Government, required only to carry out whatever orders it may be thought desirable to transmit, then the post should cease to exist.[6] To be sure it should; everybody would agree, just as they would at least profess to agree in rejecting the still more absurd counter doctrine, that the Home Government should be the puppet of an infallible Man on the Spot. The clash should never arise, and, in fact, very rarely has arisen. The only

[5] Vol. iv. p. 36.
[6] *Lord Curzon in India*, p. 579.

security that can be found for the smooth working of what is undeniably an extremely delicate piece of machinery, must be sought in the right judgment of the two partners; in their common feeling of responsibility, in patience, mutual regard, concord in fundamentals if not in every circumstantial, and perhaps—with no personal leaning to astrology—I may add the contribution named by Machiavelli in his famous chapter on the part played in human things by Fortune and the Stars. With common sense and good luck—not the most modest of demands—all goes well. Nowhere in the whole huge and infinitely diversified structure of what is called the Empire, do the personal elements and their right balance of equanimity and energy count for more than they count in India.

III

The point, however, of the relation of these two personages with one another, and with their respective councils, is in one sense secondary. I have spoken of it as cardinal, only because the question as to the men who have to work the machinery contains within it even more momentous questions as to the forces of social steam or political electricity, English and Asiatic, that limit and direct its operations. Two circumstances happen to make inquiry into these issues specially opportune to-day. One is the prudently guarded expansion of popular government in India by the Councils Act, passed by Parliament in 1909. The other is the expansion of popular power, and the distribution of it as an organised force, in Parliament at home. These two changes, though not connected with one another in substance, principle, or form, are evidently destined in the fulness of time, perhaps no very long time, to prove themselves changes of the first order in their effects upon Indian policy in all its most extensive bearings. Nor should we omit a further most relevant consideration. Self-government in India itself means two things. In one sense, it touches the relations of the indigenous population to European authority, whether central and paramount, or provincial and local. In another sense, it concerns the relations between both people and the organs of European authority on the one side, and the organs of home government on the other. The distinction is in the highest degree important. The popular claim under the first

[1] The simplest account of the actual working system with which I am acquainted, and most easily intelligible to the plain man, is to be found in Lord Courtney's short but sound volume, *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and its Outgrowths* (1901). His concise illustration (p. 307) from the process by which the question of the currency was settled will be found by the plain man much less repulsive than he might suppose. M. Joseph Chailley, a singularly competent foreign observer, has composed a survey of *Administrative Problems of British India*, admirably conceived and excellently translated, with plenty of *vivida vis* (Macmillan & Co. 1910).

head, though not easy to adjust, is easy to understand; it founds itself on democratic principles borrowed from ourselves both at home and in the self-governing dominions. The second is different. It has not yet taken formidable shape, but it soon may. The ruling authority in India is sure to find itself fortified by pressure from the new Councils in forcing Indian interests, and, what is more, the Indian view of such interests, against any tendency here to postpone them to home interests. Mr. Chirol (p. 317) looks forward to the Government of India assuming on many vital questions an attitude of increased independence towards the Imperial Government. The Indian Press is not incorrectly described, with some notorious and criminal exceptions, as improving. The writer of a series of graphic and pointed letters from Calcutta, printed last autumn in the *Morning Post*, assures us that the Indian newspapers are daily showing more of the practical handling, determination, and persistence that gives the Press its influence elsewhere. 'Ten years ago economic subjects had the palest interest for the Bengali editor. He would fulminate about the "drain" of the pension list or the cost of the Army, but he troubled himself little about the incidence of taxation or the growth of industrial enterprise. He is now developing a sharp eye for Budgets, an informed opinion of improvement trusts.' Cotton-excise and the opium trade are sure to come pretty speedily into question, and when they do, the oracles of British and Indian interests may speak in contending tongues. Mr. Chirol himself makes about religious education some suggestions that seem likely to come into conflict with the prepossessions of the religious world in England and Scotland. 'The more we are determined,' he says, 'to govern India in accordance with Indian ideas and Indian interests, the more we must rely upon a strong, intelligent, and self-reliant Government of India.' With that we need not in any way quarrel, if we only take care that the words are well understood in the light of some very plain facts. The strength of Lord Hardinge in Council is British strength. The seventy thousand European soldiers are a British force—created, supplied, and worked under the eye of the Army Council in their palatial edifice at Whitehall. In all times and places intelligence and self-reliance must be virtues, but they are evidently practised under totally different conditions by a Viceroy at Simla, and by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Ottawa or General Botha at Pretoria. The crucial problem awaiting us will be how to keep this intelligence and self-reliance in step with kindred qualifications in all the governing forces of so many kinds in England.

This brings us to the kernel of the controversy. Anybody can see that, however decorously veiled, pretensions to oust the House of Commons from part and lot in Indian affairs—and this is what

[illegible] now in fashion on one side of the controversy really comes [illegible] in logic, as in fact, to the surprising result of placing what is technically called the Government of India in a position of absolute irresponsibility to the governed. Now this, whatever else it may be, is at daggers drawn with the barest rudiments of democratic principle. So, for that matter, is it incompatible with divine right or the autocracy of the sword. Even the fiercest of Oriental tyrants always ran some risk of having his throat cut or his coffee poisoned, if he pushed things too far. If it is not wholly superfluous and even of the nature of impertinence to say as much, nobody who has had anything to do with them can for an instant doubt the active and living responsibility of the British authorities to their own conscience and high-minded sense of public duty; or that their standard of devotion to the objects of national service, and a zealous interest in the burdens that it lays upon them, is as firm as could animate any band of men, civilian or soldier, that were ever organised to bear the banners of a mighty State. They have moreover the sense of responsibility that consists in a business-like desire to see their work well and successfully done; and, more than that, it is notorious that the British authorities have constantly been the protectors, the systematic and sedulous protectors, of sections of the native population against oppression at the hands of native superiors. Still, just like the good despot, the best bureaucracy is one thing; democracy is another.

Mr. Chirol condemns the term 'bureaucracy' as a linguistic barbarism, and no doubt it is a hybrid name for a thing that people often thoughtlessly dislike as much as he dislikes the word. Hybrid or [illegible] we cannot do without it. The essence and meaning has been described by a friendly pen as the concentration of the work of government in the hands of officials by profession. Without such a profession the machinery of government in India, as in most other countries, would come to a stop, but the official will be no less conscientious, industrious, vigilant, or incorruptible than he is, the more he feels the direct breath of that public opinion [illegible] which he was born and bred. True, if official specialisation is a bad thing, sciolism in the critic may be worse. Still Englishmen are seldom really wanting in deference to the expert, if the case can be reasonably explained. The Emperor Nicholas, as he lay on his death-bed before the end of the Crimean War, complained that Russia was governed by ten thousand tchinovniks. Autocrat as he was, they were his master. That was bureaucracy with a vengeance, and it ended ill. The giant fabrics that have within the last few years been reared to glorify the [illegible] region of [illegible]all, might seem as if the builders foresaw a time when the officials would need spacious homes

even on our own [illegible] governed [illegible]. ¹How far [illegible] by the same name [illegible] for a great service of fine [illegible] strictly regardful of Parliament, is destined to go, wh[illegible]

As for democracy, there are said to be two hund[illegible] of Liberty, and if we try to fit a definition of democracy to conditions so divergent as are to be found in Athens, Rome, Florence, England in all the stages of her constitution since 1688, the United States first with slavery and then without slavery, [illegible] shall run the two hundred accounts of Liberty very close. [illegible] suppose the whole world would hardly contain the definitions, treatises, dialogues, and dissertations that have been written about it by men of famous name and every type and time, from Plato, Aristotle, Pericles, St. Thomas Aquinas, and all the rest, down to Byron's compact account of democracy as 'only an aristocracy of blackguards.' There is no word, according to Maine—here using tones of a singular emphasis due to his rooted aversion to popular government in all its meanings—'there is no word about which a denser mist of vague language and a larger heap of loose metaphors, has collected.'¹ We need not tremble at the thought of these perilous quic[illegible], for democracy in my present piece means nothing more [illegible], misty, loose, or metaphorical than the grand and solid fabric devised by Simon de Montfort, or whoever else it was, and now known all over the world as the House of Commons. It is not any abstr[illegible] and disembodied phantom of democracy that concerns us. It is the question of adjusting our rule in India to parliamentary government.

+ Lord Morley in the Nineteenth [illegible]

We are not required to examine the whole long list of the [illegible] vices imputed to democracy as a form of government (as if all democracies were alike); how it is sworn and devoted to mediocrity; how it has no time to reflect, and th[illegible] has no guide but its instincts; how idealist it is, and therefore how contemptuous of the real nature of things; how impatient it is of any delay between a desire and its satisfaction, between a decision and its effect. The defect that concerns us here is the passion of modern democracy for simple ideas and absolute principles. There is the weakness and there is the danger; and the value of Mr. Chirol's book is that nobody can read it without perceiving, if he never perceived it before, how impossible it would be, and if possible how mischievous, to transplant simple ideas and absolute principles into the hundred disparate communities that make up India. Reaction, too, by the way, has its simple ideas, as revolution has. As the present writer put it thr[illegible]

¹ *Popular Government*, p. [illegible]

passage quoted by Mr. [illegible]: 'We [illegible] this [illegible] moment, but only with self-[illegible] any jockeying cant, whether [illegible] the [illegible] disguised as love of order, or the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] sentiment, divorced from knowledge and untouched by cool consideration of the facts.' [9]

In discussing the government of dependencies by a free State, Mill declares that in this age of the world there are few more important problems than how to organise the rule of more backward populations by the agents of the more advanced, so as to make it a good instead of an evil to the subject people, providing them with the best attainable present government, under conditions most favourable to their future permanent improvement.[10] 'The ruling country in such cases ought to be able to do for its subjects all that could be done by a succession of absolute monarchs, guaranteed by irresistible force against the precariousness of tenure attendant on barbarous despotisms, and qualified by their genius to anticipate all that experience has taught to the more advanced nation.' On our immediate point of responsibility, he draws a just distinction between governing a country under responsibility to the people of that country, and governing the country under responsibility to the people of another. Be it so; still our question remains, to whom, then, is the paramount authority in India responsible? Mill is scarcely at his best on this topic, for he wrote at the moment of the transfer of Indian administration from the Company to the Crown; it agitated him a good deal, and as an important servant of the Company for the longest part of his life, he always took its dissolution to be a profound and irretrievable blunder. This personal accident is one thing that detracts from the weight of his line of argument in the Indian discussions of to-day, and another is the transformation that has taken place during the fifty years since he quitted Leadenhall Street, in the internal conditions with which the Indian statesman has now to deal. We may note in passing how many changes in the system of government have been made by Parliament as time has gone on; how many different arrangements have been set up since Warren Hastings—the Act of 1784, of [illegible], of 1853, of 1858, of 1861, of 1892, the Councils Act of 1909. The mutation in the political temper and aims of influential schools of thought or feeling in London, Simla, Poona, Bengal, has only been matched by successive mutations in administrative machinery. This long series of alterations in the schemes for Indian government are only less remarkable, if indeed they be [illegible] the expansion of territorial dominion from the first

[9] *Indian Speeches* (1909), p. 74.

[10] *Representative Government*, ch. xviii.

British factory at Surat in 1612, to the acquisition of ... in 1829, into the vast confines of our present day. But to return to Mill and his proposition that 'while responsibility to the governed is the greatest of all securities for good government, responsibility to somebody else not only has no such tendency, but is as likely to produce evil as good.' Ill, ill would it become me 'to lay hands on my father Parmenides,' but this proposition seems to bring us within sight of the doctrine, always quite ready to assert itself, or at least to exert a private hold in minds of a certain cast and habit, that the whole deliberative, executive, and judicial experience concentrated at Westminster and Whitehall, and all the lessons and ways of looking at the art of government derived therefrom, are a commodity for which 'they have no use' in the administration of Asiatic communities. It is not necessary, however, to say more on this, because Mill comes at last sufficiently near for practical purposes to the point now before us. 'The responsibility,' he says, 'of the British rulers of India to the British nation is chiefly useful because, when any acts of the Government are called in question, it ensures publicity and discussion; the utility of which does not require that the public at large should comprehend the point of issue, provided there are any individuals among them who do; for a merely moral responsibility, not being responsibility to the collective people, but to every separate person among them who forms a judgment, opinions may be weighed as well as counted, and the approbation or disapprobation of one person well versed in the subject may outweigh that of thousands who know nothing about it at all. It is doubtless a useful restraint upon the immediate rulers that they can be put upon their defence, and that one or two of the jury will form an opinion worth having about their conduct, though that of the remainder will probably be several degrees worse than none. Such as it is, this is the amount of benefit to India from the control exercised over the Indian Government by the British Parliament and people.' Though set out with something less than his usual lucidity and force, and by no means exhausting the case, this may content us. No Government can be trusted if it is not liable to be called before some jury or another, compose that jury how you will, and even if its majority should unluckily happen to be dunces.

Our British demos so far has done nothing to warrant any scornful apprehensions. Consider the most recent experiences. The House of Commons elected at the beginning of 1906 represented the high-water mark of all the opinions, leanings, principles, sentiments, convictions, that would naturally be most jealous, critical, and suspicious of any system necessarily worked upon non-democratic principles. Yet has any House ever shown more reserve in handling Indian business? Embarrassing ques-

questions of all sorts have been asked. So they were, and always will be, not only about India, but about Egypt, about foreign policy, about the Navy. To prepare the answers, consumes wastefully but perhaps not wholly without profit the time of the Minister and the Office. They are a nuisance to ambassadors and sea-lords and overworked secretariats at Simla. After all, they are like bad [illegible] and the heat is not so bad as to be at all unbearable. Impatient critics should note this, moreover, that if a question is serious in the degree of its embarrassment, and if the Minister says so, says that to answer is against the public interest, the thing falls. The Indian questions in Parliament since 1906, to any Minister who should happen to have undergone the wearing and sometimes ferocious ordeal of Irish questions—not seldom, in troubled times, forty, fifty, sixty, in an afternoon, almost as many as Indian questions in a session—have been child's play. At about the same date as the election of 1906, from causes explored by Mr. Chirol in these pages, difficulties and dangers of no common gravity advanced on the Indian horizon. They were met in their more violent and lawless forms by stern measures of repression. These measures assuredly did not escape notice in the House of Commons, nor would it have done the House any credit if they had escaped. Vigilance over such things is just what the House of Commons exists for. Here is not the place for a single word upon the right or wrong of the measures themselves, but this at least is certain, that no vote or speech or motion or chain of troublesome questions in the House of Commons arrested, or was seriously designed to arrest, their operation. If any imperfectly [illegible] disputant chooses to contend that their operation might have been more extensive and still more efficacious, but for the knowledge and the fear in the mind of the Government of minatory misgivings in Parliament, then he is really arguing that the Secretary of State at Whitehall and the Governor-General at Simla should between them be free to make and execute any laws they like, without responsibility to anybody either in India or at home. *Quod est absurdum.*

Argumentation of this sort, thus put into plain words, recalls some pungent language of that stout-hearted lawyer, Sir James Stephen, about persons in India who in his day objected to what they regarded as over-legislation, not, as he says, because they objected so much to any particular law, as to the government of the country by law at all.[11] 'It is a favourite doctrine,' he says, 'that the Government of India possesses the absolute power of the old native States, subject only to such limitations as it chooses,

[11] Hunter's *Life of Lord Mayo*, ii. 153-9. A chapter containing many observations still salutary.

to impose upon itself by express law.' This was written in 1875. No more remarkable advance has taken place in the generation that has intervened, than the gradual decline of the state of mind that Stephen here analyses and rebukes. The temptations are obvious. Executive short-cut is so much simpler than a circumspect tribunal. Yet everybody in his cool moments will own that nothing could be worse than any revival of the old ill-omened opposition between the King's Courts and judges on the one side, and the Company's Courts and services on the other. The King's Courts in such untoward circumstance may be expected to stand firm. No worse shake could be given than their acquiescence in any attempts to dislodge them—to set up executive convenience as rival or superior to judicial decision. No surer gain can be imagined than the steadily increasing confidence among the people of India in the inflexible justice, impartiality, and competence of the Courts. The connexion between political and judicial institutions is always close and deep, and the best working administrators in either will tell us that our ascendancy is best secured in both by steadfast regard for the virtues of humanity and strict good faith.

Lord Morley in ...

V

One slightly ominous sign of possible mischief at home both to India and to Parliament may be detected in a suggestion made by an important representative of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, that two or three members of that assembly should always have a place on the Indian Secretary's Council. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is already prominent as an excellent debater and a clear writer; he knows how to think, and he has paid what I may call a sensible visit to India, and shown that he knows how to learn, though, like other people, he cannot always help thinking wrong, or sometimes learning amiss. That a man of this temper and position should be for planting two or three members of Parliament in the Council of India at Whitehall is an intimation of future chances and risks that is not to be overlooked.[12] Alarmists, to be sure, will hardly avoid the regulation references to the French Revolution; they will remind us of the despatch, first by the Constituent, then by the Convention, of a couple of representatives and commissaries to each of the armies to keep the generals up to the mark, as well as a pair or more to keep the judges straight upon the criminal bench. Apart from this consecrated historic parallel, there are those who would make a present to Mr. MacDonald of a rival suggestion of exactly opposite tenour, namely, that instead of putting two members of Parliament on the Council here, everybody appointed by the Secretary of State to the Governor-General's Executive Council at Calcutta should

[12] *The Awakening of India.* By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. 1910. P. 261.

by way of probation undergo two years of hard labour in the House of Commons.

If choice were unhappily inexorable between the two, we had better take the latter. The Council of India was founded, apart from a supreme voice in certain questions and occasions of finance, to be a consultative and advisory body for the Secretary of State. This Minister is himself a member of one of the two Houses, and he is a politician with a seat in the Cabinet. What use either to him or his colleagues in the Council would be two or three consultative and advisory politicians sent, I do not know precisely how, from the House of Commons? What could they tell him that it is not the concern of himself and his Parliamentary Under-Secretary to know without them? If these two or three assessors are to go beyond advice and consultation, and take part in executive power and responsibility, what becomes of the sound doctrine sufficiently well expressed in one of Mill's parliamentary speeches? 'When a popular body knows what it is fit for, and what it is unfit for, it will more and more understand that it is not its business to administer, but that it is its business to see that it is done by proper persons, and to keep them to their duties. I hope it will be more and more felt that the duty of this House is to put the right persons on the Treasury Bench, and when there to keep them to their work.' In this everybody who has either thought about such points, or had to do with them, will agree. But it will be a mistake if invincible dissent from the particular suggestion were to prevent wise readers, official or non-official, who try to forecast the future course of Indian affairs, from noting Mr. MacDonald's cogent words that when the Crown became responsible for India, the intention was to make Parliament supreme in its government, and that Parliament should challenge at every point any claims to the contrary.[13] If statesmen in India or here overlook such language as this, and all that it means, they are as the courtiers of King Canute. How fortunate, if these threatened challenges are delivered by men of the calibre, the strong heads, the close industry of Fawcett, Bradlaugh, and others in the 'seventies—men to be described, as Fawcett was, 'confining himself to discussing questions upon which he could speak with authority, and to enforcing principles within the line of practical politics.'[14]

While considering the action of democracy at home, we cannot shut our eyes to its action in commonwealths over the seas. One of the most impressive chapters in Mr. Chirol's book is that dealing with the position of Indians in the Empire.[15] There is no excess

[13] *Ibid.* p. 265.
[14] Leslie Stephen's *Life of Henry Fawcett* (1885), ch. viii.
[15] Ch. xxiv.

in the prominence that he gives to the intensely difficult, if not desperate, question of the attitude adopted in British Colonies generally towards Asiatic immigrants. His warmth will surprise nobody who has seen the anger blazing in the eyes of the most accomplished and highly trained of our Indian fellow-subjects—as good in every way as the best of men in Whitehall—at the thought that if he presented himself in South Africa he would there and then be packed off bag and baggage on to his boat again. An Indian member said at the recent meeting of the Viceroy's Council: 'Indians are hated on account of their very virtues. It is because they are sober, thrifty, industrious, more attentive to their business than the white men, that their presence in the Colonies is considered intolerable.' 'No single question of our time,' said Mr. Gokhale on the same occasion, 'has evoked more bitter feelings throughout India than the continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa.' Not a single attempt was made, says Mr. Chirol, who was present, by any member of the Government to controvert either this statement or 'the overwhelming array of facts' showing the nature and extent of the ill-treatment. The whole tone of the debate he describes as 'extremely dignified and self-restrained, but no Englishman could have listened to it without a deep sense of humiliation. For the first time in history, the Government of India had to sit dumb, whilst judgment was pronounced in default against the Imperial Government upon a question that has stirred the resentment of every single community of the Indian Empire.' One point in this account of the universal resentment has a very direct bearing on the general question submitted in this paper. People in India know, says Mr. Chirol, that the British Labour Party, while professing great sympathy for their political aspirations, yet 'has never tried, or if it has tried it has signally failed, to exercise the faintest influence in favour of Indian claims to fair treatment with its allies in the Colonies, where the Labour Party is always the most uncompromising advocate of exclusion and oppression, and they know the power that the Labour Party wields in all our Colonies.'

Lord Morley —

VI

All depends upon the common recognition among those who have the power of moulding public opinion, and to whom the public listen, of the elementary truth that political principles, if not ethical standards, are relative to times, seasons, social climate, and tradition. Everybody now realises this in judging old history. It is the beginning and the end of wisdom in the new history that Parliament has its share in helping to make Asia to-day. To insist on applying rationalistic general ideas to vast communities

[redacted] mysticism, can bring no good to [redacted] their interplay is no easy game. Overweening pretensions as to the superiority, at every point and in all their aspects, of any Western civilisation over every Eastern is fundamental error. If we pierce below the varnish of words, we any day uncover [redacted] barbarism in the supreme capitals [redacted] or [redacted] Indian student in London, Edinburgh, [redacted]

[redacted] who do not wholly share Mr. Chirol's interpretation of the array of facts that he has marshalled, will recognise a serious attempt by a competent hand to induce the public to get within the minds of the millions whose political destinies they have taken into their hands. Goethe, when at a certain stage in culture he turned his thoughts eastward, found China barren and India 'a jumble.' It is little wonder if [redacted] feels as Goethe felt. The scene is distant, names are not easy to distinguish or appropriate, terms are technical, the heart that pulses under the brown skin seems impenetrable, a mysterious veil hangs over stage, actors, and drama. Then our democracy is very busy, and its betters have pursuits that pass for business. Of the three great historic faiths—Christianity, Buddhism, Islam—Hinduism has resisted two, and in only a small degree accepted one. By Westerns it is the least easy of the three to grasp, yet even the general reader would find himself instructed, interested, and fascinated in such writings as the second series of Sir Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, Max Müller's *Cambridge Lectures*,[16] and some chapters (especially v-viii) in Sir Herbert Risley's work on the *Peoples of India*.

Nothing is more striking in Mr. Chirol's volume than his association of political agitation with caste ambitions (p. 77). He insists that the spirit of revolt is combined with some of the most reactionary conceptions of authority that the East has ever produced—an almost unthinkable combination of spiritualistic idealism and of gross materialism, of asceticism and sensuousness, of overweening arrogance when it identifies the human self with the universal self, and of demoralising pessimism when it preaches that life itself is but a painful illusion. Nevertheless, he wisely reminds us, Hinduism—the name for a social and religious system—has for more than thirty centuries responded to the social and religious aspirations of a considerable fraction of the human race, and represents a great and ancient civilisation. In his Introduction, Sir Alfred Lyall summarises the case to the same effect : 'We have the strange spectacle in certain

[16] *India, What can it teach us?* (1882).

parts of India of a party capable of resorting to methods that are both reactionary and revolutionary, of men who offer prayers and sacrifices to ferocious divinities and denounce the Government by seditious journalism, preaching primitive superstition in the very modern form of leading articles. The mixture of religion with politics has always produced a highly explosive compound, especially in Asia.'

The Indian leaders, or some of them, proclaim, on the other hand, that their commotion is in no sense due to Brahminical reaction, but is a normal movement forward. The foundation of Indian society in all its phases, they contend, has been authority, and its iron principle, obedience to authority. What did we learn, they go on, from English literature? Patriotism, nationality, freedom—in a word, Emancipation. You suppose that ideas like these, everyday commonplaces with you, must be universals. They were not always so with you. With you they are not so many centuries old. With us they are brand-new, they are drawn from your great books, just as Italians drew the Renaissance from the freshly recovered books of Greece and Rome. What you call Unrest is not political demoralisation, though it produces a whole rash school of resentful iconoclasts just as the Italian Renaissance did, or just as the German Reformation had to do with Anabaptists and the Peasants' Revolt. If it is not political demoralisation, still less is it crafty religious reaction using the natural dislike of alien rule. Unrest has a spiritual inwardness that you never try to understand, and, whatever else it is, do not describe it as Neo-Hinduism or Brahminical reaction. It is a strange medley of asceticism, self-restraint, and the kind of patriotism that discovers in Indian faiths and letters finer and deeper sentiment and expression of sentiment, than all that is best in the sentiment of Europe. What is found in the Vedas exists nowhere else. The old-fashioned purely orthodox kind of community was not, as Mr. Chirol conveys to you, affected by this hot blast. On the contrary, they constantly protested against the anti-English license of the English-educated community. It is not they who instigated unrest, though they may have indirectly aided it. They have slowly been converted to the new ideals and new effort. English thought is permeating India, and has brought about a silent change in Hindu ideas which all the persecution of Mohammedan conquerors failed to effect. You have shown yourselves less generous than the Moguls and Pathans, though you are a more civilised dominant race than they were. Hindus who were willing to embrace Islam, and to fall in with the Moslem *régime*, became the equals of the dominant race. With you there has been no assimilation. You did not seek it; you repulsed it. The Indian mind is now set in a direction of its own. The reverence for

authority is being discarded. In its place has come the duty of independent judgment in every sphere of thought: is not that your sense of duty, too? Hence disrespect for age, for immemorial custom, for political quiescence.[17]

This is the frame of mind with which, in important parts of India, we have to deal, and it is just as well, in view of an approaching propaganda in this country, that we should at least know something about it. Let us remember encouraging facts on the other side. We condemn our own system of education in India as too literary, as unbalanced, as non-religious, as non-moral. That it has done what was intended, nobody dreams of saying. That it has led to some results that nobody expected, is painfully true. But it is a mistake to regard it as all failure. After all, it has given us Indian judges of the highest professional skill and of unimpeached probity. It has given us a host of officials of no mean order; and some of them have risen high in the service. The appointment of two Indian members to the Council of the Secretary of State has shown their aptitude for important business and responsible deliberation.

There is no room here for trying to read all the signs in the Indian skies. Those who know best and latest believe that, in spite of much to discourage, there is more to encourage. With candour and patience, in which even political parties do not always fail, and that constancy in which the nation never fails, we are justified in good hope for the years immediately before us. King Edward, in his Proclamation of November 1908, recounted how 'difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place had risen up from day to day. They have been faced,' he said, 'by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. The proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of Indian Government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous, and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow, but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities under British guidance and control has proceeded steadfastly and without pause.' The same course should enable our next descendants, too, to survey the Indian labours of the past 'with clear gaze and good conscience.' 'I believe,' said Mr. Bright in 1858, 'that upon this question depends very much, for good or for evil, the future of this country of which we are citizens and which we all regard and love so much.'

MORLEY OF B.

[17] All this is worked out with some corroborative facts and names in an article in the daily *Hitavadi* (Calcutta) of the 24th of September 1910.

THE STRANGER WITHIN OUR GATES

The problem of alien immigration into this country is a double one, and the difficulties which arise in connexion with one branch of it require different treatment from that given to the difficulties attaching to the other branch. We have to deal with the immigration on a large scale of aliens from the East of Europe, almost all of whom are poor and accustomed to an extremely low standard of living—they are 'struggle-for-lifers' fighting for subsistence at the lowest level; and we have to deal with individual undesirables from all parts of the world, who may or may not be needy, but who do not affect the aliens question on its industrial side.

To understand what the Aliens Act of 1905 was intended to do, and why it was passed, we must have some knowledge of the history of modern alien immigration in relation to the British labour market. The main points which it is necessary to bear in mind are concisely stated in the Report of the Royal Commission which dealt with the subject in 1902-03:

> Oppressive measures against the Jews had always been in force in Russia, but in the time of Alexander II. their stringency was much relaxed and the conditions of Jewish existence altered considerably for the better. Then came the assassination of that Sovereign, an event entirely unconnected with the Jews, but immediately followed by terrible anti-Semitic outbreaks in the southern and south-western provinces of the Empire, and by fresh repressive enactments known as the May Laws of 1882. The principal provision of these laws was that the Jews, who had hitherto been allowed to live anywhere within the fifteen provinces of the Jewish Pale, a territory containing 313,608 square miles, were now required to prove that they had the right to live on the land prior to 1882. All who were unable to do so were driven into the towns. Moreover, the restrictions on the right to live outside the limits of the fifteen provinces, which had been relaxed during the late Tsar's reign, were now enforced with extreme severity, and the Jews, especially the poorer classes, were expelled wholesale and driven within the Pale.
>
> Some idea of the results of these measures may be gained from the fact that within eighteen months after their promulgation the Jewish population of the town of Tschernigov rose from 5000 to 20,000 souls. This, of course, produced great economic pressure in the towns, a condition which the increase of population has since accentuated. It was mainly this forcing of the Jews into the towns that led to the exodus to England and America; and although the great rush of emigration, which, owing to the riots and active persecution, had first partaken of the nature of a general flight, has since

subsided, the expulsive influence still prevails. The channels opened by the first outrush have since then carried a steady stream of emigrants Westward. In consequence of shipping agencies having sprung up, the traffic has become organised, and various shipping companies are now competitors for the business of conveying these emigrants.

The situation in England was at the same time affected by the steadily increased stringency of the United States Immigration Laws. These formed a sieve which excluded the grosser material, and as no Continental State was open to an enormous influx of unsifted aliens, Britain received the flow which could find no other outlet.

The matter had already become so serious in the latter part of the 'eighties of the last century that in 1888 a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into it. This Committee reported in 1889. Among its conclusions were :

(1) That the better class of immigrants arrived in transit ; the poorest and worst class settled in the country.

(2) That the distribution of those poor aliens both as regards localities and trades was such that the pressure was out of proportion to their numbers.

In their recommendations the Committee expressed the following opinion :

While they see great difficulties in the way of enforcing laws similar to those of the United States, and are not prepared to recommend legislation at present, they contemplate the possibility of such legislation becoming necessary in the future, in view of the crowded condition of our great towns, the extreme pressure for existence among the poorer part of the population, and the tendency of destitute foreigners to induce still lower the social and material condition of our own poor.

What were the conditions prevailing when the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration heard evidence in 1902-03? Mr. Thomas Hawkey, who was then Examining Officer of the Customs, showed that twelve steamers carrying the class of immigrants which has been described arrived weekly in the Thames, and the Thames only receives a part of this traffic. Of the immigrants whom Mr. Hawkey examined, 24.8 per cent. were found to have no means at all and another 15 per cent. possessed less than ten shillings. This evidence was corroborated by an independent witness. The effect of the inrush of these helpless and destitute persons, many of them unskilled and practically all without knowledge of England, may be imagined. One of the sanitary inspectors of the Bethnal Green Borough Council wrote to the Secretary of the Immigration Reform Association in 1904 :

During the past two years, to my personal knowledge, the prices paid for work have been reduced by quite 50 per cent., and there is no doubt that the immigration of these aliens has had the effect of reducing the wages. The tailoring business, boot machining, and cabinet making are

the worst examples of the work which is so very badly paid. I have been into tailors' shops and have seen young alien women from seventeen to twenty years of age working for one shilling a week and somewhere to sleep. Their food consists of the ordinary Jewish brown bread, which can be bought for 3½*d*. a 4-lb. loaf, and for a luxury these poor girls will get a three-farthing Dutch herring.

With regard to another alien industry an expert witness told the Royal Commissioners that

in one branch of the fur trade the exploiting of the worker reaches, if it does not pass, the limits of the possible. The skins are placed in large casks or vats, and carefully trodden out by labourers stripped to their shirts, which are often fastened over the casks to keep in the heat. As 'time is money,' it often happens that these skins have pieces of bone, &c., adhering to them, which often cause dangerous wounds of a septic character to the barefooted labourers. Wages run from three to eight shillings per week, with a working day of twelve to eighteen hours. The workman must eat his meals standing in the vat, so as not to let the skins cool down.

Mr. Herbert Evans, one of H.M. Assistant-Inspectors of Factories, described the sweating employers' 'dens' to the Royal Commissioners in the following phrases:

His workshop reeks with foul smells; the atmosphere is loaded with human vitiation; the combustion from burning refuse and the emission of sickly fumes by cheap oil lamps and other implements of work and from processes of manufacture, together with the absence of natural light, make this particular class of work-places a positive danger to the community. Here the alien is imprisoned day and night, and kept at work in a semi-nude state for starvation allowance. Family and all sleep in same room.

As the immigrants of this class are, with few exceptions, Jews, an ingrained habit joins with the compelling force of needs based on religious ordinances to draw them to a common centre. Thus the ghetto in the East End of London was formed. Chief Superintendent Mulvaney of the H Division told the Royal Commissioners in 1902 that in six years 107 streets in the Borough of Stepney alone had passed wholly into foreign occupation. Mr. Edgar Harper, Statistical Officer of the London County Council, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, said that 'in the whole Borough of Stepney forty-seven enumeration districts exceed 50 per cent. of overcrowding and sixty-eight exceed 30 per cent. but not 50 per cent.' The late Mr. A. T. Williams, a member of the Housing Committee of the London County Council, cited the following instances:

In one small room there were three men, two women, and five children. The passage approaching the room was let as a living-room. Each passage in the house was let as a living-room. All was most filthy. Filth and excrement was all over the landing and in the corners of the rooms. The stench arising was awful. That is the first. Now another case. A front room, very small, was used as a shop and a bedroom; poultry and soused

herrings lying about; three men and three women in the room, one woman lying on the bed half-dressed. You see in that case the food which would be hawked about in the day would be in that atmosphere.

The late Alderman Silver, of the Stepney Borough Council, Vice-Chairman of the St. George's East Board of Guardians, said in the course of his evidence:

To pay the exorbitant rents, it follows that the foreigner who takes the house must let out every room to a different family, even to the basement and the coal cellars, and in one instance, to my knowledge, to the w.c.

Similar aggregations of aliens have been formed in industrial centres other than London, notably in Manchester and Leeds. Among the evils to be dealt with wherever such a population gathers is imported disease. A very large number of the aliens from Eastern Europe suffer from the form of ophthalmia known as trachoma, and favus, a disgusting disorder affecting the scalp, is very prevalent among them. Both these diseases are contagious and are spread by immigrants among the poorer class of English people.

Such facts as those recorded above, and the recommendations of the Royal Commission, induced the last Unionist Government to introduce the abortive Aliens Bill of 1904, and the redrafted Bill which became law in 1905. It must be remembered that this measure in so far as it dealt with ports of entry for immigrants was designed to check the importation of destitute aliens in bulk, and afforded no effective means of excluding individual undesirables.

Those who had been most zealous in promoting the Bill could well have defended, and would have acclaimed, a stronger measure; but full consideration had to be given to the weight of opposition confronting thoroughgoing proposals, and even the mild proposals of 1905. A very large section of the public firmly pinned their faith to two erroneous beliefs:

(1) That Britain had always been an open and unconditionally free resort for all foreigners without discrimination;

(2) that alien immigration always had been and always must be beneficial to the country.

With regard to the first supposition, the Royal Commissioners in their Report pointed out that 'statutes affecting alien immigration were passed in almost every reign since Richard II.,' and that so recently as 1863 'the General Repealing Act swept them, with few exceptions, off the Statute Book.' Among the exceptions was the Act 6 William IV. c. xi, which provided *inter alia*

that every Alien who shall, after the commencement of this Act, arrive in any Part of the United Kingdom from Foreign Parts, shall immediately

after such arrival present and show to the Chief Officer of the Customs at the Port of Debarkation, for his Inspection, any Passport which may be in his or her Possession,

the alien being required at the same time to make a specified declaration. This enactment had fallen into desuetude, but was not repealed till 1905.

Upon the second supposition the Commissioners pertinently remarked:

> That the immigrants in past times made us their debtors cannot be controverted. The measure of that indebtedness may be traced in many directions. But, some will ask, can the alien immigrant of to-day claim to be our creditor because our ancestors incurred a debt to the foreigners who sought asylum here? If benefits were received, some repayment at least was made. Are, too, the immigrants of to-day the successors of those who benefited us? Some may doubt the right of the unskilled labourer of Russia and Poland to claim to be repaid for the knowledge brought to us by the skilled artisans of France and the Low Countries.

Unfortunately the Radical party, without regard to the facts at issue, opposed the Aliens Bills of 1904 and 1905 simply because they were Unionist measures. The Bill of 1904 was obstructed to death in Grand Committee by the then Opposition, led by Mr. Winston Churchill and Colonel Seely. The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said of the 1905 Bill, 'I only hope that a few years hence it will appear that this Bill has been as perfectly ineffective as the Prison Goods Bill.' Mr. Asquith declared that 'the main part of the cry for the Aliens Bill is only protection in a disguised form.' Mr. John Burns, speaking on the second reading of the Bill of 1904, said, 'It is because this is the only civilised country that does not possess this kind of legislation that I am proud of being a Briton.' Mr. Herbert Gladstone described the Bill as 'an absolute imposture from beginning to end.'

It is notorious that the Liberals, on their accession to power, acted on the opinion they had expressed and emasculated the Aliens Act. They provided by administrative order, in direct contravention of the statute, that any destitute alien who chose to describe himself as a political refugee should be exempt from exclusion, and they increased from twelve to twenty the number of steerage aliens whom a vessel may bring to this country without becoming an 'immigrant ship' within the meaning of the Act, and therefore liable to inspection. The consequence of the first relaxation was that entry into this country became free to any needy ruffian from Eastern Europe who chose to say that he was 'persecuted' in his own land, and thus the door was opened wide to such persons as those who perpetrated the Tottenham and Houndsditch crimes. The result of the second relaxation is that aliens desiring to evade the test of medical and other inspection

steadily stream into the country unexamined, in batches of a score or less. For instance, in the year 1908 'non-immigrant ships' brought to this country 8726 aliens who escaped inspection solely because they arrived in groups of twenty or a smaller number. Moreover, in this figure were undoubtedly included many persons who had been rejected by the immigration authorities and who, having been deported, were assisted by the Continental organisations of sympathisers *ad hoc* to return to England through the large loophole formed in the statute.

It was proved to the Royal Commissioners that the criminal and vicious cases among the foreign population in this country were wholly out of proportion to the total number of aliens. We have the high authority of Sir Robert Anderson for the assertion that the great majority of criminals who reach our shores from abroad are a needy crew that could be recognised and stopped at their port of entry. I am convinced that Sir Robert is right. And yet the exclusion of undesirable aliens cannot be secured wholly by action at our ports. When careful inquiry was made into the subject in connexion with the movement in favour of the Aliens Bills it was found that it would not be practicable to subject to effective inspection saloon passengers by our short-service lines of steamers. For this reason we cannot detect at ports of entry the expert burglars and other skilled criminals, amply provided with funds, and the exploiters of highly lucrative vice who come from more severely policed countries to this land as to a happy hunting-ground. These persons can only be dealt with by a system of registration for aliens such as has been adopted—*e.g.* in Germany.

It is obvious that a detailed scheme of registration should not be formulated till the Scotland Yard authorities have been consulted and have expressed their opinion as to the best *modus operandi*. Foreign examples show us that such a system can easily be put in operation. It would supply a safeguard urgently needed in this country, and when it is applied we ought to weed out alien undesirables with a firm hand. No exception should be made in the case of Anarchists of the violent section. The suggestion, which seems to find favour in some quarters, that we should continue to harbour these persons because thereby we purchase immunity of a sort, as providers of a safe rendezvous and sanctuary, seems to me un-English. The tacit bargain is unworthy of Britain.

In addition to a carefully planned system of registration the following measures are needed to eradicate the plague of undesirables: the number of steerage aliens who can be brought in a 'non-immigrant' ship must be reduced to five—it does not pay to bring them in such small batches; it must be made an offence

for an alien who has been rejected by the immigration officials to return to this country except under certain conditions; the order which admits a destitute alien on his unsubstantiated assertion that he is a political refugee must be withdrawn; the penalty incurred by a convicted and expelled alien who returns to this country in contravention of the expulsion order must be made more severe; all aliens inspected at ports of entry should be obliged to produce any identification papers they possess; no alien should be allowed to keep firearms without a police permit.

It may be asked why, if we can establish an effective registration system, we should not rely wholly on it and cease to maintain the machinery of inspection at ports of entry. The answer is that that machinery is necessary to sift transmigrants from immigrants; to secure that the class of immigrants which most needs medical examination shall be inspected by the doctor before landing; and to check the importation of destitute aliens in bulk. The police in certain districts which much require their supervision would have no time for any other duty, if they were charged with adequately attending to the registration and deciding on the admissibility of aliens arriving from ports where the barrier of the immigration authorities had ceased to exist.

W. EVANS GORDON.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CRIMINAL ALIEN

RECENT events in the East End of London have attracted publi attention to a peril which has hitherto been seldom noticed by th public. Though the presence in our midst of foreign anarchist of a dangerous type is no new thing, it is within comparativel recent years that they gained a footing here. At that time I ha charge of all Secret Service inquiries at Whitehall, and there wa not much difficulty in getting information about the men and thei doings. For a considerable period they used this country merel as an asylum. Well-known leaders indeed, whom I might nam if libel actions were abolished, used to make inflammator speeches at their secret meetings in Soho, but they always ende by warning their fellow-conspirators that nothing was to be don in England to endanger their enjoyment of 'the hospitality our shores.' But on occasions—as, for example, when som foreign monarch paid a State visit to London—the more excitabl and reckless among them were liable to get out of hand; and the were then a cause of no little anxiety to the police authorities And at such times exceptional measures had to be adopted to kee them in check. To describe the action taken on such occasion would be a breach of confidence; but the experience thus gaine enables me to say that the task of dealing with men of this typ is not beset with insuperable difficulties.

Who and what are they? Some people might sympathise wit men who become anarchists as the result of living under a cru despotism; but many of the worst of these miscreants are outlaw from countries as democratic as our own. It is not that they reb against bad Governments, but that they refuse to be subject any sort of Government. No God and no Government is the motto. Their principles and methods have been epigrammaticall described by a French writer as a claim to the right of livin without working and killing without fighting. In our treatmen of them we can ignore the obligations which usually bind us i dealing with the subjects or citizens of foreign States. For the are world-outlaws, the enemies of mankind. And having regar to the dangers caused by their presence here, on account of thei

criminal propensities and the pestilently evil influence they exercise, were it not for our belief in a future life we should do well to exterminate them like plague-infected vermin. But, though they hold our religious beliefs in greater contempt even than our laws, we cannot ignore our Christianity by having recourse to such drastic methods. And yet on grounds both of interest and of duty means should be taken to guard the community against being imperilled or contaminated by their presence.

How, then, can this result be attained? As already intimated, we are free to deal with these men in whatever way our own interests require, without the least risk of interference from foreign Governments. And as they outlaw themselves by their repudiation of all law, they have no right to the protection of law. To speak of *criminal* anarchists betrays ignorance or confusion of thought. Every anarchist is a criminal under the Treason Felony Act. For, as we all know, in treason the criminal intention is itself the crime, and overt acts are merely the evidence of the intention.

The only question therefore that concerns us is: What measures are necessary to prevent foreign anarchists from entering this country, and to enable us to expel them if, in spite of our precautions, they find a footing here? 'Where are they to go?' it may be demanded. That question does not concern us: they must settle it for themselves. But, it may be objected, to declare war upon them will serve, by exasperating them, to increase the danger we wish to guard against. Considerations of this kind are not only unworthy, but, in view of the Houndsditch and Stepney crimes, they are absurd. Let us rid ourselves of these criminals, whatever the cost. And means adequate to this end will have the further merit of enabling us to get rid of many alien criminals of the ordinary type.

We shall be told perhaps that not a few of these men are harmless, in spite of their evil principles. This may possibly be true, but we cannot afford to give them a fool's pardon. Evil principles, moreover, often do more harm than evil practices. A clean-living advocate of immorality will corrupt the thoughtless and the ignorant, where an open debauchee would disgust and repel them. And so also in other movements. The recent parliamentary elections gave proof that the active socialists alienate the electorate. But a doctrinaire who preaches socialism, whether as a Minister of State on a political platform or as a minister of religion in a Nonconformist pulpit, makes many converts to that pestilently evil propaganda.

One of my many strange acquaintances in my Secret Service days, a friend and ally of Mazzini—a man who, though a revolutionist, had no sympathy with anarchism—warned me that

it was in this way that anarchism was to be propagated in London. And his warning proved true. During my official life anarchism here was generally quiescent so far as our own country was concerned. But I have always felt that the toleration with which it was treated by the authorities was not only unfair to other Governments, but impolitic and wrong having regard to our own interests. And I pressed this upon the British representatives at the Anti-Anarchist Convention that met in Rome. But, having regard to the fact that I was then consulted by them on the subject, I cannot speak upon it now without reserve. One thing however, I would say emphatically and with full knowledge namely, that there is not a shadow of foundation for the insinuation lately made by certain foreign newspapers that the attitude of the authorities here upon the anarchist question was due to some sort of implied understanding with the criminals. I have told elsewhere how at one time I took measures to keep the London Irish Fenians in check in this way, but we had no dealings of any kind with the foreign anarchists save by way of repression.

I return, then, to the question : How are we to get rid of the alien anarchists? We may clear the ground at once by acknowledging that the Aliens Act will not avail for this purpose. Our present dangers were not in view when that measure was framed. The question of preventing our shores from being made a dumping-ground for the unfit of other countries is one of very great importance, but it should be kept apart from the question of allowing foreign criminals to settle, or even to land, in England. The Aliens Act would suffice for the main purpose it was designed to accomplish were it not for the anarchical proclivities of doctrinaire Radicalism, which sets itself to thwart the operation of a law that is distasteful to it. And no one but an old-fashioned Liberal can feel adequately indignant at principles and practices of that kind.

The question of excluding the unfit is prejudiced by confounding it with the wholly distinct question whether we should refuse an asylum to the persecuted of other lands. The persecutions of former times often brought us refugees whose presence was altogether beneficial. But no one will pretend that we benefit either socially or economically by an influx of the Christian victims of Moslem persecutions or the Jewish victims of anti-Semitic pogroms in Russia to-day. And yet we must not allow our selfish interests to quench our practical sympathy with these unfortunates. But there is a real danger lest in these days, when we are ruled by the proletariat, the wilful maladministration of the Aliens Act and the increasing difficulty of finding employment for our native workers should produce a turbulent agitation for a new Aliens Act that will bar the entry of foreign immigrants of every kind.

Social and economic questions of this character are very important; but my special subject relates to an evil which is not only a grave public danger but a great national scandal. And it is with this view that I press the distinction between criminal and other immigrants. The destitute are entitled to pity, even though we may refuse them a refuge. And victims of religious persecution have claims not only on our pity but on our sympathy. But what can be said for these anarchists? Men of the type of the Houndsditch and Stepney murderers are entitled to nothing but the stern 'Pass away' of peremptory and autocratic authority.

To formulate a scheme for this purpose is wholly beyond the scope of a Review article. But some people will give me credit for knowing what I am writing about, when I say that it would be easier to deal with the criminal aliens who arrive in a Channel steamer than with the paupers who land as steerage passengers at other ports. They are well known to the police of their own country, and the foreign police forces would supply us with their *dossiers* and in many cases with their photographs and finger-prints.

It will be said perhaps that this would make respectable foreign visitors liable to be harried by officious policemen. An objection of this kind, though theoretically formidable, is really of no practical importance. Precisely similar objections were vehemently urged against the drastic 'Coercion Act' under which we live in London, and which has made the Metropolis the safest of all the great cities of the world. I refer to the Metropolitan Police Code. Under one of its provisions, for example, any police-constable who finds us waiting in the street at night, for a 'taxi' perhaps or for a friend, may suspect us of loitering with some criminal intent, and carry us off to the lock-up; and next day a police magistrate may commit us for a month without appeal. But the way this operates is that the streets are kept clear of people of the kind that would make it unsafe for us to be out after nightfall. And so also is it with the Customs regulations. The officers are empowered not only to open every piece of baggage, but to turn out all its contents; and if these powers were exercised to the letter the effect would be intolerable. The proposed scheme for a new Aliens Act would need no doubt to be carefully framed and judiciously administered, but seeming difficulties could easily be met.

It might possibly be deemed desirable to make all foreign visitors liable to the sort of supervision to which English people are subjected in Continental countries. But it would certainly be undesirable to administer a measure of that kind on Continental lines. It would be difficult, for example, to take power to require

returns from petty hotels in Soho and lodging-houses in White chapel, save by making all hotel and lodging-house keepers liabl to supply such information when called upon to do so. So agai it would be impracticable to frame a scheme that would empow the police to demand full personal particulars from the sort o alien we want to reach, save by a provision applicable to al foreigners. But such a law would be administered by the polic authorities under Home Office control, and they are entitled be trusted with discretionary powers in such matters.

In all this I am assuming that the public will demand legis lation of this character to prevent a repetition of the crimes tha have startled and disgraced the Metropolis. But I confess tha I do not personally rely on this assumption. If the House Commons had been sitting when the scare caused by the Hounds ditch murders was at its height, some Bill of the kind above in dicated would have been introduced at once. But my experienc of similar scares leads me to fear that by the time Parliament get to work the recent East End crimes will have passed into history Legislation of this character is not to be looked for unless it i supported by a strong and well-organised public opinion. For i would probably provoke a fierce howl from the more advance doctrinaire Radicals, whose idea of liberty is the right of ever man to do what he likes. And it would be bitterly opposed b the aggressive socialists, who are, I will not say brothers, but ne cousins to the anarchists. And as the Government have refuse to administer the existing Aliens Act in the spirit in which it wa designed and passed, they are not likely to force a more drasti measure through Parliament in the teeth of organised opposition

But in the circumstances of the moment we might perhaps b able to obtain legislation of a kind which would be of very grea practical value. The Houndsditch murders raised a demand fo a general arming of the police. Such a demand is both imprac ticable and impolitic. A pistol is a most dangerous weapon t handle; and if every time the officers paraded for duty at thei stations loaded revolvers were handed to them, to be carried o their beats in the 'rough and tumble' of many a street row, an then examined and returned to store when they reported off dut the system would possibly lead to more casualties in a single yea than anarchists would be chargeable with in two. A proposal o this kind was discussed in the Secretary of State's room at White hall during the Fenian scare caused by the Clerkenwell Priso explosion of December 1867, when Mr. Gathorne-Hardy author ised the provision of a limited number of revolvers, to be entruste to officers when detailed for special duties. And there could b no objection to a proposal of that kind to-day. But the Stepne crime gives clear proof that it would have no effect in preventin

a repetition of the Houndsditch murders. For in this country the police are citizens, and their right to use firearms is governed by the same law as that which applies to all other citizens. The possession of a revolver, therefore, would serve merely to enable an officer to return his assailant's fire. Our proper course should be, not to arm the police, but to disarm the criminals. My *projet de loi* is that carrying a revolver without a magisterial licence should be made a criminal offence. And none but the criminals themselves would object to such a law. The population of the Metropolitan Police District exceeds seven millions, and not more than a score of them perhaps (of course I do not reckon the anarchists or the burglars) are in the habit of carrying revolvers. And if there be a score, most of them are probably cranks to whom any competent magistrate would refuse a licence.

My personal testimony on this subject may possibly have weight with some. My work in connexion with the Secret Service made me a marked man at various periods, and very specially so during the Clerkenwell explosion scare, and again when Sir William Harcourt was on the war-path against anarchists and Fenians. At such times I was warned of murder plots, to decoy me to lonely places at night on the pretence of giving me information. When the first letter of this kind reached me in the winter of 1867-68 I did put a revolver in my pocket on setting out to meet the writer of it. But, save on that occasion, I never again carried a revolver in London. A pistol is useless in the dark, except at close quarters; and at close quarters a life-preserver, or a loaded stick, is a much surer weapon. And if I had thought otherwise I should not have been aggrieved by having to apply to a Bow Street magistrate for a licence.

Apart from the anarchist scare, a measure such as I propose would be of value and importance in the interests of the public. It was in their *rôle* of burglars that the anarchists murdered the police at Houndsditch; and the armed burglar has been in evidence of late. The humanitarians plead that criminals should have credit for their good intentions; let us credit them also with their bad intentions; and a burglar with a loaded revolver is in intention a murderer. Were he to point a loaded revolver at us he would be liable to a life sentence; let him have a life sentence for carrying it. And I would make it a fixed sentence: not from want of confidence in the Judges, but to protect them from the attacks made on them by the humanitarians whenever they deal out adequate penalties to such criminals. When the Muswell Hill burglars received a life sentence, years ago, we heard no more of armed burglars until the effects of that case had evaporated; and the influence of a law such as I propose would be permanent.

The notorious case of 'the old shepherd of Dartmoor' suggests

that in the interests of the judicial bench it may be desirable to revive the system of fixing sentences by statute. In that case a Cabinet Minister played to the gallery during the parliamentary elections by denouncing the sentence passed upon an habitual criminal of a hopeless type, a thief by instinct and habit, who had passed half his life in prison. The letter which appeared in the *Times* of January the 16th from Sir Alfred Wills—one of the most trusted and humane criminal Judges of our time—leaves nothing further that need be said upon that case. He tells of the man's long record of crime, of his 'incurable mania for theft,' and of philanthropic efforts fruitlessly made to save him. He tells of the contented and happy life that the man lived in Dartmoor, his love for the sheep entrusted to his care being so great that he left the prison with regret on his last discharge. 'Was there ever a case,' Sir Alfred asks, 'or could a case be well conceived more fit for a long period of preventive detention?' And he adds the further questions: 'Is it not lamentable that two Cabinet Ministers should select such a case for the exercise of a useless and mischievous clemency?' 'Is it not still more lamentable that . . . the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have proclaimed, not only to an ignorant and excited audience, but to every reader of a newspaper in which the statement was reported, that the unfortunate David Evans had been sentenced to thirteen years' penal servitude for stealing 4*s*. from a church collecting-box?' As a matter of fact, the sentence was three years—the shortest term allowed by law—*plus* ten years' detention under the special statute which was recently framed with a view to cases of this very kind.

A reference to this case here is opportune on other grounds also, as indicating the futility of expecting any anti-anarchist legislation at present, unless clear proof is forthcoming that such a measure would be generally popular. No such difficulty, however, would arise in regard to the suggested *projet de loi* about revolver licences. But while such an enactment would be of practical value, much fuller immunity from the dangers we now recognise would be obtained by dealing with the possession, as well as with the carrying, of such weapons. Under our existing law it is risky for anyone who has criminal antecedents to put a pistol in his pocket; and a burglar does so only when 'fulfilling a professional engagement.' Why not require the possessor of a revolver to obtain a magisterial licence? As burglars reside only in large towns, such a measure need not be made operative generally; but municipalities might be empowered to put it in force at their discretion. Where armed burglars are a danger, householders would recognise that the protection afforded them by such an enactment would amply compensate for any inconvenience it would cause.

But, it may be asked, how would this tend to safety? How would the police know what members of the burglar fraternity possessed firearms? The public must trust the police in this matter. In certain cases police work is done *à la* Sherlock Holmes. But the best preventive work, of which the public know nothing, is accomplished by the methods that enabled the Philistines to solve Samson's riddle. If the possession of a revolver without a magisterial licence were made a criminal offence armed burglars would be rarer than at present.

But what chiefly concerns us here is the monstrous fact that the police may know that an alien anarchist is living by crime, and yet there is no power to seize and expel him. If such men are to be allowed to live here at all, it ought to be only in virtue of a *permis de séjour*. 'The old shepherd of Dartmoor,' for example, on being discharged on licence is bound to report his place of residence to the police. And he is liable to arrest if it appears to the police that he is getting his livelihood by dishonest means. These provisions apply to every licence-holder, whether he be a burglar or a bank director. Is it unreasonable to propose that similar provisions should be made applicable to alien anarchists if allowed to live in this country at all? The means of livelihood question would be dealt with precisely in the same way as similar inquiries respecting our own people are dealt with every day in our police courts, and without the least difficulty. If a man claims to be living honestly it is always easy for him to give proof of his statement.

Provisions of the kind here indicated would not only enable us promptly to get rid of undesirable aliens, but they would operate, as they do with our own licence-holders, as a powerful incentive to live honestly. Moreover, it would soon become known throughout Europe that England had ceased to be a happy hunting-ground for the criminals of the world. Such it is at present. And while in some quarters at home the fact is hailed as proof of superior enlightenment on our part, it is generally regarded by our neighbours as proof of exceptional stupidity. The evils and dangers which are now in evidence appear to have very definitely increased of late; and if they are still allowed to grow unhindered, they may soon call for repressive measures of a far more drastic character than would now avail to check them.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

'COMPULSORY SERVICE'

A MINISTER'S MANIFESTO

IN the last issue of this Review is an article from the pen of Mr. A. S. Hurd, entitled 'Compulsory Service: the War Office Veto.' It contains a very full précis of a work published in November last with the title *Compulsory Service*. Mr. Hurd thinks very highly of the work and of the conclusions enunciated therein; other people, including myself, regard the book as decidedly unsatisfactory and disappointing, and we dissent from some of the conclusions; so I gladly take advantage of the permission accorded to me to offer some remarks on the subject.

The importance of the book is great, and is mainly owing to its authorship. Practically, it is the joint production of the Secretary of State for War, Mr. Haldane, and of the Inspector-General of the Oversea Forces, General Sir Ian Hamilton—a very strong collaboration. The former contributes an Introduction of thirty-six pages; the latter, in the form of a letter to Mr. Haldane, a hundred and six pages on the subject. Mr. Haldane writes of the letter as an 'unofficial' document, but the book cannot be otherwise regarded than as a Minister's official expression of opinion, supported by the views of an official expert. Mr. Hurd is utterly mistaken in denominating the book the 'War Office' Veto. The words 'War Office' imply a combination of the Secretary of State and the members of the Army Council; but I happen to know that the Army Council has had no more to do with the book than I have had, so the designation is wrong, and it is deceptive by giving to the book a weight of authority it does not possess. Inasmuch, however, as in Mr. Haldane we have one of the most powerful War Ministers that have ever held office, and in Sir Ian a General Officer deservedly regarded in his own profession as an able, experienced soldier of a very high class, the views expressed must have great influence with the general public, for whom we are told by Mr. Haldane the book is written, and whose knowledge of the subject is decidedly small, even if it exist at all.

At the present time there is before the public only one application of compulsory service in which they take any interest; it is Compulsory Service for Home Defence. But as the ideas as to what Compulsory Service, or its equivalent, Conscription, is, seem to be somewhat hazy and contradictory, I give the definition supplied in Littré's *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*, edition 1863:

> Appel au service militaire, par voie du tirage au sort, des jeunes gens quand ils ont atteint un âge déterminé par la loi. Tomber à la conscription, avoir un numéro qui fait qu'on est compris dans la levée. Echapper à la conscription, avoir un numéro qui n'y est pas compris, quand on n'appelle pas tous les hommes d'une même année.

Thus not universal compulsory *service*, but universal *liability* to compulsory service, is the principle of conscription. Hence, possibly, the vehement denunciations of conscription from the National Service League. It is not drastic enough nor sufficiently far-reaching for them.

The origin of the book, Mr. Haldane tells us, is due to the 'very general interest existing on the question of compulsory service in these islands,' and to the importance of putting before the public 'materials for forming a judgment on the subject,' and we at once notice a hiatus in the materials.

Compulsory service is not a matter that affects only the fighting forces of a nation: it affects the nation itself in its social, professional, commercial, manufacturing, and industrial relations; and when the forthcoming publication of the book was announced hope was entertained that we should find these matters dealt with in it. But there is nothing about them, so either the omission must be due to an oversight, or else the authors do not regard them as a necessary part of the materials. Personally, I consider them of the very highest importance, as in connexion with them it is that the civilian population of this country is mainly concerned. This omission is the more strange because Sir Ian, in his most interesting and instructive book, *A Staff Officer's Scrap Book*, touches on this very point:

> Fancy if one-fourth, the best fourth, of our adolescent manhood were ear-marked for the army, and then, whether they were taken or not, or wherever they went or whatever position they attained, were liable for service and lived with the sword, so to say, hanging over them! Those who imagine that the casual Briton will accept such a system one day before he is forced to do so by some terrible catastrophe either know singularly little about their fellow-countrymen, or, what is more probable, nothing at all about conscription (p. 156, vol. i).

Sir Ian's pronounced hostility to compulsory service for Home Defence, and his frequent laudations of, and hitherto optimistic views as to our Territorial forces, are in such marked contrast to

his enthusiastic admiration of the Japanese system of compulsory service, that interest in the book for an explanation of the difference in the views was aroused. In the *Scrap Book* are, moreover, a few references to our own Army, not always of a complimentary character.

At p. 10 he writes :

> This Japanese Army shows conscription at its best—a comparatively small number, picked out from several hundreds of thousands for physical fitness and aptitude at certain necessary trades.

At p. 14, referring to the British Army :

> With our education anti-military and our Army organised on a basis of wages we are marching straight in the footsteps of China.

And at p. 136, dealing with the defence of Anju by a hundred Japanese, he writes :

> Out of this heterogeneous crew [the non-military element at Anju] no less than thirty were found who claimed to have some idea of using a firearm. Thus, in extremity, the potential garrison might be reckoned to be 100 rifles of sorts!
>
> It would be difficult to find a stronger argument in favour of some kind of universal training, or to realise more acutely what a falling-off the British show in this respect since the days of their famous ancestors who fought at Agincourt and Crécy. Out of seventy-five Japanese, men of all trades, thirty could handle a rifle. It would be interesting to know what proportion of Britishers out of a similar mixed crowd would know the difference between the butt and the muzzle of a rifle.

But an extraordinary change has taken place in Sir Ian's views on both conscription and the British Army since he penned those lines; he now condemns the former, he does justice to the latter. As I am strongly in favour of compulsory service for Home Defence, I must undertake the task of combating some of the statements he now makes in depreciation of what he formerly regarded as so good—compulsory service.

Sir Ian has had the advantage of seeing from time to time in peace the armies of Prussia, Saxony, Austria, and the United States. He says that he has 'soldiered' with them; but the word is liable to convey the erroneous impression that he has been on active service with them—an impossibility, as these armies (except that of the United States) have not taken the field since Sir Ian entered the service in 1872. With the Japanese he has really 'soldiered,' and of the Russians he saw a great deal at the same time. In this book he gives the result of compulsory service on one other army only, that of Germany, and this I pass on in Sir Ian's own words :

> There are facilities for grasping at least the outlines and general drift of conscription in the countries where it has prevalence. The book *Jena or Sedan*, written as it is by an officer of high repute among his comrades,

renders available to the world at large a convincing picture of the German military system with its advantages and drawbacks. Therein the reader may study the working of the greatest engine the world has yet seen for the manufacture of a particular type of human intellect and body. He may watch it turning out sealed-pattern citizens by the hundred thousand; backs straightened, chest broadened, clean, obedient, punctual, but, on the other hand, weakened in their individual initiative.

Yes, conscription is a tremendous leveller. The proud are humbled; the poor-spirited are strengthened; the national idea is fostered; the interplay of varying ideals is sacrificed. Good or bad, black or white, all are chucked indifferently into the mill, and emerge therefrom, no longer black or white, but a drab, uniform khaki.

That Sir Ian should have written the foregoing denunciation of the effect of compulsory service on the German Army is little short of astounding. In 1904 he tells us that in his opinion the 'Japanese Army, battalion for battalion, surpasses any European army, excepting only the British Army at its best,' and we all know it was a German officer, with German training and German ideas, who created it. And yet, while the system produced a splendid fighting machine in the East, it produces in the West a human machine of a 'drab uniform khaki,' devoid of initiative. If this be true, strangely must the forty years' peace since the Franco-German War have affected the German Army. Sir Ian cannot, during his busy and distinguished career of active service, have had the opportunities I, as a study soldier, have had of learning from regimental records and other literary sources the inner working of the German Army in 1870-71; and nothing has impressed me more than the absence of 'dull uniform khaki' in the regimental ranks during that war, and the frequent exercise of individual initiative in those ranks. And that Sir Ian should have selected *Jena oder Sedan* as a guide to the real facts is equally surprising. On the title page of the book the author tells us how we are to regard his production. It is a 'Roman'—*i.e.* a romance or novel. The circulation of the book has been enormous, and in the Preface to the editions of 1903 and 1904 the author fully admits the great differences of opinion that exist as to its merits; but historical novels, combining fact and fiction impossible to be distinguished one from the other, are the last authority to be relied on for accuracy. So Sir Ian's views on the effects of compulsory service must be largely discounted.

I have already alluded to the fact that it is from the high position of the authors that the book derives so much importance, and therefore I must join issue with Sir Ian in his appreciation of Mr. Haldane in one respect. He expresses his belief that Mr. Haldane, although a Minister, is one of a species hitherto almost unknown in this country, a Minister not influenced by political exigencies. Writing to Mr. Haldane, he says: 'I assume, then, confidently, that you would not exclude from your consideration

an unpopular idea merely because of its unpopularity,' and the reason for the faith that is in him is: 'Not easily will I forget the evening when, in the interests of the discipline of the Army, you doubled the powers of commanding officers in a House containing a great Liberal majority.' But as in our system of party government the 'gospel of political expediency,' as Sir Ian calls it, is necessarily a very potent factor, I consulted the files of the *Times* for the record of this grand act of patriotic heroism, and Sir Ian's faith seems to be a real *non sequitur*. On Clause 4 of the Annual Army Act of 1910, in which the proposal was embodied, two short debates took place; only some ten members spoke (six Ministerialists and four of the Opposition), the support and hostility being found on both sides of the House; but the clause was passed without a division—possibly the Whips could account for the heroism. It is no use giving good wine a bush of the imagination. Mr. Haldane, just like every other Minister of any party, is bound to take heed to political expediency, and so he must do as regards compulsory service for Home Defence.

And now more directly to this disappointing book; distinctly disappointing to those for whom Mr. Haldane says it is intended, and for whom it is to supply 'materials for forming a judgment.' The Government has fathered and supplied to us the assumption which is to be the basis of land Home Defence: it is, practically, that in a war with Germany 70,000 Germans may land on our shores; and the system to be devised must provide a force powerful enough without the smallest doubt to fight, defeat and drive back into the sea these 70,000 invaders.

Mr. Haldane, on pp. 15-24 of the Introduction, gives a very detailed and lucid account of the methods employed to enable the Committee of Imperial Defence to arrive at the right conclusion on the questions with which it has to deal. All the Government Departments connected with Imperial Defence are consulted, and the best brains available are utilised. The 70,000 maximum is the verdict, therefore, of 'all the talents.' It is, consequently, somewhat strange to find Mr. Haldane inserting in the Appendix to the second edition of *Compulsory Service*, published last month, notes from the pen of Sir Arthur Wilson, the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, written in November, and in which Sir Arthur expresses his opinion that 'an invasion on even the moderate scale of 70,000 men is practically impossible.' Distinguished and able officer as Sir Arthur is, the public may be excused if they decline to accept his individual opinion in preference to the combined opinion of 'all the talents.'

But the question with which the general public is concerned is not only the possible maximum strength of an invader—be it 70,000, 69,000, 68,000, 50,000, or aught else. We know that a

mere comparative handful of invaders could inflict in a very brief space of time enormous damage in the country; their presence on our shores, the fact that they have not been at once driven off, would send a demoralising shock from one end of Great Britain to the other, upsetting trade, business, and employment; and in the resulting panic would arise the popular overwhelming demand for the immediate recall of troops from our Expeditionary Force oversea, engaged themselves, perhaps, at the very moment, in operations of ultra-importance to the successful issue of the struggle. It is raids on all scales, small as well as large, that we must be prepared to meet and deal with. On this matter the only questions on which a judgment is to be formed are few and simple:

(1) Will the Territorial Force meet the requirements?

(2) Would not a force raised under the conditions of compulsory service be preferable?

(3) How far does the National Service League system meet the requirements?

The existing system governing our land regular forces is outside these questions altogether save as it might be affected by them. Personally, I put the third question altogether aside, as I am an opponent of the methods advocated by the League and I have already been allowed to give my views on them in this Review. So in the book I have sought for enlightenment on the first two questions only, and real hard digging and delving it has been, especially in the almost resultless search in connexion with the second.

The difficulty of the task is due to the overloading of the book with topics such as 'Long Range' and 'Short Range' armies, and others, which are extraneous to two of these three questions, and make the book a real medley of subjects. At pp. 111 *et seq.* Sir Ian summarises the contents of the previous sixty-nine pages of his share of the book. They are:

(1) The enlargement of our present type of overseas army.

(2) Universal military service on the German model.

(3) Universal military service on a special reserve basis.

(4) A Home Defence army and Expeditionary Force on the German model, but restricted in strength to the present establishment of the Territorial Force on the one hand; on the other, to the strength of our existing Expeditionary Force of six divisions.

(5) Compulsory service on a militia basis, as proposed by the National Service League.

For aught I know, the first four matters may have been the subject of academic discussions inside the War Office, but I have not heard mention of them outside its portals, and Mr. Haldane would have done well to excise them from 'the materials supplied to the public for the formation of a judgment'; the public do not care a brass farthing about them; and nowhere in the book does

Sir Ian take in hand, not even among the various military policies (p. 134) which he says are open to such an Empire as that of Great Britain, the policy, *the only policy now interesting the general public—the Regular Army as it is, and a Compulsory Service Army for Home Defence only.*

However, by much patient research I have ferreted out Sir Ian's estimate of the Territorial Force, and, as a reply to my Question 1, I give it in his own words (pp. 117 *et seq.*) :

The Territorials, it has been said, would be able to fight Continental troops after being embodied for six months. That is no doubt the truth, but it is a truth carrying with it to the uninstructed public the damning implication that they would not be prepared to fight before that time . . . it may be safely said the statement went too far and not far enough. If it means that at the end of six months' embodiment Territorial troops could cherish reasonable hopes of defeating first-line Continental regular troops in the open field, on even terms, rifle for rifle, gun for gun, why, then it goes too far. Then if it is to be held to imply that Territorial troops are so wanting in soldierly qualities and training that they could not be used to fight Continental troops to-morrow, then it is at least equally misleading. I can name you brigades of Territorials ready and available to be entrained and sent off at a few hours' notice. Taking with them three days' rations and three hundred rounds, they would fight anyone you like to name at daybreak to-morrow morning, this being 3 P.M. They would conduct themselves with more zeal than skill. They would suffer heavy losses. Proportionately the enemy's losses would be slight. If defeated, they would go absolutely to pieces for a time. Still, were they respectably handled, and were they in a superiority of say three to one, they would fight well enough to give the best of enemies a bellyful.

Every day would make a difference. At the end of a month's embodiment it would be a different story. At the end of six months' embodiment it would be a very different story. By that time, in my opinion, a 25 per cent. superiority in numbers ought to give them a fair fighting chance, and a superiority of half as many again ought to give them a good chance of victory, especially as we must always bear in mind that after six months' war a Continental army would not consist so much of first-line troops as of reserves. *In such case* our Territorials should be almost, *if not quite*, their equals.

How Sir Ian can have allowed himself to propound the idea that in any conceivable case an invading force with such a magnificent, splendid prize to gain for their country, and with everything to lose if it be not gained, would not be the very pick of the hostile first line, is a real puzzle. To my mind the idea propounded is utterly untenable. Then we read (p. 119) :

In the foregoing estimates I am assuming existing conditions. On the *one* hand, I do not allow for any further improvement which may, nay must, take place in the Territorial Force; on the other, I assume that, even although our full six Divisions have quitted the country, there remain (as there must remain) *some thousands of odds and ends of Regulars to give here and there some guidance, example, point, and coherence to the ranks of the Territorial Divisions.* A few battalions of Guards [whence do these come?], some batteries of Horse Artillery [whence these?], and some

battalions of Special Reserve would also be available to lend a hand under any conditions I can conceive.

I have italicised a few of the words which seem to indicate real militant feebleness in our voluntary protectors.

Later on (p. 121) another startling assertion :

War is essentially the triumph, not of a chassepot over a needle gun, not of a line of men entrenched behind wire entanglements and fire-swept zones over men exposing themselves in the open, but of one will over another weaker will. Are we then to leave our voluntary spirit, a spirit dead or dying upon the Continent, entirely out of the count? Are we to imagine young men whose elders, safe from service themselves, have passed a law compelling them to serve willy-nilly—are we to imagine them animated by the same moral force as young men who have joined the colours from sheer love of them?

If this is not a real rhetorical flourish, what is it? And now one last quotation (p. 131) :

Schemes based entirely on material considerations may endure for a while in peace. But war searches the inmost part and the uttermost corner. It is on moral forces we must stand or fall in battle, and I ask you to consider whether these are most likely to be found living and active among volunteers or among conscripts.

I ask whether, fighting alike in both cases for their own hearths and homes, is it conceivable that there would be the very slightest difference between them?

We have in the foregoing extracts the estimate formed of the Territorial Forces for Home Defence by their strongest supporter, Sir Ian; and as, be it remembered, no officer on the active list can, without special permission, put discussions on Service matters before the public—further, since, Mr. Haldane at p. 42 commends Sir Ian's letter 'to the study of all interested in the question of National Defence'—it is fair to assume that in this estimate Mr. Haldane concurs. It cannot, surely, be pretended that in Sir Ian's estimate of the active service value of the Territorials is anything sufficient to ensure that, to use the hackneyed expression, 'we may sleep safely in our beds'; on the contrary, it furnishes us with serious grounds for dissatisfaction and alarm. And from the book there is the ominous omission of any reference to those two vital questions—efficiency of not only the officers but the non-commissioned officers, and the discipline. No one knows better than Sir Ian that the less highly trained and the more raw are the rank and file of any force the higher must be the efficiency of their immediate leaders, and the greater the need for deserved confidence in them; but on these points there is no vestige of an assurance. That, to use Sir Ian's words, 'some guidance, example, point and cohesion to the ranks of the Territorial divisions' will be needed is obvious, and probably is obvious to the Territorials themselves;

but the time for giving this is apparently to be after the outbreak of the war; and the private soldiers are not to look to their natural leaders to make good the deficiencies in these 'necessaries' of war, but to the 'odds and ends of regular troops' that may be among them. How strange!

And now to the second of the three questions—a compulsory service army for Home Defence. With this the book nowhere deals, yet it is one of the pressing questions before the general public. In Sir Ian's third policy (p. 136) he enumerates a 'Home-defence militia raised on a national compulsory basis,' and he writes of them as a '*monstrous agglomeration of half-baked conscript militiamen*'; and he adds:

> Hannibal, with 20,000 professional soldiers, went near to destroying the Republic of Rome, which had some seven or eight hundred thousand men available for its conscript Militia. He sat down among those Militia conscripts and lived for a long time happily and well, as it might be at Birmingham, snug as a snail in a hive full of honey.

Yes, and it is just because those who think with me believe that, if we put our trust in the Territorials, we shall find that the honey at Birmingham and elsewhere is being devoured by snails in the form of 70,000 picked German soldiers, that we advocate the adoption of a system of Home Defence, on the soundness of which absolute reliance can be justly placed.

We put aside as absolutely childish the idea of creating all at once for Home Defence anything deserving the name of an 'army.' We ask for its creation by degrees, by recurrent contributions of young men from all the social strata, high and low, in the country. The gathering in these contingents will tap so many sources of supply hitherto contributing few or no men at all to national defence, that its possible effect on recruiting for the Regular Army need not disturb us. We ask that these contingents shall be retained with the colours long enough to become professional disciplined soldiers, reliable for the defence of their and our hearths and homes, and that they be not released while in the stage of 'half-baked conscript militiamen,' or of half-baked Territorials either; that there shall be well-paid permanent cadres of officers and non-commissioned officers for the training of the contingents. From the contingents themselves it is certain that this supply of officers and non-commissioned officers will by degrees to a large extent come, for to the fairly educated men from the social strata lower than those which supply the professional officer of the Regular Army to-day the door to a commission must be thrown wide open; and they will, as leaders in Home Defence, do justice to their positions and be proud of them. The result of the process of formation may give us defenders fewer in number than the Territorial Force, but they will be defenders not only in name but in

deed; and they will be a force that a General can rely on to move and manœuvre in this difficult country, as well as to die, if need be, on the field of battle. Rome was not built in a day; our land Home Defence cannot be built up in a day.

To work out all the details as to the what, how, when, and where, the strength of the contingents, the right distribution of the demands over the country, all this requires much thought and labour, and the War Office could supply both. As to the expense, it is only necessary to say that, while the officers and non-commissioned officers must have a real living wage, the pay of the rank and file would be much below that of our oversea army troops; but, whatever be the expense to the country, it would be regarded not as an always secure premium on a *personal* life insurance, but as a premium on the insurance of the *national* life, and equally secure, and therefore it would be readily and willingly paid. In the pages of the book peeps out at times the stock suggestion that security at home may tend to diminish the spirit of what at p. 38 Mr. Haldane calls

> our inherited tradition that the real foundation of our system of defence, at home and abroad, must always be the capacity of promptly assuming the offensive and of launching a counter-attack at the points where the enemy is vulnerable. It was not by dwelling on the idea of passive defence that our forefathers made our country what it is to-day.

Sir Ian tells us (p. 50) in a similar tone that: 'Conscription is a weapon that cannot be lightly used,' and that 'its statesmen are constantly sacrificing their Imperial ambitions on the altar of Home Defence.'

This amounts to asserting that the stronger we are for Home Defence the less will be our enterprise for expeditions to the rest of the world. At the present time we are assured that our navy is guarding us in absolute safety. Yet this security does not seem to be having a detrimental influence on our oversea work. But how does it stand with us in private life as individuals? Occasionally I leave my small home for four or five days. I do it with perfect confidence that during my absence no harm from the outside will endanger those I have left at home. The constabulary in the district is efficient, the bars and bolts on windows and doors are good and reliable, and my old cur 'Jock' has a keen ear for the tramps that infest our road, and he makes their approach hot indeed. But assume that the constabulary is inefficient, the bars and bolts out of order, and old 'Jock' gathered to his fathers: the need for remaining at home for its protection would decidedly damp my ardour for 'oversea' expeditions. So it is with the nation.

Finally Sir Ián at p. 145 refers to the possibility of a 'third line, very little more than a paper affair' in peace, but based on conscription, and which he says is a 'great organisation which

might, after the outbreak of war, become operative'; and he instances the Garde Nationale of France created under the 'seemingly dead paper law of 1831,' which, he says, 'went within an ace of saving France in 1870 by enabling Gambetta to call out the nation to fight.' I think that the law which Sir Ian calls the 'seemingly dead paper law of 1831' is the law only partially applied of the 11th of January 1852, which reorganised the Garde Nationale; and I will add to Sir Ian's remarks the conclusion arrived at by the French General Staff as to the actual result of the efforts made to obtain and utilise for the same period of the war all the manhood in the provinces and outside Paris. At p. 503 of the *Revue d'Histoire*, No. 105, we read:

> La délégation du Gouvernement de la Défense nationale mit sur pied dans les départements environ 400,000 hommes. La Nation répondit donc, dans un bel élan de patriotisme, à l'appel de ceux qui ne désespèrent pas du salut de la Patrie. Mais, on ne saurait trop le répéter, l'étude de la Défense nationale en province démontrera *qu'on n'improvise pas une armée*. Au début, quand on ne fit partir que les meilleurs éléments, on put mobiliser des unités composées d'anciens militaires et par suite susceptibles de figurer utilement sur un champ de bataille. Mais, quand les besoins toujours grandissants forcèrent à puiser indistinctement dans les dépôts, les troupes ainsi formées perdirent beaucoup de leur valeur et l'on peut affirmer que, malgré les efforts faits pour activer leur instruction, les dernières unités envoyées sur le théâtre de la lutte, étaient composées d'hommes qui *surent se faire tuer, mais non de soldats*.

The lesson I read from this period of the war is the utter powerlessness of Gambetta, the greatest Dictator of modern times, to make good, in any way during war, the deficiencies of preparation in time of peace for Home Defence.

In taking leave of the book, I desire to express my appreciation of it as an unintentional revelation of the utter weakness of our military Home Defence, and consequently furnishing a very strong incentive to the public generally to insist on the adoption of a defence both sound and trustworthy.

Sir Ian, with most creditable candour, has given us his honest estimate of the war capacities of the Territorials; while Mr. Haldane, with thorough judicial impartiality, in 'charging the jury,' has included among the 'materials for forming a judgment,' this estimate, damnatory as it is to the system in which, as he tells us, he believes, and which he upholds. To both these distinguished officials the thanks of the public are markedly due.

If, so be, the Territorial Force desires to 'ride for a fall,' it is not likely to find a 'mount' more suitable for its purpose than this book, *Compulsory Service*.

LONSDALE HALE.

THE MACHINERY OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

To say that the English people lack the habit of political introspection is to risk the enunciation of a truism. Nor will it be denied that the symptom is a healthy one. Our political instincts have been essentially objective. A specific grievance has manifested itself and a specific remedy has been applied. So long as the ache or pain of the moment has yielded to legislative or administrative treatment little regard has been paid as to the remoter effects of the remedy prescribed. From time to time an accumulation of grievances has called for more radical treatment, for more wholesale revision of institutions; as, for example, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Church and the Baronage compelled the assent of John to the Great Charter; again, in 1628, when Charles the First conceded the Petition of Right; and, once more, in the 'Revolution Settlement' at the close of the seventeenth century. But none of these great constitutional documents go far, if at all, beyond the immediate necessities of the hour. Not one of them approaches, even remotely, a Constitutional Code or *Instrument*. Not infrequently the essential point at issue, as discerned by historical commentators, appears to have been ignored by contemporary statesmen. Constitutional jurists tell us, for example, that the cardinal point of dispute between the Stuart Sovereigns and their Parliaments was the question of the responsibility of Ministers—the relations of the Executive to the Legislature. We search in vain through the *Petition of Right* or the *Bill of Rights* for any allusion to this topic. The same is true of the Canada Union Act of 1840. To that Act we are constantly referred as the Charter of Colonial liberties—the real beginning of 'responsible' Government in the Dominions;—and not inaccurately. The principal of Ministerial responsibility was the keynote of Lord Durham's famous Report on which the Act of 1840 was avowedly founded.

The responsibility [wrote Lord Durham] of all officers of the Government except the Governor and his Secretary should be secured by every means

known to the British Constitution. The Governor . . . should be instructed that he must carry on his Government by heads of departments in whom the United Legislature shall repose confidence; and that he must look for no support from home in any contest with the Legislature except on points involving strictly imperial interests.

The principle thus conspicuously formulated by the impetuous Pro-Consul was cordially accepted by the Home Ministry. 'Your Excellency,' wrote Lord John Russell to Lord Sydenham, the Governor-General of Canada, 'must be aware that there is no surer way of earning the approbation of the Queen than by maintaining the harmony of the Executive with the Legislative authorities.' We naturally turn to the Act of 1840 for the translation of these principles into legislative enactment; but we turn in vain. On this central doctrine of political faith the creed is silent. The 'Cabinet' system came before long, but it came not as the result of legislation but of administration. Lord Elgin was, in 1847, formally instructed from home 'to act generally on the advice of the Executive Council and to receive as members of that body those persons who might be pointed out to him as entitled to be so by their possessing the confidence of the Assembly.' In this characteristically British fashion was 'Responsible Government' established in the oversea Dominions. Of the evolution of English political institutions it has been conspicuously true that 'the kingdom cometh not by observation.'

To this rule there have been exceptions. The written Constitutions of the Commonwealth and Protectorate belong to a revolutionary period, and they did not endure. They may be regarded, therefore, as exceptions that prove the rule. The constitutional *Instruments* which define the Governmental form of the great oversea Dominions—though in form merely enactments of the Imperial Legislature—belong to another category and may possibly foreshadow a new constitutional departure. But of these I shall have something to say later on. For the moment it must suffice to indicate the exceptions and to call attention to the peculiar genius which underlies the history of our constitutional evolution. The violent have often attempted to take the constitutional kingdom by storm, but the method has never yet proved itself to be permanently successful; the genius of silent growth has invariably reasserted itself.

I have ventured to emphasise this well-worn and obvious commonplace, partly to point a moral but chiefly in order to enforce a contrast. Hitherto we may congratulate ourselves that the method has worked well. At the lowest, it will be conceded that the advantages have outweighed the disadvantages. For this success there have been many reasons, but one stands out conspicuously. Amid all our political differences there has been

a general agreement upon what Cromwell described as 'fundamentals.' The moment that agreement disappeared—as under the Commonwealth—it was found imperatively necessary to have recourse to a written, and preferably a rigid, Constitution. Without such 'rigidity' Cromwell discovered Parliamentary government to be unworkable; and 'rigidity' was a principle which the characteristic English genius of his Parliaments would not permit them to accept. Hence the constitutional deadlock to which Cromwell reluctantly found a key in the power of the sword. There was no longer agreement in the nation upon 'fundamentals,' and without it government could only be maintained by irresistible force.

Are we approaching, have we reached, a similar crisis in our history? Have we ceased to enjoy a reasonable amount of agreement upon 'fundamentals'? Have the differences which divide political parties been accentuated to a degree which threatens the success of Parliamentary government and, indeed, of representative institutions? He would be a bold man who would venture to answer these questions with a blank negative. If they must be answered in the affirmative, can it be denied that the case is one which demands some political introspection on the part of the leaders of public opinion? The defects of our qualities will then become uncomfortably conspicuous. The virtues we shall need to cultivate will not be those of healthy-minded stolidity, but of political imagination and perspective. We must see our institutions steadily, but we must see them whole. According to Burke, the American Colonies were lost largely because Mr. George Grenville, despite an admittedly 'very serious desire to benefit the public,' 'did not seem to have his view, at least equally, carried to the total circuit of our affairs. He generally considered his objects in lights that were rather too detached.'

The moment has surely arrived when it is incumbent on all serious-minded politicians and publicists to take stock of our constitutional position as a whole: to carry their view 'to the total circuit of our affairs.' In no other way can the true perspective be maintained or recovered. As things are at present an onlooker finds it difficult to determine which feature of the situation is the more amazing and alarming—the levity of the party leaders or the apathy of many of their followers. Between the relative importance of legislative proposals there seems to be little or no discrimination. A Licensing Bill or a Trade Disputes Bill excites not less public interest than a Bill for dissolving the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland or one for revising fundamentally the political institutions of the United Kingdom. There is no sense of proportion and perspective,

For this, one peculiar feature of our Constitution is largely responsible. That Constitution does not itself discriminate between legislative projects of large and small significance, between *constitutional* laws and *ordinary* laws. As regards the machinery of legislation no distinction is drawn between a Bill for the revision of the Constitution and one for the amendment of the Employers' Liability Act. There is perhaps small reason for surprise, therefore, that the public at large should regard the two legislative projects as on the same plane of significance.

Is it safe to permit this confusion to persist? It is obvious that we are entering upon an era of constitutional reconstruction; that we are called upon to undertake a serious revision of fundamental institutions. To this task both the great parties are committed. The Radicals demand a curtailment of the powers of the House of Lords and the modification, if not the dissolution, of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Tories are not less deeply committed to fundamental changes in the composition of the Second Chamber; to a definition of the relations of the two Houses; to the introduction into our constitutional machinery of a brand-new device, appropriate to 'direct' democracy but not essentially compatible with representative government. Finally, there are not a few among both parties who look to some form of federalism as the most hopeful solution of our constitutional problem—domestic and Imperial alike. It is no part of my immediate purpose to canvass the merits of any one of these proposals. The case for and against is likely to be argued *ad nauseam* in the coming months and years. But I deem it of real importance to point out that in hardly any other leading country in the world would it be possible to transform any one of these *projets de loi* into a legislative Act by the ordinary process of legislation, or without the employment of machinery specially devised for this important function.

It may, under these circumstances, be worth while to explain, briefly but with precision, the nature of the machinery which at present exists in some typical States of the modern world for constitutional *revision*. Before doing so it is perhaps desirable to emphasise two differentiating characteristics of the British Constitution. The two features are closely related and in fact actually interdependent. The first is, the complete flexibility of our Constitution; the second is, the legislative omnipotence of Parliament. To describe a Constitution as 'flexible' is in reality only another way of stating that there exists no special machinery for its revision or amendment. In other words, the King in Parliament is, in a legislative sense, legally omnipotent. That

fundamental doctrine is thus formulated in a classical passage in the commentaries of Blackstone:

The power and jurisdiction of Parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. And of this high court, he adds, it may be fairly said, '*Si antiquitatem spectes, est vetustissima; si dignitatem, est honoratissima; si jurisdictionem, est capacissima.*' It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repeating, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal; this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is entrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms.

Much of the illuminating work[1] of one of Blackstone's most brilliant successors in the Vinerian Chair at Oxford is but an extended commentary on the same text:

The principle of Parliamentary sovereignty [writes Professor Dicey] means neither more nor less than this, namely, that Parliament has, under the English Constitution, the right to make or unmake any law whatever; and, further, that no person or body is recognised by the law of England as having a right to override or set aside the legislation of Parliament.

I should feel it necessary to apologise for insisting upon a proposition so elementary, had I not learnt from experience that this truth is very imperfectly apprehended even in circles which are generally described as educated. And it is of the essence of the situation. It is of supreme importance that every elector of the United Kingdom should be compelled to realise the fact that in respect of constitutional innovation we are in a position of unique defencelessness. It is nothing short of a scandal that any body of men should presume to pass judgment upon the relative merits of Mr. Asquith's Parliament Bill and the counter-proposals of Lord Lansdowne without a grasp of these elementary truths, and without a realisation of the dangers to which we should be exposed by the establishment of a Legislature at once virtually unicameral and indisputably omnipotent. If the 'veto' of the Lords is destined to follow the veto of the Crown, the British House of Commons will find itself in possession of a power without parallel among the institutions of the civilised world. It is in the hope of bringing home to my fellow-citizens a sense of their all but unique position in regard to constitutional revision that the following pages are penned.

I am prepared to be told that the alarms of a mere constitutional jurist are exaggerated and even hysterical; that a representative Chamber, even if omnipotent, will never transgress the limits of its mandate; that the electors will, in fact if not in law, retain their sovereign rights, and that the continuous control of

[1] A. V. Dicey: *Law of the Constitution.*

public opinion, formed and stimulated by a vigilant Press, will amply suffice to guarantee us against any danger of Parliamentary tyranny. Such was not the opinion of so stout a Radical as John Stuart Mill:

A majority in a single assembly, when it has assumed a permanent character—when composed of the same persons habitually acting together, and always assured of victory in their own House—easily becomes despotic and overweening, if released from the necessity of considering whether its acts will be concurred in by another constituted authority. The same reason which induced the Romans to have two consuls, makes it desirable there should be two chambers: that neither of them may be exposed to the corrupting influence of undivided power, even for the space of a single year.

And the lessons of experience are available to reinforce the reasoning of philosophy. The brief period of uni-cameral rule in England showed the Commons to be eminently despotic and overweening. Hard experience, as Professor Firth has lately reminded us,

convinced England of the necessity of a Second Chamber. . . . Even Republicans were converted by events to the bi-cameral theory. Henry Neville, himself a member of the Long Parliament, declared . . . that if a House of Lords did not exist it would be necessary to invent one. 'Our Government imitates the best and most perfect Commonwealths that ever were: where the Senate assisted in the making of laws . . . and sometimes by their gravity and moderation reduced the people to a calmer state; and by their authority and credit stemmed the tide and made the waters quiet, giving the people time to come to themselves. And therefore if we had no such peerage now upon the old Constitution, yet we should be necessitated to make an artificial peerage or Senate instead of it.' [2]

Such were the reflections induced by the severe teaching of experience. Modern jurists, like M. Simon Deploige, deprecate the introduction of such a device as the Referendum, or the Constitutional Initiative, into the English polity, on the specific ground that in England 'the duty of the electors is limited to choosing the members while the veto is exercised by higher authorities.' It would be interesting to inquire whether M. Deploige would be prepared to adhere to this conclusion when once he realises that the veto of one of the 'higher authorities' has already gone and that the veto of the other is seriously threatened.

But I am concerned with the immediate constitutional issue only so far as to enforce my contention as to the peculiar defencelessness of the British polity against the assault of 'constitutional' innovation. This will be brought into clearer relief by an analysis of the machinery devised for the amendment of the Constitution in other countries.

[2] *Plato Redivivus*, p. 129, ap. C. H. Firth, *House of Lords during the Civil War*, p. 296.

Among European Constitutions the two likest to our own in respect of *flexibility* are those of Italy and Spain. Both are written, but neither is rigid. Neither contains any special provision for constitutional, as distinct from ordinary, legislation. It is, however, worthy of note that the eminent jurist, M. Brusa, has affirmed that the fundamental bases of the Italian Constitution, as established by the plebiscites, are outside the range of ordinary Parliamentary action.[3] Nevertheless, amendments to the *Statuto* have been effected by ordinary legislative process, while M. Brusa's assertion rests on nothing better than admirably informed opinion. The earlier experiments of Spain in Constitution-making (*e.g.* those of 1812, 1857, and 1869) contained special provisions for constitutional revision. In the latest attempt—that of 1876—they are omitted, and we are therefore entitled to assume with Mr. Lowell that if the Constitution 'lasts long enough to require amendment the changes will be made by ordinary legislative process.'

Outside Europe the most notable exception to the general rule of rigidity is to be found in the new Constitution for United South Africa. Certain portions of the Act—those which refer to the composition and election of the House of Assembly and to the equality of the English and Dutch languages—cannot be amended or repealed except by a two-thirds majority in a joint sitting of the two Chambers. But the general competence of the South African Parliament to amend even the Constitution itself is asserted in express terms in the instrument. Section 152 declares: 'Parliament may by law repeal or alter any of the provisions of this Act, provided that no provision thereof for the operation of which a definite period of time is prescribed, shall during such period be repealed or altered.' Other written Constitutions may ignore the point or leave it in obscurity, but I know of no other *Instrument* which deliberately and explicitly confers constituent authority upon the ordinary legislature and confides the task of constitutional revision, with a few reasonable exceptions, to the ordinary process of legislation.

Returning to Europe, we find in Germany a somewhat curious conflict of principles. The Prussian Constitution, and those of the States which have taken Prussia as their model, are in theory almost as flexible as the Constitutions of Italy and Spain. Article 107 of the Prussian Constitution runs as follows: 'The Constitution may be altered by ordinary legislative enactment. For such alterations a majority vote of each House expressed in *two successive ballots separated by an interval of twenty-one days is required.*' The italicised words alone differentiate the process of constitutional amendment from ordinary legislation. But the

[3] Ap. *Marquardsen, Handbuch des Offentlichen Rechts.*

dominating power of the Crown in Prussia is a fact the significance of which, both historically and politically, must not, in this connexion, be ignored. It renders the terms of the *Instrument* of relatively small account; for the Constitution, both in Prussia and in the States which, like Saxe-Coburg, have followed her example, is regarded as an emanation from the monarchy, a gift bestowed upon the people by the prince. The Saxon Constitution (of 1831) gave the initiative to the Estates, as did the Netherlands Constitution of 1815, but in many of the German States the Constitution is regarded as a compact between prince and people, not to be altered without the assent of both parties. Thus, in Saxe-Weimar, which, during a period of general reaction (1815-1830) afforded a model for the more progressive States in the German Confederation, it was provided (1816) that no change should be made 'in the fundamental law of the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach and in the Constitution thereby established . . . without the consent of the Prince and the Estates.' An amendment effected in 1850 tended to blur the distinction between 'ordinary' and 'fundamental' laws and to assimilate the Weimar practice to that of Prussia, but the assimilation was not complete. In the Imperial Cities of Hamburg and Bremen there are special provisions for constitutional amendment, as in the Kingdom of Bavaria and the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. These precautions take various forms which it would be tedious to particularise. As a rule they insist upon a double deliberation—sometimes in successive Parliaments, upon a special quorum of members, and a special majority.

The North German Confederation of 1866 ordained that constitutional amendments must obtain the assent of two-thirds of the Bundesrath, and the same principle, though differently applied, reappears in the Constitution of the new German Empire of 1871.

The Article (78) of the Imperial Constitution relating to amendments demands some attention. It runs as follows:

> Amendments of the Constitution shall be effected by legislative enactment. They shall be considered as rejected when fourteen negative votes are cast against them in the Bundesrath. The provisions of the Empire by which certain rights are secured to particular States of the Union in *their relation to the whole may be amended only with the consent of the* States affected.

The latter clause is obviously one of great significance to the smaller States, though there is acute difference of opinion among German jurists as to how far the privilege extends. To appreciate the importance of the former clause it is essential to bear in mind the composition of the Bundesrath and its procedure. Out of fifty-eight members Prussia contributes seventeen in her own

right and an extra one for Waldeck; Bavaria has six votes; Saxony and Würtemberg four each; Baden and Hesse three; Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick two; and the other fourteen States and three Free Cities one apiece. Further, the delegates of each State must vote according to the instructions of their respective Governments and must vote 'solid.' In fact, the vote is a State vote and can be given by a single delegate and subsequently raised to the power of one State representation. It will be observed, therefore, that any constitutional amendment can be defeated by a coalition of the smaller or single-member States, or by concert among the middle States, or by Prussia alone. To Prussia the Constitution also expressly allows a veto (Articles 5, 37, and 39) on all proposed changes which may affect the Army, the Navy, or the taxes.

According to the terms set forth in the *Instrument* the Imperial Constitution would seem to possess a considerable degree of rigidity. In practice it has proved to be more flexible than the text would suggest. Since 1871 the Constitution has been formally amended on ten occasions; but in addition to this, as Professor Laband and others have pointed out, a very considerable number of substantial modifications have been effected in the Constitution by ordinary legislative process and without alteration of the text of the *Instrument*. Whether such procedure is in accord with the spirit of the constitution is a point which acutely divides the publicists of Germany. That it is a concession to those Prussian ideas which tend more and more to dominate the *Staatsrecht* of Imperial Germany is, of course, indisputable. How far this influence is exerted beneficently, from the point of view of constitutional development, is a point on which a foreign observer may well hesitate to express an opinion, even if he has formed one. But this at least may safely be said. German practice affords one more illustration of the increasingly obvious fact that a written Constitution is far from being, of necessity, a rigid one.

From the German Empire it is an easy step to France. In France 'Revision' can be effected by a comparatively simple process. Article 8 of the Constitutional Law on the Organisation of the Public Powers (the 25th of February 1875) runs as follows:

> The Chambers shall have the right by separate resolutions, taken in each case by an absolute majority of votes, either upon their own initiative or upon the request of the President of the Republic, to declare a revision of the constitutional laws necessary.
>
> After each of the two Chambers shall have come to this decision they shall meet together in National Assembly to proceed with the revision.
>
> The Acts affecting revision of the constitutional laws, in whole or in part, shall be passed by an absolute majority of the members composing the National Assembly.

By an amendment of 1879 the seat of the executive and legislative power was transferred from Versailles to Paris; but it was at the same time provided that joint sessions of the two Chambers, meeting as the "National Assembly" for the purpose of revision, should continue to take place at Versailles. By a further amendment of 1884 it was ordained that 'the republican form of government shall not be made the subject of a proposed revision,' and that 'members of families that have reigned in France are ineligible to the presidency of the Republic.'

The Organic Law of 1875 was in several respects a notable departure from French tradition, more particularly in the comparative flexibility of the Constitution. Hitherto, as President Lowell points out, it had been the habit in France 'to make a sharp distinction between the constituent and legislative powers, the former being withdrawn to a greater or less extent from the control of the Parliament.' The new Republican Constitution still retained some distinction, but revision was rendered relatively easy. The reason for this innovation is notorious. Both parties regarded the settlement of 1875 as provisional. Monarchists still looked for a restoration of one of the royal Houses; Republicans hoped to establish the republic on a basis far more permanent and effective than any which was available or permissible in 1875. Thus each party wished, in order to facilitate the realisation of its own ambition, to leave the Constitution as flexible as might be. By 1884 things had changed; the republic had weathered several storms; the Prince Imperial had fallen in South Africa; the Bourbons were divided among themselves, and had alienated much sympathy in France; the Republicans, therefore, felt strong enough to insist that the republican form of government should be excluded from the competence alike of the ordinary Legislature and the National Assembly. In one sense France may be thought to have drifted away from the democratic principles to which, under all her varied forms of government, she had paid continuous homage since the great eruption of 1789. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, the theory of the 'general will,' seems to find faint reflection in the existing Constitution of France. The explanation is not far to seek. The principle of direct democracy had suffered a rude shock from the sinister use which had recently been made of the plebiscite. But behind the 'organic laws' there is a dominating fact which no mere study of constitutional texts can reveal. In the mind of every French Republican, the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 is a fundamental presupposition, anterior and superior to any and every Constitution. 'Sovereignty resides in the nation. No individual or body of individuals can exercise authority which does not proceed directly from

it.' So ran the third clause of that famous document. The seventh proceeds: 'Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to participate in its formation, either personally or through representatives.' The plebiscites were, therefore, as regards machinery, in complete harmony with French tradition and ideas. The fact that they were prostituted to subserve the ambition of individuals has undoubtedly inspired Frenchmen with some suspicion, but they were nevertheless akin to the principle of direct, as opposed to representative, democracy which has never, since 1789, ceased to fascinate the French mind. M. Borgeaud lays special emphasis upon the continued and permeating influence of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. 'Its principles,' he writes, 'permeate French legislation, dominate French public life. . . . It is invoked in the courts. It is no longer part of the written law of France . . . but it is none the less the law of France.'[4] In any attempt to interpret the existing Constitution of France this is a truth which we shall ignore at our peril. Its bearing upon the immediate question of 'rigidity' and 'flexibility' is too obvious to require emphasis.

In Austria, the existing Constitution, formulated in 1867 and amended in 1873, makes special but simple provision for organic amendments.

> Modifications in the present fundamental law (December 26, 1867) and in the fundamental laws on the general rights of Austrian citizens, on the establishment of the Imperial Court, on the judicial power, and on the exercise of administrative and executive power, shall be made only by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and with the presence of not less than half of the members of the House of Representatives.

Here, it will be observed, there is no provision for any direct sanction on the part of the electorate. Given the necessary quorum and the necessary majority, Parliament is sovereign.

But none of the minor European kingdoms are equally confiding. As a rule, their Constitutions rest upon a deliberate compact between prince and people. It is logical, therefore, that amendments should require the assent of both parties. To this rule exceptions are to be found in Norway and Greece, where the king forms no part of the constituent legislature. But the Constitution of Norway is peculiarly rigid. The 112th Article runs as follows:

> If experience should show that any part of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway ought to be altered, the proposed amendment shall be presented in one of the regular sessions of the Storthing and published in

[4] *Établissement et Revision des Constitutions* (American translation, pp. 198, 199). To this comprehensive and brilliant study I wish to acknowledge my obligations.

the Press. But it is only within the power of the Storthing at one of its regular sessions after the next election to decide whether the proposed change shall or shall not be made. However, *such an amendment shall never contravene the principles of this Constitution*, but shall only relate to such modifications in particular provisions as will not change the spirit of this Constitution, and in the alteration two-thirds of the Storthing must concur.

The words which I have italicised are very remarkable. They represent an attempt to establish an *Instrument* which in essentials shall be not merely fundamental but unalterable. The principle of rigidity could hardly be carried further. Strictly interpreted, it must mean that a fundamental change in the Constitution can be effected only by revolution. Even for minor changes there must be a double deliberation with a General Election intervening. The same principle obtains in Sweden: double deliberation and an appeal to the electorate. But the Swedish Constitution is, in form at any rate, far more respectful to the prerogative of the King, who possesses not merely, as in Norway, a suspensive, but an absolute veto upon proposed legislation, whether ordinary or organic.

Very similar, again, is the procedure in Denmark. If an amendment to the Constitution is passed by both Houses, and the Crown approves, the Rigsdag must be dissolved and a general election held both for the Folkething and for the Landsthing. If the newly elected Rigsdag adopts the proposed amendment *without change*, and the King approves, it becomes forthwith part of the Constitution. Iceland follows the rule of Denmark. In the Netherlands also both Houses must be dissolved, and the newly elected States-General must adopt the amendment by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast. In Belgium, as soon as the Legislature has declared for revision, both Houses are *ipso facto* dissolved. In the new Parliament there must in each House be a quorum of two-thirds, and no amendment can become law unless in each House it is supported by a two-thirds majority. Greece, like Norway, sets aside the royal prerogative in cases of revision, but, also like Norway, permits no alteration of fundamentals, and allows only the amendment of relatively unimportant details.

To push our investigations into the machinery of constitutional amendment in other European States would yield little variety of custom. The general principle which underlies all these constitutions is well summarised by M. Borgeaud as follows:

The Latin and Scandinavian group have . . . accepted from the modern theory the principle of consultation of the people. They confide the revision of the Constitution to the established authorities, but the

final decision is reached only after the complete renewal of the popular Chamber by general elections, or by the temporary substitution of a special Assembly invested with full powers in the place of the ordinary Legislature.

It is time to turn to the New World and examine the devices adopted by the democratic communities of the American and Australian continents.

Between the Constitutions hitherto analysed and those to which we now proceed, there is a fundamental difference: all the former (save that of Germany) are devised for unitary, the latter for federal States. Whatever be the case with unitary States, rigidity is a natural if not a necessary attribute of Federal Government. For federalism implies a covenant between a number of independent communities, each possessed within its own sphere of sovereign rights. This, according to Mr. Freeman, is the essence of federalism, and is a condition of its successful working. It is certainly true of the United States of America, of the component States of the Australian Commonwealth, and most conspicuously of all, perhaps, of Switzerland. In each case certain powers are by the federated States conferred upon the Federal Government, but these powers emanate from the independent sovereign communities, and in the latter is vested all the residue of powers not specifically assigned to the central body. In Canada it is otherwise; but Canada is a half-hearted federation; the constituent bodies are 'Provinces' and not 'States,' and enjoy only such powers as are specifically assigned to them by the sovereign Federal Government. In Canada, it may be said at once, there is no special machinery for constitutional revision; partly for the reason just assigned, but partly also because the Constitution of Canada is contained in an 'ordinary' statute of the Imperial Legislature, which can, theoretically, be repealed or amended like any other Act of the British Parliament.[6]

In outward form the American Constitution is extraordinarily rigid. Revision may be initiated at the instance either of two-thirds of both Houses of the Federal Legislature or of two-thirds of the State Legislatures. These amendments are considered in the former case by Congress, in the latter by a Convention summoned *ad hoc*, but in neither case do they become law until ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States or by the same number of special State Conventions. Only fifteen such amendments have, in fact, been actually adopted since the Federal Constitution was instituted in 1787—the last being as far back as the 30th of March 1870; but we have the high authority of President Lowell for saying that even in the Federal Government of America there is more flexibility than would

[6] This is also true of the Australian Commonwealth, but the historical circumstances were widely different.

appear upon the surface of the written text.[5] In the States it has always been, as Mr. Bryce long ago pointed out, 'an article of faith that no Constitution could be enacted save by the direct vote of the citizens.' This principle has now been embodied almost universally in the practical device of the Referendum. Constitutional amendments must now be submitted to the people by means of a Referendum in every State of the Union, except Delaware.[7] Nor have the advocates of 'direct democracy' proved themselves content with this exercise of power. As a recent writer in the *Edinburgh Review* points out: 'An ingenious device once hit upon was soon widely extended of including in the framework of State Constitutions all questions which the members of the Legislature could not be trusted to deal with. By extending these Constitutions the popular veto was also extended.'[8] Both as regards the Federal and the State Governments the United States still stands therefore as a pre-eminent example of 'rigidity.'

The Commonwealth of Australia is, however, a good second. Every proposed amendment of the Constitution must, in the first instance, pass both Houses of the Federal Legislature, or, that failing, must pass one of the two Houses twice, with an interval of not less than three months between the two deliberations. It must then be submitted to the electorate by means of a Referendum, and in order to become law must be approved (i) by a majority of votes in the Commonwealth as a whole, and (ii) by a majority of votes in a majority of States. The latter provision is, of course, a concession to the susceptibilities of the smaller and weaker States, as is the law that the representation of no State can be altered without its own assent. But for these provisions there would have been no possibility of inducing the smaller States to come into the Federal Union at all. But here, as elsewhere, there is a constant tendency to increase the powers and functions of the Federal Government at the expense of the constituent States. Even as I write, two questions of high significance, and both illustrative of this tendency, await the sanction of the electorate, after having passed through the Federal Legislature.

[6] Nevertheless Mr. Bryce, in the new edition recently published of his classical work, is able to reaffirm his previous opinion: 'The process of amending a Constitution even in one specific point is a slow one, to which neither the Legislature, as the proposing authority, nor the people, as the sanctioning authority, willingly resort. Hence blemishes remain and are tolerated which a country possessing, like England, a sovereign Legislature would correct in the next session of Parliament without trouble or delay.'—*American Commonwealth*, ed. 1910, i. 464-5.

[7] The State which has gone farthest in this direction is, according to Mr. Bryce, Oklahoma, only admitted to the Union in 1907. It has adopted in the extremest form both the Referendum and the Initiative.

[8] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 431, p. 142, cf. also Bryce, ed. 1910, i. 471 *seq.*

It will not escape notice that in the above survey, rough and rapid as it has necessarily been, there is one omission so glaring that it could not be accidental. Of all the States of the modern world, there is none upon which the attention of the student of politics has been of late so continuously concentrated as upon the Swiss Confederation. From many points of view the constitutional evolution of Switzerland is of unique interest. Far more closely than any other State its cantons recall the direct democracies of the ancient world. Its people have had a training in the art of self-government such as has not fallen to the lot of any other European people, not even to ourselves. The English people—for sufficient reasons—have been content to elect their rulers; the Swiss peasant has himself been accustomed from time immemorial to bear personal rule in his own commune and his own canton. In a word, while England has given to the world the model of representative government, the Swiss cantons—or many of them—have perpetuated the Greek idea of direct democracy. There also, indeed, centralising influences have been at work. The federal bond has steadily grown in substantiality in successive Constitutions. Down to the establishment of the Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible, under the ægis of France in 1798, the federal tie had been almost imperceptible. It comes clearly into view in 1815; it is strengthened in 1848; it becomes really effective in the revised Constitution of 1874. But even now the transformation from a *Statenbund* into a *Bundes-stat* is far from complete. Sovereignty still resides in the cantons, and within them in the people. Federal laws and federal judgments have still to be executed by cantonal officers and cantonal machinery. The tendency towards centralisation, though not to be disguised, is watched with extreme jealousy, and is tolerated only because the multiplication of the functions of the Federal Government has been accompanied *pari passu* by the extension of the principle of direct democracy. The people have conferred increased powers upon the central authority only on condition that their own right to direct participation in affairs has been more and more effectively guaranteed. Only the principle of the Referendum, in its multiform application, has reconciled the Swiss democrats to the gradual circumscription of cantonal autonomy. Federalism and democracy have advanced hand in hand.

The working of the Referendum in Switzerland was explained with characteristic lucidity in the last number of this Review by Mr. Cox.* It may suffice, therefore, to indicate with brevity

* *Vide* 'A Great Democratic Reform,' by Harold Cox. *Nineteenth Century and After*, January 1911.

the part which it plays in the work of constitutional amendment. It is important to distinguish in this connexion between the several forms of the Referendum and the Initiative as applied in Switzerland. Of the Referendum proper there are two: the 'facultative' or 'optional' and the 'obligatory.' The former may be invoked in ordinary legislation, and with it I am not here concerned. The latter is compulsory in all cases of revision of the Federal Constitution, whether partial or total. Total revision must be proposed if a resolution in favour of it passes either Council (House) of the Federal Assembly, or on a demand made by 50,000 duly qualified Swiss voters. The question whether the Federal Constitution shall be totally revised must then be submitted in general terms to a Referendum. If a majority of those voting pronounce in the affirmative, there must be a general election of both Councils for the purpose of undertaking the revision. Partial revision must be initiated either by a vote of both Houses or on the demand of 50,000 voters. In the latter case, the 'initiative' may be either 'general' or 'formulated.' If the initiative petition is presented in general terms, and the Federal Assembly concurs, the latter drafts an amendment and presents it for acceptance or rejection to the people and the cantons. If the Legislature does not agree, it must submit the question of revision, 'Aye' or 'No,' to the people, and if the result of the Referendum is affirmative the Legislature must do its best to carry out the popular will, even against its own better judgment.

But in the 'formulated initiative' the Swiss democracy possesses an even more powerful weapon. Any 50,000 voters may not merely demand revision, but may actually draft a specific amendment, hurl it at the head of the Legislature, and compel the latter, whether it approve or disapprove, to submit the amendment unaltered for acceptance or rejection by the people and the cantons. If the Federal Assembly disapprove the amendment it may submit a counter-project of its own as an alternative to that formulated by the petitioners, but more it cannot do to guide or control public opinion. In no event can revision, total or partial, take place until the new Constitution, or the amendments to the old, have been approved by a majority of those voting thereon, and also by a majority of the cantons.

Technically the 'popular initiative' applies only to constitutional amendments, but according to some authorities there is an increasing disposition to extend the sphere of 'constitutional' legislation, and thus apply the 'initiative' to ordinary *projets de loi*. But the tendency has not gone very far. Between 1891 (when the 'initiative' was adopted) and 1910 the right was exer-

cised only eight times, and of the resulting proposals five were rejected on Referendum.[19]

But with this development, whether its significance be large or small, I am not immediately concerned. The point to be observed is the elaborate machinery devised by the most democratic community in Europe for the revision of their constitutional arrangements.

Students of political science are constantly warned that they must beware of interpreting the working of Constitutions by exclusive reference to written texts. I do not ignore the danger, and I candidly admit that it is one to which academic commentators are peculiarly obnoxious. Written Constitutions may well present a delusive appearance of rigidity which a practical knowledge of working conditions may tend to dissipate. Forewarned is forearmed. Not many people can pretend to an intimate and first-hand acquaintance with the practical working of contemporary institutions. I at least make no such pretence. But circumstances have given me certain opportunities which I trust I have not entirely neglected. I put forward the main contention of this paper, therefore, with full sense of responsibility. In the light of working conditions, no less than of the written codes, I reiterate my conviction that the British people are, as regards constitutional innovations, in a condition of unique defencelessness. Our legislative machinery, as I have shown, knows no distinction between Bills of great and small significance. Precisely the same procedure is applied to a Bill for the abolition of the House of Lords or the House of Commons and one for the abolition of school fees. And the confusion thus engendered extends from the legislature to the electorate: it permeates the body politic, and profoundly, though unconsciously, affects political reflection. I do not, of course, suggest that in public discussion all topics are reduced to a common plane of significance, but I submit that the absence of legal distinction tends to pervert the political perspective. There may be a tendency even in countries possessing written Constitutions to blur the distinction, as in Switzerland and in the States of the American Union, by enlarging the domain of 'constitutional' legislation; or, as in the German Empire, by enacting constitutional amendments as ordinary laws. But in both cases the mere fact of distinction compels attention. The legislature and the electorate are alike habituated to discrimination. No important *projet de loi* can be formulated without raising the question: Does this involve constitutional amendment, or may we apply to it the ordinary rules of legislative procedure? This in itself is something. It is, of course, much

[19] J. T. Stoddart: *Against the Referendum*, p. 26.

more when, as is the case in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the United States of America, the Australian Commonwealth, and the Swiss Confederation, revision cannot be effected without, in one form or another, a direct appeal to the electorate.

Admitting the fact of exceptional defencelessness, what is the appropriate remedy? To this vital question it would be ridiculous to attempt a comprehensive answer in the closing sentences of this article. I may return to it on a future occasion. But one point may be thrown out for consideration. Averse as all who possess conservative instincts must be to a fundamental change in the genius of our Constitution, are we not being driven towards it by the stern logic of events? Professor Morgan has lately entered a powerful and reasoned protest against the reduction of the British Constitution to writing, against the enactment of a code.[11] In many of his arguments every genuine Conservative must heartily concur. But, admitting all the dangers and defects of written *instruments*, how long shall we be able to avoid them without encountering others which are equally grave and even more insistent?

> When the present evils infecting our parliamentary system have grown still graver; when a democratic House, more and more broken up into small groups, more and more governed by sectional or interested motives, shall have shown itself evidently incompetent to conduct the business of the country with honour, efficiency, and safety; when public opinion has learnt more fully the enormous danger to national prosperity, as well as individual happiness, of dissociating power from property, and giving the many an unlimited right of confiscating by taxation the possessions of the few, some great reconstruction of government is sure to be demanded.

Has the moment foreseen with singular prescience by Mr. Lecky in 1894 already arrived? Every one of his anticipations has been literally fulfilled: a congeries of log-rolling factions in place of a coherent party; confiscatory taxation; partial administration; legislation inspired by malice and envy. And the demand for 'some great reconstruction of government?' Already that is upon us, and demanded not by one party, but by both. On the one side an omnipotent and unicameral legislature; on the other a large step, under conservative forms, towards direct democracy. I am far from denying that we may be compelled, as the only means of escape from an intolerable situation, to adopt the Referendum. But the question demands, I submit, a vast deal more consideration than it has received. A party leader, in the midst of an acute political crisis, must necessarily act with prompt decision. But I am, nevertheless, constrained to inquire whether the Conservative party is prepared for the consequential changes which the

[11] *Nineteenth Century and After, November* 1910.

Referendum will probably involve? Or whether they have even realised them?

> The introduction of the Referendum into our parliamentary organisation will not be merely a slight modification of the Constitution, unnoticeable in its effects: it will be the germ of a new departure, or, to speak more exactly, the commencement of a complete political revolution.

The words are those of a distinguished Belgian Jurist—Professor Van Den Heuvel, of Louvain, and he had his own country in view. Are they less applicable to ours? Before nailing our colours to the mast we ought, I submit, to be perfectly clear as to which of the many forms of the Referendum we want; whether we are prepared to substitute for our unwritten and flexible Constitution one which shall be certainly written and probably rigid; whether we are ready to supersede representative Government, to weaken ministerial cohesion, and to destroy the party system. Over the last few tears will be shed. For the rest, I must not be understood to affirm that all these consequences will necessarily follow upon any form of Referendum, nor that I should personally be unprepared to face them. But I do say that it is politically short-sighted to take a large step towards direct democracy without counting the possible cost.

But this article is not concerned primarily with the Referendum. Its main purpose will have been achieved if, on the eve of a new Parliament, which may be pregnant with permanent results for the future of our polity, it induces some reflection upon an inherent weakness in our Constitution. A fortuitous combination of factions threatens an assault upon its fundamentals. Upon what constitutional weapons can we rely in its defence?

J. A. R. Marriott.

A DOWNING STREET IDYLL

". . . . . I love the people,
But do not like to stage me to their eyes:
Nor do I think the man of safe discretion
That does affect it."

SHAKESPEARE, *Measure for Measure.*

Is Mr. Lloyd George at heart a Socialist? Will he 'nationalise' everything except the nation? He was at pains, if I remember, during the last election to distinguish between the Radicalism that is held to spare individual freedom, and the Socialism which annuls it. But all this is a matter of degree, and if Radicalism or 'Liberalism' takes on the Socialist stock-in-trade the only difference will be in the persons who stand behind the counter. Socialists may feel aggrieved, but Socialism will get its way. 'We are all Socialists now,' genially exclaimed Mr. Asquith a few years ago, presumably repeating the late Sir William Harcourt, and referring, maybe, to Liberal methods of social reform. We must expect a sterner Socialism from financial edicts, even if a year of bumper prosperity retard them. What the foreseeing have long discerned in this bilingual coalition will come to pass. The Chancellor's 'immortal' eloquence means business, and the sort of business meant is beginning to leak out.

A charming idyll, tempered (it would seem) by Scripture, is alleged to have happened in Downing Street between two suburban shepherds, piping (not the pipe of peace) to the 'black' sheep that both hope to shear. M. Longuet, an Arcadian 'Socialist-Collectivist' of *sabotage* leanings, a contributor to that soul-compelling organ, *Humanité*, met our Chancellor in his official sanctum, and their harmony seems to have been hallowed by the august presence of Mr. Masterman. The interview was not denied in the columns which first translated the French version of it, though elsewhere Mr. George has explained that he would like to have seen a draft before publication. It has not been so edited, and we may not have the purest milk of the word, though it contains internal traces of substantial truth, and may be taken, with reservations, as our text; we have the Limehouse and Mile End limelights to guide us. By a further interview, however, with M. Hedeman, of the *Matin*, in that Mediterranean

retreat whence Mr. George could survey the 'idle rich,' one of the inferences arguable from the first occasion was corrected. Mr. George approves of M. Briand's efforts to stem anarchy. But in both encounters we find the Chancellor's regret that French channels of influence mistrust or condemn his policy. The cheers of the impartial are absent, and he is not a prophet beyond his own country. It is, of course, all the fault of 'reactionary' or 'Tory' newspapers, of the *Times*, for instance, that was once 'gallophobe,' and now reproduces the Downing Street idyll, a sweet episode, however print may have heightened it. The disapproval has not been confined to French journals; it was audible on the Continent and beyond the seas. The sanction of democratic France is still withheld. This can hardly be due to our 'Conservative' Press, or to those 'vested interests'—among which the Cabinet might well be ranked. Rather it may be due to sanity. France still upholds an effective Upper Chamber, busied of late, curiously enough, in discussing whether an income tax should be imposed on the most republican country in the world. Italy is at this moment trying to strengthen her own Senate. How damping, how unromantic, how unidyllic! Let us return to Downing Street and the pan-pipes.

Did not Mr. George occupy a great office, did not that official capacity impress a foreign opinion uninstructed in local details, this idyll need not have called for comment. But of itself it is a pretty picture. What sylvan simplicity! Tityrus, Corydon, and Damœtas—quite a classical trio. Their amenities were fully pastoral. They praised each other and looked askance at their neighbour's fields. 'Humanity' was their theme, but men their sacrifice. A sort of *entente* ensued; all the 'Tory' mists were dispelled, and the Jacobin prospect glittered in the glaring sunshine, while the guardian of our national purse parleyed with the gentle Collectivist. The meeting and its purport scarcely befit the genius of the spot or the dignity of the Exchequer, and the ghosts of past shepherds, like Pitt, must have shuddered at their music. But we live in an advertising age, when dignitaries like to be in evidence as well as in office. All the past shepherds and contemporary critics must naturally be maintainers of selfish wealth, bloated capitalists, unsympathetic towards oppressed toilers, not idyllic as that favoured, but elusive, shepherd of Dartmoor.[1] It is all their fault, there are no other defaulters. Such is the fate of most who dare to differ from the Georgics of to-day.

[1] 'But, O the heavy change, now thou art gone,
Now thou art gone, and never must return!
. . . . . .
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed.'

Lycidas.

Tityrus told Corydon that he would go thorough (*agir jusq'au bout*), and so in the shade they flattered the nymph of budgets, Amaryllis.

Of one thing we may be sure. The most obstinate Liberal, even the most thorough-paced democrat, need no longer deceive himself. By the queer union of two incongruous minorities—the Irish Disunionists and the English Trade Unions—practical Socialism is intended—the Socialism that would mete out capital punishment to capital, and will pauperise not only individuals, but institutions. The means to this end seem unrepresentative enough. A very large majority of voters must be overridden owing to the breakdown of representation. The 'Liberal' autocracy, eager to be extreme and supreme at the same moment, rests on mechanical force, and this is nearly as oppressive as if it rested on brute force. It has given Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Snowden a lever, of which they, rather than Mr. Lloyd George, are the patentees.

Such 'idylls' are dangerous and, like the peace congresses, often prelude a war. The concern is vital indeed, and should be judged from a national standpoint. The Continent receives Mr. George's utterances as a sort of national expression, but misses broad views and fine discrimination. It does not always appreciate the partisan position—the incidence, for instance, of our land taxation, the league of our Trade Unions with Socialism, the identification of Labour with Labour members, the spurious pact with them of a disturbed Ireland abhorring new imposts, and the reliance of 'Liberalism' on these antipathies to achieve its aims and perpetuate its power unshackled. Just consider the political sequence which has blurred the landscape. When Mr. Asquith became Premier he appointed Mr. George to his important post. An era of new finance opened. Though the actual provisions of his budget were tentative, their spirit showed some symptoms of taxation by revenge rather than for revenue. A single class was clearly to bear the main burden: special interests were assailed. No desire was shown to find non-inflammatory means of providing for extra fiscal requirements. Certain exemptions made for some popularity, but prudence, reticence went to the winds, and the scent of plunder encouraged the hounds. These impulses were called 'democratic,' a Greek word, which does not mean the ascendancy of Trade Unionism. The Lords, who after all are human, misliked these omens, and referred the measure to the nation. Two elections show divided appearances, but all along Socialists of every grade, both at home and abroad, have exulted. Over-represented Redmondism exulted yet more, though the 'affectionate tooth' of Government-Socialism is not particularly welcome to poor Ireland. And now

we are told that some working arrangement between these two violent minorities is in progress. Each to gain its separate end demands the removal of a common, though common-sense, obstacle; the curb on gluttony is to be removed. 'Liberalism,' in the person of the Premier, proposes, for the time being, to mummify heredity and present it to the Great British Museum. The Unionist alternative, so far, surrenders the wise check on 'money' Bills, but in 'Referendum' it does offer some means (though a risky means) of ascertaining the true voice of the whole nation, as contrasted with the claims of '"Labour"-Socialism.' Should the Veto Bill go through, the barrier will be both kept and cancelled; for even if the Bill be really provisional, a reform 'by consent' might possibly mean an Upper Chamber packed with miscellaneous extremists. Why? Not to satisfy any national demand, but to appease minorities repugnant to each other. The Constitution is to be pitched overboard for the salvage of ministers who, forgetful that they are servants of the whole nation, strive to usurp and prolong their sway. And this is the Cabinet conscience! There has been nothing like it since the days of Henry the Eighth, who withstood the Pope ecclesiastically, because, personally, he craved for a divorce. He was not a Protestant from conviction, but a polygamist by instinct. And the result of these cross-covetings is the same that we, too, may anticipate—confiscation, the transference of the spoil to the favourites of the spoiler. A modern idyll, indeed. The lamb is to lie down *inside* the lion. The millennium of our Socialist saints is at hand. St. George for merry England!

Think of the theory. 'The People' is to be paramount. No party is henceforward to gainsay 'the People.' We have heard this before when 'the People' meant the Whigs. But who now in England is 'the People' that it should be deemed the Nation? Is the proletariat instructed or independent enough to be thus enthroned? Does the phrase mean the body of intelligent craftsmen or has it any sort of relation to the really destitute? Outside Parliament, 'the People' means really the now socialised Trade Unions, who commandeer the votes and bring their pressure to bear on the voters. Inside Parliament, it means a dictating Cabinet. Our ship is to be wrecked, not at the behest of an indignant nation, but at the arbitrary nod of two small groups—mutineers who otherwise may depose the 'Liberal' crew. The boat is to sink in the vortex of two competing eddies. Henry the Eighth cannot work his will unless the monasteries be mulcted, so let the abbeys[2] be penalised that the tyrant may abound.

[2] Since this was written I notice that Mrs Thorne asserts that the endowments of our Public Schools and Universities have been taken from and should be restored to the 'working' man. Apart from questions of accuracy the logic of this statement would bring us back to the days of our King Bluebeard.

As for Cardinal Wolsey, who had much to do with finance, he had at least one advantage at present denied. His was a genius that thoroughly understood the Continent. But now Europe, our Empire, and America begin to look down on us in wonder, well knowing that, should rash counsels carry the day and abolish all bounds, the respect and credit which these limits involve will equally vanish. Hitherto fixed checks have been a sure safeguard against absolutism. A limited Crown, a limited House of Lords, a limited House of Commons, and each limit involved its privilege. The Crown is above party—the centre of honour and allegiance; the Peers proved a means of revision and appeal; the Lower House represented a franchise, which is eminently a privilege. The cry now is 'down with privilege'—privilege corresponding to freedom. 'Down with it'—except in Downing Street, which would usurp decision, monopolise privilege, and retain emolument. O foolish King Demos, who hath bewitched you? You abdicate even before you are crowned on paper (a *Parva Charta*), while the swains with flattering pipes lull you into a sordid vision.

But the iconoclasts do not really mean 'privilege,' nor can it be so contended when Mr. Burns and 'Mabon' sit in the Privy Council. Civil equality is achieved. It is material, physical equality, or rather a material deprivation, that is being demanded. It is one thing justly to better social conditions—to lighten burdens while disseminating 'duties'—another to stimulate an incoherent demand for transference. The logical result of this temper—the 'stand and deliver' attitude—is anarchy. 'Privilege' is now being confused with property. Let us take a large view. Blind and detached forces are fast making for ruin. After all, it is not the Trade Unions grasping through Socialism at political power, or Mr. George, their momentary mouthpiece, that form the root of the peril. It is these blind, solvent forces, anti-national, and prone, eventually, to destroy each other. Can members of any party survey such a situation without dismay? True statesmen would achieve the good and restrain the evil; they would steer—that is the virtue of government—they would beat time, not spread discord, they would diffuse light and warmth by radiation, not by fanning incendiarism. They would not burn down their neighbour's house to roast the Socialist egg. They would not mistake degress for progress, or free booty for freedom.

Some might suppose from this Downing Street symphony in G minor that an influential French section acclaimed it. Nothing of the kind: the extreme Socialists do not number one-fifth of their Lower Chamber. Mr. Lloyd George in his interview with M. Hedeman rightly pointed out that in France there is a peasant proprietary, but he seems to have misused the argument. A peasant

tenantry is the Government's and the Socialist's desire. Mr. Balfour recommends a very different thing—peasant ownership. This accentuates the drift of the situation. Long ago Aristotle observed that peasant proprietors are the surest pledge of stability. What the Socialist wants, however, is universal dependence on the State, and under that condition independence vanishes; the Government becomes the despot of the day. Some years since a Frenchman assured me that France would never turn Socialist because of this very peasant proprietary of hers; nowhere is property more secure, and the same would apply to Denmark. 'But,' he added, 'in your England it may come to pass.' He was right unfortunately, and so much for airy generalisations. Anti-Socialists exist in overwhelming numbers, and Mr. George must admit that very few of those to whom he appeals bear the burdens that are to be swelled. The taxpayer—even if he is not considered—should at least be heard and represented before he may be crushed on lines plausibly 'Liberal.' They will be sheerly Socialist lines under a Cabinet system, too, which even Socialists mistrust. No wonder, then, that Mr. George wants to brush away time-honoured restraints. It is not for Ireland: it is for his budgets—composite as his majority. It is for hurried and multiple *largesse* on a bureaucratic foundation, perhaps to be exacted in a spirit that would foster neither discipline, good feeling, nor independence.

Many causes contribute to the opportunities within his grasp. The want of settled and distributed employment, the undue prominence of mushroom wealth, the gross ignorance of voters, the lethargy of the middle class, the general weariness at professional politics, the attractions and restlessness of overgrown towns, the speed of communication and desires, the activity of demagogues and teachers, the arts of repeated elections, the mere mechanism of Parliament, the pliancy of parties, the lack of leadership. All these have conspired to produce a mock Government. Is the democratic cry consistent with the Liberal position? 'Government by the People.' Is Mr. Thorne, then, to be Prime Minister, or Mr. Crooks Chancellor? 'Through the People!' Are not the 'Labour' members trade-union nominees? 'For the People!' If greed and ignorance grow omnipotent, the day of reckoning will come. It is government by agitation, through agitation, for agitators. 'You can't remove the land, the minerals, or the railroads,' shouts the agitator. 'But how will you work them without capital and on income that exhausts capital?' interposes Reason. 'We denude the capitalist, not capital,' replies our Jacobin, who wants revolution without risk. 'But what capital will be left when the escaping capitalist refuses credit, and do not excessive taxes operate, like a war, in dislocating

employment?' Nay, more, England is already living on, as well as depressing, capital, and our Georgian derides and discourages thrift in every direction. If you want to tax capital, tax the native capital that manufactures cheaply abroad and then returns its manufactures duty free to compete with home labour. 'Back to the land, the land is the people's!' exclaim the Socialists. But what will the land become if the present policy continues? It will be 'back to the land' disfigured by unlet buildings and smothered in motor dust. 'You did not make your inheritance,' cry those who comfortably parade the 'grey lives' of the poor. But, then, neither did those who wish to take it away 'make' it, nor those who fancy that they will get it. A friendly co-operation differs wholly from a forced levy. Set the 'have-nots' against the 'haves.' Institute *auto-da-fés* of income. Squander and subsidise. Turn inquisitors, revive a Star-Chamber and let the morning and evening stars sing together for joy. St. George for merry England!

What, according to De Tocqueville, was one of the chief causes of the French Revolution—*the arbitrary nature of Government.* 'There were no provincial checks of any avail to save the farmer from excessive imposts or the labourer from grievous oppression.' It is governments, not classes, that cause revolutions, and but for the reorganising hand of Napoleon the great cataclysm would have ruined France. Ah! Tityrus, Corydon, and Damœtas, these be dulcet refrains for the smug shepherds of Downing Street.

The idyll, as reported, began *allegro* with Mr. George's thanks for congratulations on the triumph of Liberalism and Labour, duly qualified by surprise that, save in the *Humanité*, so little French recognition had greeted 'our efforts.' This must have been due to the once gallophobe journals that poisoned the Gallic mind. But Mr. George likes to instance exceptions, and quite forgot to mention the *entente*, which will never endure on a basis of sentiment alone. From these flights he descended to the slippery ground of history. 'Have the Democrats of France,' he is said to have exclaimed, 'forgotten all the Francophil past of my party?' Of what party? Of the Socialist party? It did not exist. Of the Liberals? Was Mr. Gladstone (as perhaps misreported) 'the grand old Frenchman!' in his Egyptian business, did he sympathise with the Commune? And earlier, of course, he justly impugned the Crimean War. Gladstone was Russophil, Italophil, if you like, but all that survives of his Francophilism is Gladstone claret. And if we go much further back, though it may be conceded that the French Revolution was the unconscious parent of a Socialism uncongenial to France, the French Revolution itself had little socialistic about it. It never contemplated any punishment of property as such, still less any penalisation or partition of

inheritance. After Napoleon had restored the security which could alone save France, what did he do concerning the rights of property? He revived the Roman law and regulated the proportions of inheritance. Well, then, failing these, could Mr. George, by 'my party,' have meant the Whigs, those aristocrat-oligarchs who, like the democrat-oligarchs of to-day, sought to engross power by patronising 'popular' measures of scant popularity? He invokes the shade of Fox. He can scarcely have studied Fox's utterances, or have realised the position: *ab uno disce omnia.*

Fox's erratic pro-Jacobinism revered the English Constitution, which Mirabeau desired to transplant, and so far from denouncing property he defended it. His vague yet violent espousal of the Revolutionary cause was based on the 'right' of every nation to decide its own form of government and his hatred of a war undertaken against that 'principle.' It amounted to little more than our present attitude towards Portugal; and when, in the heat of party conflict and under the promptings of his lawless, impetuous nature, it did amount to something more, he was not installed in office, but engaged in a fatal opposition from which at least thrice he strove to escape by a projected coalition with Pitt. These were the causes which made Fox, in Mr. George's alleged words, nearly ruin his party while his country was waging a death-grapple with France. The sole link between Mr. George's democracy and Fox's is the assertion of 'rights.' I am not one of those who greatly respect Fox: I do not regard his judgment as sound nor his enthusiasm as always unselfish. He was not fond of emphasising duties. Fox was a Catiline who made for licence rather than liberty, and Catilines and Cleons in all ages tend to have something in common. But I must absolve Fox against Mr. George by quoting some of his utterances. At no time would Fox have countenanced such measures as Mr. George would seem to contemplate, and when his big bid of the India Bill in 1783 failed of effect, though supported by a huge parliamentary majority, he did not seriously thwart supply for Pitt, who relied on the Commons and not on the then House of Commons. Let us listen to a few of Fox's main pronouncements, not inapplicable to the present crisis. On the 9th of February 1790, when Burke, the deifier of Parliament, violently assailed him, Fox delivered himself as follows:—He denied that his declarations had been Jacobin. He proclaimed himself equally the enemy of all absolute forms of government, whether an absolute monarchy, an absolute aristocracy, *or an absolute democracy*. He was averse to all extremes, a friend only of a mixed Government like our own, '*in which, if the aristocracy, or indeed either of the three branches of the Constitution, were destroyed, the good effect of the whole, and the happiness derived under it, would in his mind be at an end.*'

His tribute of applause had been paid only to those who had wrung from oppression the sweets of that liberty which we all enjoyed. . . .

True liberty could only exist amidst the union and co-operation of the different powers which compassed the legislative and executive governments. Never should he lend himself to support any cabal or scheme formed to introduce any dangerous innovation into our excellent Constitution, though he would not run the risk of declaring that he was an enemy to every species of innovation. That Constitution which we all revered owed its perfection to innovation; for however admirable the theory, *experience was the true test of its order and beauty.*

Thus, Fox on the Constitution. Next, hear him on it in connexion with property in the discussion—on a Constitution for Canada—in 1793. Both passages, in view of the current rumours as to some renewed 'conference,' deserve the ministerial attention; and the latter goes much further than any moderate would care to go, for the essence of real 'aristocracy' in every class should surely be the test of tried or commanding excellence.

Property [Mr. Fox said] was and had ever been held to be the true foundation of aristocracy. And when he used the word, he did not mean it in the odious sense of 'aristocrat' as it had been lately called: with that he had nothing to do. He meant it in its true sense as an indispensably necessary part of a mixed Government under a free Constitution.

He proceeded to sketch out a scheme for a 'Council,' as he 'wished to put the *freedom and stability* of the Canadian Constitution on the strongest basis.' It was, it is true, to be 'elective.'

But how elective? Not as the members of the House of Assembly [the Lower House] *were intended to be, but on another footing. The members of the Council should not be eligible to be elected unless they possessed qualifications infinitely higher. . . . And in like manner the electors of the members of Council must possess qualifications also proportionately higher than those of the electors to representation in the House of Assembly. By these means they would have a real aristocracy chosen by persons of property from among persons of the highest property, and who would thence necessarily possess that weight, influence, and independency, from which alone could be derived a power of guarding against any innovation that might be made either by the People on the one part or the Crown on the other.*

Fox, therefore, even when speaking of a new country, bears witness against our Ministers and Mr. George, whose 'post-impressionist' kind of history claims the Whig tribune for 'political ancestor.' We have now 'the People on the one part,' and a flabby opinion both as regards meanings and consequences. Personally, I think that 'the highest property' as such is over-represented, for the modern plutocrat can stomach pernicious measures

with some complacency; his shoulders are broad, his ambitions are social, and in this sense Mr. George's 'Liberal'-Socialism is a luxury that only millionaires and mobs can afford. It is the middle-fortunes that require a fuller representation. But the main requisite now, I fancy, is a larger representation of enlightenment, education, experience and distinguished public service: of all the *character* that makes for 'light and leading.' 'The past is one of the elements of our power.'

Mr. George's text, however, gives rise to further comment. He appears to have avoided the Irish question, with all its many bodings and bearings. That was discreet in view of Mr. Redmond's compelling fist. But he did touch on the Boer war. Was this discreet? Whatever our view of that calamity, Mr. George's utterances at home were not relished while his countrymen were bleeding abroad, and he has reason to remember an undignified exit at Birmingham. 'Militarism and Imperialism' (he is now reported to have urged) 'are great enemies of human progress,' and yet in the supplementary talk with M. Hedeman he seems to have contemplated some ten millions more for the Navy. All very right and proper, though it would have been a less expensive project two years or so ago when clear warnings were disregarded. The patriotic attitude is to be struck. Defence not defiance is indeed imperative. But from the prior conversation we gather that a vast sum will be demanded for democracy by a measure the rough outlines of which have since been published. The main object is excellent, but the means appear questionable, involving as they do too high a limit for bounty, too little scope for discretion, a vague classification of recipients, and a wide field for bureaucratic extravagance. I allude to the project of universal and compulsory insurance against disease and 'invalidity,' which, it is understood, will be attended by a similar insurance against 'unemployment,' should the Trade Unions consent, for in any event these bodies must be conciliated. If this 'unemployment' insurance takes effect, how will 'employment' be defined, and are the Trade Unions safe judges of effective employment? Will skill and thrift be called on to support the casual and the loafer? Will experts like Mr. Loch be consulted? Or will pensions for unemployables and premiums on idleness be secured in the crude, universal and sentimental fashion? And how is the money to be raised? A further refrain of this idyll may aid us: 'Great social transformations will take place in England in the course of the next five years'—observe the certainty of continuance—and on being asked for some solution of the land-problem we are told that a 'smile' was the pregnant answer. In conjunction with the 'smile' may be taken the piece of preaching about the Boer war, into which

M. Longuet read a Cromwellian mysticism. It sounds more lik a blend of the Convention and the Conventicle.

> Look you now [he continued half serious], on the day of the Last Jud ment the great Judge will try each one of us on the question. All thos who voted or acted in order to crush the two little peoples who were defend ing their liberties—*well, they will have a nice reckoning.*

If he really said this he outstepped the bounds alike of justice an charity. Mr. George seems terribly at ease in Zion.

When Blücher surveyed London from St. Paul's he naturall exclaimed, 'What a city to loot!' In this respect Mr. George though he prefers 'bloom to blood,' is rather Blücherian. Sever dispossession seems in the air, and one class, as usual, will be th scapegoat. Let us grant Mr. George ideals, even if we think ther undigested and mislike the antipathies that seem to underlie then Let us recognise political courage and a charm, except when appeals to the passions. But surely he works on ignorance impatience. He seems to lack the width of sympathy and t length of foresight wisely to achieve even the best of his aims. H has little sense of proportion; he will not think things out; and h riots in petty politics. Ideas do not seem to inspire the ideal He regards the world through tinted glasses, and perhaps his ris has been too rapid for his equipment. Year by year we ma expect huge problems hastily and perfunctorily settled. A weapo is being lent him which only stupidity could suffer. If th precious 'Veto' Bill passes, the process will be short and shar If a weighty Upper House be constituted, well and good. Bu that does not seem to be the partisan purpose. And, in any cas if 'money' Bills are freed from any chamber of audit, t 'guillotine,' which now beheads debate in the House of Common will ultimately behead the nation. No check, no consideration— end. The daughters of the horse-leech will cry 'More, more and more will be given them. Bureaucracy will be reinforced by growing and expensive regiment of employés; each Budget wi bring fresh revolutions; taxation will never rest; the charact both of employer and employed will be weakened; paid memb ship will trade on insatiable administrations; the goose will la its golden eggs elsewhere; little will remain for individu effort; the State-octopus will absorb all, till at last Labou 'Socialism' and Corybantic 'Liberalism' will be left to prey each other. When that arrives anarchy, perhaps invasion, are hand. St. George for Merry England!

The distinction between 'earned' and 'unearned' incom may, I take it, be pushed to extremes. On the present basis it not, in the rough, unjust, and if by fiscal economy the exemptio could be extended and savings could be excepted, it would be just

still. But the present income-tax and the rates and death duties leave but a small margin for national emergencies, and they should be regarded as exceptional. It would be quite as wrong to overburden the inheritors of some leisure because there are examples of luxurious indolence, as to refuse the benefit of reforms to the less fortunate because in their ranks also are wastrels. What is wanted is the taxation of luxuries for the one, and for the others the revision of the Poor Law and Universal Service, which, in every direction, is a nobler principle than universal payment. No Government should play censor in matters of revenue, least of all a Government that confines taxation to property. Yet only last year we were told by Mr. Churchill that the new finance would concern itself with the nature and origins of property. Such logic, if hardly driven, would gradually sap the sole sources of revenue that the new finance permits. Morally this is wrong, fiscally it is absurd, and the more absurd because accompanied by waste. Take into account the excellent work that unrewarded or ill-rewarded leisure does for the country, and contrast it with the scheme for the payment of members, or with the multiplication of salaries needed by Bureaucracy for its pauperising projects. The privilege to transmit property is a good and powerful incentive to exertion, but the endowment of energy does not suit our democrat-dictators. They prefer to distribute forced alms without examination and without distinction. They like to lavish the public money. We can foresee their bias even in the sketch of the two plans already before us. It tinges good and bad objects alike. To the insurance plan reference has already been made; its benefits reach up to the class of small professionals, many of whom would resent State-interference, while as yet we are not told whether any allowance is to be made to employers for the existing insurance against accident. The other, that of paid parliamentary membership, is one, to my mind, essentially pernicious. It has been the glory of our system that politics are not a trade. They will be demoralised by the reverse, and who knows whether a new Upper Chamber may not be exposed to the same subsidising degradation. All along the line may be noted a tendency to legislate by wholesale concession to clamorous groups, to make the State eleemosynary, and to weaken that independence and those manly qualities that vitalise a nation. And that other tendency will be noted also, of displacing labour and creating the very unemployment against which we may more and more be commanded to 'insure.' But it is easy to cast wide nets. Ministers thus ensure wide support, except from those who are independent enough (and artisans are among them) to dread such doles. If the demagogue be State-rewarded at the public expense, will he ever dare to contradict his rewarders?

So much for the raid upon income. But if the high death duties be raised in addition, the policy will be suicidal. Withou capital and increasing capital there can be no credit; withou credit England would fall, and Greater Britain would break away. And if this is to be perpetrated it will be worse for the mask o Liberalism. Of two evils frank Socialism is less; it executes its victims, the other bleeds them more or less slowly to death. Nor would it countenance those official salaries which no Minister eve dreams of reducing.

In his City Temple sermon Mr. George, in scathing the 'free list,' was careful to exempt all who were income-earners—a more hard-working class he did not know, was his kind addition. B even so he would, should the blow fall, deal a gross injustic to men of moderate fortune who rear large families to b good citizens and often work very hard and well just because the have not to play to the gallery. That—and its consequences— one side of the picture. Take the other. There are 'sleeping or semi-dormant partners in big businesses who draw large in comes for doing very little, for attendances merely formal. Ther are directors of companies, too, whose toil cannot be called ove whelming. Such might be exempted as 'workers' while the other would be sacrificed, if anything like my anticipation comes to pas More than this. Let him consider whither such a principle woul lead. Influence can be inherited as well as income. Fat posts ca be conferred, sinecures are not wholly extinct, berths in rich bus nesses can be reserved. True, such inheritors 'work,' but the labour is mostly routine; and if brains are to decide exemptio that touchstone is not always applicable. The force that founde the prosperity lies in the past. Would Mr. George's inquisitio comprise these also? Yet it is only a matter of degree. We a already passing the positive stage, the superlative will be mo strous. More than one-half of the nation will be called on support the other, individual effort will dwindle, and gratitu will be reserved for a soulless 'State.' St. George for mer England!

One more consideration in relation to justice. Supposing th the levy were one day to be made on all inherited incomes abo one thousand a year, the married man who receives two thousa a year with a heavy upkeep will be penalised, the compound hous holds of, say, four brothers and sisters, each with eleven hundre will comparatively go free, while those of incomes under thousand would escape altogether. Yet the first instance usually the most responsible and by far the most onerous.

We shall be told, no doubt, that such developments are for t common good, that incidental hardships are inevitable, and th it is shabby to separate the methods and their results from t

objects. Herod, when he massacred the innocents, might have argued that he promoted employment doubly—by precluding the babes from growing up, and by hiring his mercenaries to kill them. We may be told that the thing will be done, whoever does it. Is the Tory-Democrat, then, to sympathise with expropriation and compete with Liberal-Socialism in its obeisance to Demos? Such a query could hardly occur were it not that so shrewd and able a Conservative as Mr. Sidney Low (in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*) coolly contemplates a tax of ten shillings in the pound on all incomes above 1,000*l*. a year, after implying approval of such measures as would merely make the 'rich' 'a little poorer.' He must have meant the millionaires. Such a spoliation would ruin the two-thousand-a-yearers with families that security has encouraged them to support, it would half-ruin the shops that supply and the dependants that rely on them, it would displace labour alarmingly, and it might render their homes wellnigh unsaleable. Even if such a proposition were put by 'Referendum' I cannot believe that the balance of units would endorse it; it is the election-monger, the vote-manipulator that make it even possible.

Should the slightest approach to such deformation be achieved, should a genuine Upper House be either denied us or crippled against extortions, there can (apart from revolt) be no way out but some exercise of the Crown's lawful prerogatives, which have only been dormant because the traditional checks of the Constitution enured. It would be an awful responsibility to fasten on a Constitutional Sovereign, but the Constitution would be gone, and maybe the Crown imperilled unless it submitted to remain a cipher. Nor could a monarch bring this reserve force into action until he was certain that the national majority abhorred the policies pursued. May such a juncture never be possible; but, should it ever arise, a manifesto to the whole nation issued by one above party and beyond it would scarcely fail. Some court of appeal, some last recourse we must have, if mob-despotism is to prevail.

But I cannot believe that an arbitrary Government could long be popular. There are several non-punitive means of helping to raise even the vast sums now in contemplation. A few of these I ventured to suggest in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Let me add three others of less magnitude—a graduated stamp on advertisements, a tax on amusements. The gate-money paid to witness games which the beholders never play; entertainments, from the race-course to the music-hall, might well assist the revenue. Thirdly, a contribution graduated from a halfpenny to a penny a week on wages above a pound would not shock the best part of the real wage-earners, while it would give all a true stake

in the country. But the trade unions would resent the third as emancipating their subjects, while the ministerial dolers of 'bread and circus' would begrudge the second.

Evils there are to remedy in a statesmanlike manner. We want a stabler and more distributed employment. We want a peasant proprietary, while in leaseholds the rates ought to be shared by the ground owner. We want a thorough revision of our absurd Poor Law: we want a population helped, and proud, to support itself. We want less Pecksniff and more Tapley. We sorely need a united nation. Union cannot spring from a Government that thrives on class-hatred.

It has been said that one day Mr. George will be deemed 'Conservative,' but can that be till he is faced by courses more reckless than his own? So long as politicians whet voracity, reason must plead in vain. Even now she would plead with Mr. Asquith for a more statesmanlike grasp of the present, a greater consideration for the country at large, a firmer control of his subordinates, and a keener eye for the permanent future. He has great opportunities. He might, if he would, descend with fame to a posterity that will have to pay a bitter reckoning should he vacillate. Otherwise, we 'middles,' who do not envy richer men's goods, must be martyrs to the cant of coincidence. We have felt the whips; we shall endure the scorpions. Until the nation realises the steep place down which, like the possessed, it is being fast driven into the sea, there will be no retrieval. Surrender will be fatal, and other countries with our own Empire wonder at our weak short-sightedness. Let the national intelligence awake and its voice be heard, if by no other means through petitions and a sturdy spirit of remonstrance. Then only will this hollow unreality vanish like the fogs that generate it, and at length an epic may replace these illusory idylls. If not, the end is certain. 'To appeal to the mob that can neither inquire nor judge,' wrote a Whig Archbishop to Swift, 'is a proceeding that the common sense of mankind should condemn.' It does condemn it. Archbishops are sometimes right.

WALTER SICHEL.

POST-ILLUSIONISM AND ART IN THE INSANE

Of late we have both seen and heard so much of post-impressionism in art, and there appears to be so much doubt in the public mind as to the real meaning and significance of the works which have been exhibited and heralded as indicating the approach of a new era in art, that the time seems opportune to discuss the subject of post-illusionism as met with in degeneracy and in the insane.

It would be regarded as presumption and as beyond the legitimate province of the writer were he to attempt to criticise the artistic efforts of those who are not in asylums, so the following article will be confined to the consideration of what he has observed with regard to art and degeneration in asylum practice. Indeed, the only criticism with regard to post-impressionism now offered is quoted from an insane person who informed the writer that, in his opinion, only half of the post-impressionistic pictures recently exhibited were worthy of Bedlam, the remainder being, to his subtle perception, but evidences of shamming degeneration or malingering.

The Importance of being in Earnest

The insane artist is usually in dead earnest, and beyond what is prompted by his morbid rise in self-consciousness, intense egomania, and a desire to express or reflect the workings of his disordered mind, there is, as a general rule, no other or ulterior motive to tempt him to distort or misinterpret the evidence of his senses—*i.e.* he does not seek to deceive the critic or the public; and, although he may be an egomaniac, his artistic efforts are mostly for art's sake alone, and they merely reflect the character of his own imaginings.

In dealing with the work of an insane artist the positive manifestations of sensory or motor defects displayed therein do not demand our study as much as does the something, caused by disease, which prevents the artist from being able to recognise and

correct such defects—i.e. our attention is apt to be arrested by faulty delineation, erroneous perspective, and perverted colouring, but these form only positive symptoms of decadence, and they do not give us in all cases the measure of the negative lesion which may be due to disease. This holds good not only for the insane artist but also for his critic; and, as we shall see presently, both the insane artist and the borderland critic have certain characteristics which are peculiar to them.

Degenerates often turn their unhealthy impulses towards art, and not only do they sometimes attain to an extraordinary degree of prominence but they may also be followed by enthusiastic admirers who herald them as creators of new eras in art. The insane depict in line and colour their interpretations of nature, and portray the reflections of their minds, as best they are able. Their efforts are usually not only genuine but there is also no wilful suppression of skill in technique, which, were it otherwise, would brand them as impostors. They do not themselves pose as prophets of new eras, and, so long as they are in asylums and recognised as insane, both they and their works are harmless, inasmuch as they do not make any impression on the unprotected borderland dwellers from whose ranks they otherwise might enrol a large following.

An art exhibition in an asylum excites as many cries of admiration as of pity, for here we find much to praise and profit by. Seldom is the artistic instinct or technique so far deteriorated as to leave no sense of beauty in line or colour, and, as a point of diagnosis, it is to be noted that, where no feature of beauty or workmanship exists in the work of one who is known to have formerly possessed both artistic instinct and skill in technique, the defective character of such work is due either to gross cerebral degeneration (such as we find in general paralysis of the insane or in organic dementia) or to imposture. As a matter of interest, the writer may state that he has never seen such an instance of wilful imposture in art by an insane artist.

Degeneracy in art sometimes takes a fairly definite course. A genius who is also a degenerate may influence the trend of art. His imitators, with their more limited capacities, form a sub-species, and they in their turn transmit in a continuously increasing degree the peculiarities and abnormalities which become ultimately merely evidences of gaps in development, malformations, or infirmities.

The artistic works of lunatics, however, do not always bear evidence of degeneration. The ideas of the paranoiac (or deluded person) may be grotesque and fanciful, but the artistic merits shown in his works may be great. Except in conditions of progressive paralytic dementia and of gross cerebral degeneration

the evidences of deterioration may be merely manifestations of disordered thought and imagination. All merit is neither obscured nor lost. When, however, no artistic merit is observable to the fully qualified normal critic it usually means that there never has been any development of the artistic faculty, that the faculty has been lost through disease, or that there has been wilful imposture.

In some forms of progressive mental and physical degeneration (dementia and general paralysis of the insane) there is usually a retrogression or impairment of the highest evolved and latest acquirements. This impairment extends gradually back until the degenerative process affects even the most stable of the bodily and mental functions. In general paralysis the musician loses his power over his fingers, the linguist forgets the languages he has latest acquired, the elocutionist blurs his phrases, and the expert fails in the technique of his handicraft. In artists suffering from general paralysis there is a retrogression, both sensory and motor, of the artistic faculty. Sensation and perception of colour, form, and perspective become impaired. There is also loss of the tactile and of the so-called muscular senses so essential to the proper co-ordination of movement. Not only do they suffer from tremors, but also from failure to co-ordinate the various groups of muscular activities. Hence the executive mechanism becomes defective, faulty, and impotent. This gradual retrogression of the mental and physical functions results ultimately in a pathological return to the crude and rudimentary conditions of barbarism.

In sculpture, as portrayed by the paralytic in his early stages of degeneration, the work may be sensuously charming and excellently executed, and the perfection of its form may cover even what may be suggestively pornographic or even immoral. It may be attractive or repellent according to the mental bent of the critic. When, however, the work is prompted by ideas which are repugnant to good taste, and depicted in all its ugliness by a technique devoid of all artistic merit, and stripped of all evidences of those finer co-ordinations and adjustments acquired through education and practice, then the predilection in its favour of any critic is open to the charge of dishonesty or degeneracy.

The intellectually beautiful, consisting as it does of representations, concepts and judgments, with an accompanying tone of feeling elaborated in the subconscious, stands above the merely sensuously beautiful about which there can be but little scope for the higher processes of mentation. Insane æsthetics grow enthusiastic over their own creations, which, to the sane, are absurd or even repulsive. The insane sometimes take glory in the attention they excite, and there appears to be no limit to their eccentricities. So long as they are confined in asylums, however, they

do not rank as cranks or charlatans, but as degenerates. They do not voluntarily shun the true and the natural as being incompatible with art. It is by reason of their disease that they ignore all contemporary ideals as to what is beautiful, significant, and worthy to be portrayed, and it is thus that free play is given to the workings of their defective minds, and whereby they evolve their absurd crudities, stupid distortions of natural objects, and obscure nebulous productions which, being merely reflections of their own diseased brains, bear no resemblance to anything known to the normal senses or intellect.

POST-ILLUSIONISM

The distorted representations of objects, or partial displacements of external facts, are known technically as 'illusions.' Their psycho-pathological significance is great, and they may arise in consequence of the fallacy of expectant attention (whereby the image of the expected becomes superimposed on that of the real) through toxic affection of the brain cells (as in alcoholic post-prandial illusionism) or as the result of faulty memory (paramnesia, distorted memory, whereby post-illusionism or false post-impressionism becomes manifest). Post-maniacal illusionism is almost invariably distorted, and the faulty representations bear little significance except as manifestations of disease.

One psychological (and æsthetical) fact to be noted is that, no matter how whimsical, absurd, perverted, or unreal in its nature or relations an illusion of the senses may be, it can never be constructed from data other than from those derived primarily from reality. The trouble does not lie with the varied aspects of nature, which feed the mind through the special senses, but with the diseased mind which fails to digest the sensory pabulum so derived. Nature itself frequently endeavours to treat such mental dyspeptics by its appeal for a simpler diet, and a taste for the perception of objects devoid of all condiments and the numerous unessential attributes of perception acquired by conventionality and civilisation. This craving for what is crude and elementary is nevertheless significant of a return to the primitive conditions of children, and sometimes betrays an atavistic trend towards barbarism. Certain of the insane exemplify this tendency in a marked degree. They lose not only their finer perception of linear dimensions, relative proportions and planes in perspective, shades of light and effects of atmosphere, but also the power of giving adequate expression to what is actually perceived. Thus the pathological process underlying reversion to a primitive type of simulation of barbaric art is frequently characteristic of brain degeneration. The works themselves reveal nature as reflected from distorted mirrors: the mirrors being but the psychical

equivalents in consciousness of the morbid activities within the perceptive centres of the brain.

Many insane artists do not see nature as do the sane. The soul peeps from its dwelling-place devoid of all the conventionalities and harmonies of line and colour, and to the normal individual the result is disconcerting and incongruous. Were it not that the condition is pathological, and that disease prevents these unfortunates from recognising things as they really are, we should be tempted to lose our sense of toleration and say to them in parliamentary language 'enough of this tomfoolery.'

The artistic efforts of the insane, even when atavistic, almost invariably betray some indications either of something lost or of something to be gained—*i.e.* there is some trace of beauty or of technique left, like the mast, to show the wreck. Failure to find any such trace indicates either that the cerebral and mental devolution of the artist is well-nigh complete, or that there is a background of ignorance or deceit.

As cerebral degeneration progresses, the artistic representations become so negative in quality that for any person other than the artist himself they have no meaning and arouse no feelings other than those of pity. The works themselves have neither pictorial nor symbolic value, and their defections can be counterbalanced only by the hidden meanings in the minds of the insane artists themselves.

Sometimes the works are, in their defective drawing and awkward stiffness, reminiscent of the old masters; but, be it said to the credit of the insane, there is seldom any conscious or voluntary withholding of the skill they may have previously acquired. It is, as has been said of the old masters and some modern impressionists, the contrast between the first babbling of a thriving infant and the stammering of a mentally enfeebled greybeard. This retrogression to first beginnings, and the affectation of simplicity is frequently seen in degenerates, and it has been described by Nordau as 'painted drivelling or echolalia of the brush.'

Analysts and Synthesists

When rightly prescribed, catharsis, purging, or purification of a system may be beneficial; but the love of wholesale depletion or destruction of the products of evolution, without due regard to their significance in the trend of life, society, and art, is merely evidence of wanton stupidity. When an artist reduces a composite whole to its component parts he becomes, not a synthesist, but an analyst. He leaves the reconstructive process to the imagination of the critic. He represents light, not in its com-

posite form as perceived by the normal eye, but as dots, blobs, lines and squares of primary colours, leaving the task of synthesis to the imagination of others.

Women take their clothing to pieces with the object of reconstructing the various articles to suit the fashions of the moment. The insane, on the other hand, merely destroy: they do not reconstruct. So it is with some of the degenerate artists who divest themselves of all their acquirements, but are incapable, by reason of disease, of reconstructing a work of any artistic merit. It is easier to destroy than to construct, and the process of dissolution proceeds along the lines of least resistance.

The degenerate may be a genius, and he often is one; but seldom does he open up new paths which lead to true higher development. That hysterics and neurasthenics sometimes swear by him, and imitate his extravagances, goes for little. Glaring colours and extravagant forms have great attractions for hysterical persons. Charcot's researches into the visual derangements in degeneration and hysteria furnish us with an intelligible explanation of what Nordau terms 'impressionists,' 'stipplers,' 'Mosaists,' 'papilloteurs,' 'roaring colourists,' and dyers in grey and faded tints. Their efforts are genuine results of physical disease. Nystagmus (or quivering of the eyeball) is responsible for a want of firmness in outline, and affections of the retina for distorted zigzag lines and for defects in the perception of colour. There may be a predilection for neutral-tones or for glaring primaries: this predilection being due to the abnormal condition of the nerves and not to any observable aspect of nature.

The psychologist, however, is not in any way deceived by the glaring crudities of those artists who—disowning all factors other than sensations—present their works in the form of gross lines or blobs of primary colours. Acting on their knowledge of the complementary qualities of red, blue, and yellow, they present them, not as they perceive them in combination, but as primary reds, blues, and yellows. They utilise their knowledge gained through science to hoodwink themselves into the belief that by representing the ultimate and crude elements of colour it becomes easy for others to recombine them into a composite whole. This is known to be a fallacy psychologically, and such pseudo-art productions, instead of reflecting the realities of the external world, reflect but the pseudo-scientific mental conceptions of the artists. This post-illusionistic resorting to a symbolic suggestion of what is merely known to consciousness is false, and the symbols are as frequently like their objects as the symbol H_2O is like water to the visual sense.

SYMBOLISM AND MYSTICISM IN ART

Symbolism is rife in the insane, who undoubtedly do perceive mysterious relations between colours and the sensations of the other senses. So-called secondary sensations, however, although occurring in great variety, are never theatrically displayed for the benefit of the public. Sane critics would liken such efforts to those of the decadent Gautier, or of Baudelaire who died of general paralysis of the insane. Symbolism in insane art is sometimes invested with a high significance by the artists themselves. Fortunately, however, both they and the public are protected from the vapid and sickly sentimentalism of the borderland critics: *i.e.*, those critics who, in order to arouse curiosity, make a noise with something new and sensational, and by pandering to the gaping uncritical attitude of the presumably sane endeavour to raise a market for the disposal of commodities of palpably fictitious value.

Many lunatics are mystics and imagine they perceive unusual relations amongst phenomena. They see signs of mysteries, and they regard ordinary external phenomena as but symbols of something beyond. Their earlier impressions become blurred and indistinct through disordered brain action. Faulty memory, and the superposition of distorted former imaginings, give to present objective facts a sense of mystery. Thus, a blue colour will arouse associations of many things of blue, such as the sea, the sky, a flower, &c., which become merged into the primary percept of blueness and invest it with other meanings or associations. It is, of course, well-nigh impossible to follow the suggestions aroused in the insane mind by a primary impression. The consciousness is befooled and wrecked by will-o'-the-wisps and inexplicable relations between things. Things are seen as through a mist and without recognisable form, and both the insane artist and his degenerate critic forge chaotic meaningless jargon to express what is seen or felt. The pseudo-depth of the mystic is all obscurity. Outlines of objects become obliterated, and everything which has no meaning becomes profound. The step from mysticism to ecstasy is short, and, with failure to suppress the wanderings from the real to the imaginary, there are produced for the onlookers such manifestations of imbecility as can find adequate expression only in pseudo-art, pseudo-music, so-called literature, or in the ravings of the insane.

The indifferently interpreted, blurred and nebulous, sensory impressions of early general paralysis are sometimes suggestive, not of a renaissance of mediæval feeling or of post-impressionism, but of a return to primitive barbarism. Inside asylums such a renaissance deludes neither the patients nor their attendants; nor

does it provide an excuse for æsthetic snobs to found a fashion meriting little else than laughter, wrath, or contempt.

The works, although pitiable in themselves, are sources of self-congratulation to the artists, who boast freely as to their merits and hidden meanings. They estimate their value according to their own supersensuous imaginings rather than to any mastery of form or beauty of colour. The clumsier the technique, the deeper its meaning. Faulty drawing, deficient colour, and general artistic incapacity, stamp such works as pre-Adamite, eccentric or insane.

In maniacal states there is inability to fix the attention for long. The impressions of the external world as derived through the defectively operating senses become still more distorted by disordered consciousness. Hence the faulty representation of external realities and the exhibition of what are manifestly illusions.

When faulty memory is brought into play, the distortions become even more manifest, and the vagaries of the post-illusionists find therein their full expression. The conscious state of a person receiving impressions in the domain of one sense only has been termed 'impressionism.' The impressionist pretends to see before him merely masses of colour and light in varying qualities and degrees of intensity. In disease, purely optical perceptions may occur without any activity of the highest centres of ideation. This is also one of the first steps towards atavism. The concept is absent, and nothing remains but a simple sense stimulation. The undeveloped or mystically confused thought which exists in savages is fully exemplified in the childish or crazy atavistic anthropomorphism and symbolism so prevalent among degenerates. A predilection for coarseness in line or colour is symptomatic of degeneration, and obsessional explosions of obscenities, so characteristic of some forms of mental decay, show themselves as 'coprographia'—*i.e.* pertaining to lust, filth, or obscenity.

Most paranoiacs (deluded persons), who, as a rule, do not suffer from disorders of their physical or co-ordinative mechanism, present in their artistic works manifestations of genuine and fertile talent. In spite of the evident craziness of their ideas, their technique is usually too skilful to appeal to gaping simpletons as mysteries and revelations of genius. Their critics find in their works but little scope for the employment of words of empty sound and devoid of meaning. Asylums do not harbour such puppets, nor do their inmates in their intellectual darkness become the devotees of the snobs of fashion.

The ego-maniac has but little sympathy with, or capacity to adapt himself to, nature and humanity. His perverted instincts

render him anti-social even in matters of art. Real lunatics do not form a league of minds, for the simple reason that they are concerned only with their own individual states and experiences. Some feel a passionate predilection for all that is hideous and evil, others are all for good.

Ego-Maniacs in Art

The crude, barbarous splendour of the insane artist's productions is, as we have seen, often due to optical illusions. Ego-maniacs sometimes become decadent, and surprise us by the increasing barbarity of their taste and technique. They banish from their horizon all that is natural and surround themselves by all that is artificial. Sometimes their perceptive powers are wholly inaccessible to the beauties in nature, or they suffer from a mania for contradiction of, or revolt from, the realities of things. The ego-maniac regards himself as the super-man; whereas he is often merely a plagiarist or parasite of the lowest grade of atavism. He sometimes becomes a post-illusionist, and subordinates his highest nervous centres and consciousness to the perceptive centres and instinct. Sensations are perceived by him, but they go no further. The primary impressions are reflected in their distorted state. The beautiful things in nature have for him no existence. He himself is the creator of all that is wonderful and good, and the reflections from his turbid mind are, to his own way of thinking, examples of art for art's sake.

Borderland Imitators, Critics, and Malingerers, and their Effects on Society

Borderland dwellers, *Dégénérés Supérieurs*, or Mattoids, comprise the hosts of those who follow, what they are foolishly told to believe to be, new eras in art. The insane person differs from the borderland dweller in that his insanity prevents him from adapting himself to, or following, any new fashion in art. They have this in common, however. Their revolutionary effects on art may be not only pathetic, as evidences of ignorance and absurdity, but they may also be genuine. One point to be noticed is that borderland dwellers alone are inspired by the diseased ideas of the insane. As is the case with hypnotism, Christian Science, and many other crazes, neither the sane nor the insane are affected by them. The founder and his disciples may be sincere; but, sooner or later, the participants of the new doctrine form a rabble of incompetent imitators who lack initiative, and quacks who abuse their membership by reason of their greed for money or fame. These latter follow merely the dictates of their pockets and easily prey upon a too gullible public.

Sincere originators have even been followed by dishonest intriguers, who invent beauties where none exist. None of these movements herald really new eras, being merely attempts to destroy or suppress the advances and acquirements of the age and endeavours to hark back to the past when the æsthetic sense and skill in technique were but ill developed.

The insane, however, are emancipated from traditional discipline: they have, in fact, a contempt for traditional views of custom. Hence their departure from many of the ideals in art which for thousands of years have become gradually matured and more or less fully established. This departure being neither foolery nor knavery, but merely degeneracy, there gathers round it no concourse of gaping imbeciles greedily seeking for revelations.

In asylum practice, neither mysticism, symbolism, nor any other 'ism,' finds a foothold for advancement, and inasmuch as lunatics are free from sordid motives they are harmless in their ignorance and segregated in their snobbishness. They do not found so-called intellectual or æsthetic movements and by futile babbling and twaddle seek to propagate what may be, as a matter of fact, nothing else than idiocy or humbug.

To the borderland critic who is ignorant of disease and its symptoms the works of degenerates are sometimes more than mere sources of amusement; they may serve to provide inspiration for his own unbalanced judgment. They are seldom deliberate swindlers who play up as quacks for the ultimate gain of money. The truly insane critic is usually definite and significant in his language, and he seldom seeks to cover his ignorance by volubility in the use of obscure and purposeless words. Such being the case, there is no scope for the promotion of bubble-company swindles in asylums, and there is never any danger of leading the public by the nose.

The pseudo-artist is common in asylums and has aspirations which he is unable to justify; whereas pseudo-art is almost invariably the product of imposture—*i.e.* in asylums pseudo-artists are numerous, but pseudo-art is rare. In the former, their performance is quite unequal to their desire; whereas, in the latter, the works are usually products of deceit. The unbounded egoism of lunatics also prevents them from discovering in the works of others beauties in what are evidently the lowest and most repulsive things.

That the works of insane artists may be crude, absurd, or vile matters little so long as they exert no corrupting influence on society, and so long as society fully appreciates their pathological significance. Unfortunately, however, some creations which emanate from degenerates are revered by the borderland critic, blindly admired by the equally borderland public, and their real

nature is not adequately dealt with by the correcting influence of the sane.

Moreover, the insane critic is honest in his criticisms, and views the works of his insane comrades of the brush with an honest and fearless eye and judges them from his own mental standpoint. Seldom or never does he conform to the artist's interpretations of nature, and, although he may recognise the artist as being an imbecile or dement, his courage seldom fails him in giving expression to his real convictions. This is characteristic of the insane, who know no fear, who have no conventionality or æsthetic fashion to conform to, and who have no axe to grind. Undoubtedly their intense egotism prevents them from perceiving their own shallowness and incompetence, and in asylums individualism pertains as in no other community. Seldom it is that the truly insane—those who have passed the borderland and have become certifiable lunatics—imitate each other in art. Rather do we find imitative tendencies in those who are technically and legally neither sane nor insane—*i.e.* in that enormous class which comprises the 'borderland.' This rabble of hysterics, neurasthenics, weaklings and degenerates have nothing of their own to say, but, by means of a superficial and easily acquired dexterity, they imitate and falsify the feeling of masters in all branches of art, and not only do they injure true art but they also tend to vitiate good taste among the majority of mankind.

Among this class are also to be found vast numbers of incompetent critics who, for reasons best known to themselves, welcome these bunglers of the brush and encourage—although inimical to society—abuses of true art which are in reality but instances of mean childishness and demoralisation.

To the physician who has devoted himself to the special study of nervous and mental maladies there is seldom any difficulty in recognising at a glance the manifestations of shamming degeneracy or of malingering. That there should be malingerers in art is, nevertheless, a question open to discussion. That malingering in art should occur in true degeneracy, apart from hysterical simulation, would appear improbable, and certain it is that in asylum practice there is but little evidence in favour of such a supposition. In malingering post-illusionism there is usually some evidence of higher mental activity, as shown by the artists' knowledge of the theory of colour vision, a knowledge of which they freely avail themselves in order to falsify the objective realities before them.

Stigmata of degeneration are not confined merely to artists and their works. Critics who fall into raptures and exhibit vehement emotions over works which are manifestly ridiculous and degrading are themselves either impostors or degenerates.

Excessive emotionalism is a mental stigma of degeneration, and Max Nordau's criticisms apply very aptly to some critics whose own excitabilities appear to them to be marks of superiority. They believe themselves to be possessed by a peculiar spiritual insight lacking in other mortals, and they are fain to despise the vulgar herd for the dulness and narrowness of their minds.

> The unhappy creature [says Nordau] does not suspect that he is conceited about a disease and boasting of a derangement of the mind; and certain silly critics, when, through fear of being pronounced deficient in comprehension, they make desperate efforts to share the emotions of a degenerate in regard to some insipid or ridiculous production, or when they praise in exaggerated expressions the beauties which the degenerate asserts he finds therein, are unconsciously simulating one of the stigmata of semi-insanity.

THE REMEDY.

The insane art critic never asks himself 'what sort of a bad joke is this?'—what does this artist want me to believe?

Morbid aberrations may serve as causal factors in the production of what is sensual, ugly, and loathsome in art, and without doubt the artists may have been quite genuine and sincere in their efforts; but, inasmuch as our asylums do not give shelter to all perpetrators of such mockeries or travesties of good taste and morality, it is difficult to suggest a remedy or means whereby they can be suppressed.

The insane art critic who scribbles incoherent nonsense for his fellow-sufferers is simply to be pitied and treated as an honest imbecile and not to be punished as a rogue. If he sees hidden meanings in mystically blurred and scarcely recognisable objects, the misfortune, and not the fault, is his, and for what to us may be abominable, ignoble, or laughable he may have some subtle sympathy or affection.

The borderland critics, however, must ever run the risk of being classed with rogues or degenerates. How best to treat them is another matter. From motives of humanity we are prompted to aid in the survival of those who are biologically unfit; but, with regard to the encouragement, or even toleration, of degenerate art, there may be, with justice, quite another opinion.

THEO. B. HYSLOP.

THE REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK

As the recent debate in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury upon the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer has attracted public attention through the unusually full reports published in the leading newspapers, it may be interesting to that large number of Churchmen who do not follow ecclesiastical proceedings very closely if an attempt is made to set out clearly what the Revision is which is occupying Convocation and why it is being undertaken at the present moment. It will be advisable to take the latter question first, because the answer to it supplies a large part of the answer to the more important question as to the nature of the Revision contemplated.

It may be remembered that about ten years ago several Church Discipline Bills were introduced into the House of Commons with the object of putting a stop to what was alleged to be a growing lawlessness among the clergy. The last of these Bills passed its second reading by the substantial majority of fifty-one. It was realised at that stage by the responsible governors of the Church that something must be done, and accordingly in April 1904 a Royal Commission was appointed 'to inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England, and to the ornaments and fittings of churches; and to consider the existing powers and procedure applicable to such irregularities, and to make such recommendations as may be deemed requisite for dealing with the aforesaid matters.' The Commission was a strong one: Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, now Lord St. Aldwyn, was Chairman; the clergy were represented by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Gibson, of Leeds (now Bishop of Gloucester), and Mr. Drury, of Ridley Hall (now Bishop of Sodor and Man); the lawyers were represented by Sir Francis Jeune (who was replaced on his death by Lord Alverstone), by Sir Edward Clarke, and Sir Lewis Dibdin; and the laity generally by Lord Northampton, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. John Talbot, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. George Prothero, and Mr. George Harwood. The Commission held 118 sittings and examined 164 witnesses, and

their Report, signed by the whole number of Commissioners, was issued in June 1906. Of the ten recommendations appended to the Report the first two were as follows:

(1) The practices to which we have referred in paragraphs 397 and 398 of our Report as being plainly significant of teaching repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England and certainly illegal, should be promptly made to cease by the exercise of the authority belonging to the Bishops, and, if necessary, by proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

(2) Letters of Business should be issued to the Convocations with instructions: (*a*) to consider the preparation of a new rubric regulating the ornaments (that is to say, the vesture) of the ministers of the Church, at the times of their ministrations, with a view to its enactment by Parliament; and (*b*) to frame, with a view to their enactment by Parliament, such modifications in the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and of its present needs seems to demand.

In accordance with the second of these recommendations, Letters of Business were issued by the Crown to the Convocations, on the advice of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, at the end of 1906, and again, on the advice of Mr. Asquith, to the new Convocations at the end of 1909, calling upon them

to debate, consider, consult, and agree upon the following points, matters, and things contained in the recommendations of the said Report, *videlicet* the desirability and the form and contents of a new rubric regulating the ornaments—that is to say, the vesture of the ministers of the Church at the times of their ministrations, and also of any modifications of the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches.

It is evident, therefore, that the Revision of the Prayer Book suggested to Convocation by the Royal Commission and allowed by the Crown was a Revision of rubrics rather than of text. The Archbishops and Bishops, in reply to the demand of the State that they should secure the obedience of their clergy to the law of the Church, pleaded in effect that the law in question, being 250 years old and in many points obsolete, could not be enforced as it stood, and must be revised. A revised law, which should take account of new needs and modern conditions, would be a law the enforcement of which, however disagreeable, would not be a sheer impossibility. The original motive of revision being thus the restoration of discipline, it is not surprising that the idea should have been at first received by that section of the Church in which disorders were most prevalent with a certain amount of suspicion, and in the organs of the counter-Reformation party with anger and contempt. All the old cries were raised. The Church was once more in danger from the Erastianism of the

Bishops; once more, as in 1689, the Prayer Book was to be thrown into the melting-pot in the interest of the Latitudinarians; once more, as in 1871, an ancient creed was imperilled; and, to crown all, when an unreformed and discredited Convocation had done its worst, the most sacred mysteries of the faith were to be bandied about in an agnostic and dissenting House of Commons. Meanwhile, it being understood that Convocation was likely to recognise the existing situation so far as to suggest a permissive use of the Eucharistic vestment, a section of the Evangelical clergy took fright and formed an alliance with the *non-possumus* moiety of their High Church brethren. A vigorous attempt was made to return Proctors to Convocation pledged to the anti-revision policy; and ruri-decanal chapters and conferences were induced to vote, with remarkable unanimity, that the time chosen for revision was singularly inopportune. Through some fault in tactics the party in the Canterbury Lower House which was opposed to revision had failed to raise a debate upon the question of its 'desirability'—an important word found in the Letter of Business—before the committees and sub-committees got to work, and no second opportunity presented itself until last November, when the Chairman of the Committee moved the resolutions appended to a preliminary report. By this time the first heat had died down, and in the debate which followed, lasting for two days and a half, the arguments on either side were marshalled with great skill and eloquence and with conspicuous moderation. At the end the House found the balance of reason to lie on the side of the policy of Revision, affirming it by a majority of twenty-seven votes in a house of 125 members. A dispassionate reader of the debate will not be surprised at this result. All the adroitness and zeal of the opponents of Revision could not hide from view that they were refusing to face the controlling fact of the situation: namely, that some means had to be found for bringing to an end an intolerable condition of lawlessness. In face of the evidence of widespread disorder contained in the Report of the Commission on Discipline, and in view of a resolution of the last Conservative House of Commons that 'if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the existing law of Church and Realm,' it was hardly to the point to argue either that the time for Revision was inopportune; or that the Prayer Book was deeply rooted in the affections of Churchmen; or that it was the sole force holding together the warring schools of thought among them; or, alternatively, that it was rapidly reconciling all these discordant elements, and needed only to be left in peace to pursue its beneficent work to the end. The real issue was seen to lie, not between Revision of the law of

worship and no Revision, but between an authoritative Revision by the Church and the private Revision already proceeding at the uncontrolled whim of parties and individuals.

The Royal Commissioners, in their analysis of the various breaches of the law relating to public worship, of which evidence had been laid before them, began by distinguishing those which were 'plainly significant of teaching repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England' from those which were not so significant. The former class, they urged, must be 'promptly made to cease.' In regard to the rest they laid down a principle, quite new in the history of the Church of England, that 'a carefully defined elasticity' should be substituted for 'a fixed standard of rites and ceremonies.'

'The law of public worship,' they said, 'in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation. It needlessly condemns much which a great section of Churchpeople, including many of her most devoted members, value. In an age which has witnessed an extraordinary revival of spiritual life and activity, the Church has had to work under regulations fitted for a different condition of things, without that power of self-adjustment which is inherent in the conception of a living church.'

Such a plea for a 'law of liberty'—that is to say, liberty conditioned and regulated by loyalty to the principles of our own Church—ought not to fail of its appeal to Englishmen. In the abstract all Churchmen must assent to it. In the abstract no one will be found to deny that within the domain of allegiance to the Reformed religion there is room for much diversity of use both in ceremony and in rite. But difficulties arise when from principles we come to details; because in criticising the practice of our neighbours we are each inclined to substitute for the standard of the Church of England that of our own party in the Church. A certain number of congregations, for example, claim the right to use at the ministration of the Holy Communion what Cranmer called 'the vesture appointed for that ministration'; other congregations ask or take leave to dispense with the recitation of the *Quicunque vult* in Divine Service. Those Churchmen who find the *Quicunque* edifying or the Eucharistic vestments unedifying are disposed at once to reply that to give such permissions would involve disloyalty to English Church principles. They recognise the need of mutual toleration and the obligation of Christian charity, but on these points their conscience is touched and they cannot give way. The temptation to label our opinions 'conscientious' as an excuse for not reconsidering them is one to which we are all subject. But when claims are made at our hands by very large numbers of our fellow-Churchmen it is due to them that, before making up our minds, we should, in the first place,

endeavour to see their case from their own point of view, and then apply to it some higher and less biased standard than that of our private or party conscience. As everybody knows, it is the difference of opinion upon the advisability of bringing the two points above mentioned within the scope of the principle of 'elasticity' which forms at present the chief stumbling-block in the path of a revision of the law of worship. It may therefore be well to put each case as briefly as possible as it appeared to the Commissioners after their exhaustive survey of the subject.

(1) A reference to the second recommendation of the Commissioners quoted above will show that, probably to secure unanimity in their Report, they made no suggestion as to whether the new Ornaments Rubric which they recommended should be governed by their new principle of 'elasticity' or not. But the sections of the Report which deal with this question leave no doubt upon the reader's mind as to the side to which the balance of argument inclines. It is pointed out that, according to the latest Report (1901), Eucharistic vestments are worn in 1526 churches in England and Wales: that is to say, in more than 10 per cent. of the total number. That fact of itself in the mind of an unbiased observer would afford ground for doubt whether a custom so widespread could imply disloyalty. The Report proceeds:

> The question of the significance properly attaching to Eucharistic vestments, depending as it does on individual opinions, is probably incapable of an exact answer. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that at least a great many of those who support their use connect them with the doctrine of a commemorative sacrifice in the Eucharist; and it is clear that the use of a special dress for the celebration of Holy Communion does not necessarily involve the acceptance of the Roman doctrine as to the nature of that service. There is no doubt that the Eucharistic vestments were originally the dress of ordinary civil life, and that for four or five centuries the civil and ministerial dress of the clergy was identical, save that at the time of their ministrations they would put on a dress that was clean and white. Not till the seventh century have we any certain indications that the chasuble was regarded as a distinctly liturgical garment. From this date onwards, however, mystical meanings seem to have been attached to it, and to the other articles of ministerial attire; and the use of coloured vestments may be traced. Thus the Eucharistic vestments were adopted some centuries before A.D. 1215, when the doctrine of Transubstantiation was defined. Both before and after the definition of that doctrine the chasuble was associated with the conception of an Eucharistic sacrifice. It is not open to question that the Eucharistic vestments were retained in the Church of England after the repudiation of the Roman doctrine and the substitution of the Prayer Book for the Roman service. The first Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth (1549) directed a 'white alb plain with a vestment or cope' to be worn at Holy Communion. On the establishment of Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, in 1559, these vestments were by the Act of Uniformity, in clear terms, again directed to be worn; and this direction remained in force at least until the issue of the Advertisements in 1566, although

generally disregarded. It is further to be observed that the notion of any connexion between these vestments and the Roman doctrine of the Mass does not appear to have occurred to leading writers on the Prayer Book in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, who held the opinion that the vestments, ordered by Edward the Sixth's first Prayer Book to be worn, were still in strictness required by law.

On the other hand, many of those who object to the use of Eucharistic vestments hold that they are symbolic of the offering of a sacrifice in the sense in which the Eucharist was held in the Pre-reformation Church, and is now held in the Church of Rome, to be a propitiatory sacrifice. The evidence given before the Ritual Commission in 1867 by the Rev. W. J. Bennett is frequently quoted to show that this view is held by some of those who favour the use of the vestments. Mr. Bennett's explicit statement, however, stands, so far as we are aware, alone, and is generally repudiated by those who use the vestments, though we find instances, especially in the manuals submitted to us, of language implying teaching which cannot be distinguished from the Roman doctrine condemned in the 31st Article.

Many witnesses have, however, argued that these vestments are in the public mind so closely associated with the Roman Church that their introduction into the Church of England, where, in fact, they were entirely discarded for 300 years, cannot fail to convey generally the impression that the Roman doctrine and practice are being brought back. They have urged that the attempt to restore such vestments is often accompanied by the restoration of a group of practices discarded at the Reformation. It is replied that the force of this argument was greater fifty years ago than now. What was then a complete and startling novelty has become a practice—a practice condemned by the law, but for thirty years unrepressed—in more than 1500 English churches; and thousands of middle-aged persons now living have been accustomed to see these vestments worn as long as they can remember. It is urged that, unless the teaching of the clergy who wear these vestments be Roman, such persons may not see any necessary approximation to Rome in the use of vestments which even in Western Europe are not exclusively Roman.

This reasonable statement of the facts about the Eucharistic vestments has not been without its effect; and some of the more prominent of the younger Evangelical clergy have signified their adherence to the policy of a permissive use. But so far the party organs, though they express themselves with moderation, remain unconvinced. If I might venture to put the case for a permissive use of the vestments to my Evangelical brethren, what I should urge would be something of this sort. You are asked to consent to the explanation of the Ornaments Rubric as covering the use both of the surplice and the chasuble or cope. This concession is asked for by a very large number of Churchmen who have no manner of sympathy with the Church of Rome. Our own day has witnessed a large growth of the historical spirit, and Churchmen have become more interested in their own venerable past. They know the vestments were in use before the doctrine of Transubstantiation was invented; they know they are still in use among the reformed churches of Scandinavia; and they have a

desire to use once more in England the special and distinctive vesture which has belonged to the Holy Communion for at least a thousand years. They think that the Revisers of our present Prayer Book, persons like Bishop Cosin, whom Fuller called 'the Atlas of the Protestant religion,' looked forward to such a revival by the form they gave to the rubric, though their own day was not ripe for it;[1] and they protest that the vestments themselves have no distinctively Roman associations. Against their plea you would probably urge that the use of the surplice at Holy Communion is a security for the Evangelical position. But can a vestment be a security against erroneous teaching? How long is it since the use of the Genevan gown for the sermon was supposed to be the main security of the Evangelical position? Fashion has changed, and Evangelical doctrine is now preached in the surplice. So fashion may change again, and as historical studies grow among Evangelical Churchmen, the chasuble or cope may replace the surplice at Holy Communion, as the surplice has replaced the black gown in the pulpit. Of course you wish to be assured that the vestments do not imply the Roman doctrine of the Mass. That assurance is conveyed in the most forcible manner by the fact that they were prescribed in the two English Prayer Books drawn up expressly to get rid of Roman doctrine, the first book of Edward and the book of Elizabeth. I know it is the fashion to say that the Liturgy in the first book of Edward, which prescribes the vestments, was only a halfway house towards reform; and that the second book, which prescribes the surplice, contains the completely reformed Liturgy. The Liturgy of the second book was certainly much recast in shape, but in substance it removed only a few expressions which the Romanisers had found it possible to interpret in their own sense. The great doctrinal changes were all made in the first Liturgy. The Mass became a Communion; there was to be no celebration by the priest alone; confession was no longer to be required; the intercessions of the saints were not asked nor their merits pleaded. Above all, every expression was removed which could give colour to the mediæval idea of the Christian minister as one who offered a propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead. Consequently, if Cranmer had regarded the vestments as symbolising a propitiatory sacrifice, he could not have retained them for one moment with his reformed service. They were, as Cranmer called them, 'the vesture appointed for that ministration,' the customary robes of the minister from time immemorial; and their significance was,

[1] Cosin's view of the obligation to wear the vestments, 'howsoever it is neglected,' in Charles I.'s reign is several times expressed in his *Notes on the Prayer Book* (Works, V. 42, 233, 438). The Bishops at the Savoy Conference did not meet the Puritan exception to the new rubric that it 'seemeth to bring back the cope albe, &c.,' but went off upon ceremonies in general (*Cardwell's Conferences*, 314, 351).

and is, the significance that in each succeeding age has attached to Holy Communion. In my judgment the best thing that could happen would be a new decision of the Court of Appeal that the Ornaments Rubric means what it says, and prescribes the vestments of the first book of King Edward the Sixth. Then, if the Evangelical clergy proved as law-abiding as ever, the vestments would be worn by everyone and no question as to any special significance could arise. If that is impossible, something would be gained if we refused to play into the hands of the Romanisers by assuming that every clergyman who wore, or wished to wear, the ancient vestments was an enemy to the Reformation.

The Convocations comprise four distinct bodies, by each of whom the question of the preparation of a new Ornaments Rubric referred to them by the Royal Letters of Business must be considered. The two Lower Houses of Canterbury and York have expressed the view that neither use—surplice or, chasuble—should be prohibited. The Upper House of York also proposes to sanction the use of alternative vestments, provided that all are white. Both the Upper House of York and the Lower House of Canterbury provide safeguards against the introduction of a novel use contrary to the wish of the laity, and leave the ultimate sanction to the Bishop. The Upper House of Canterbury has not yet published a Report. In these various and tentative proposals there is evidence of a desire to face the problem both sympathetically and courageously; and when the four Houses meet for conference we may anticipate a recommendation which will express the largest body of clerical opinion and, it may be hoped, unite all parties in agreement.

(2) In regard to the use of the *Quicunque vult*, the Royal Commissioners made no specific recommendation, but they 'assumed that the subject would be included' by Convocation among the proposals to modify the existing law so as to secure the greater elasticity which they deemed to be necessary. They say:

It will be seen from the replies of the Bishops to the question addressed to them on the subject, that the omission of the Creed is not uncommon, though owing to frequent Episcopal insistence on obedience to the rubric in recent years it is less common than formerly. We cannot enter into the questions of doctrine which may be involved in this irregularity, but we believe that, while some clergy consider, to use the words of the Dean of Westminster, that certain expressions in the Creed are 'in their plain or apparent sense not only misleading but false,' many others deem these expressions liable to be misunderstood by an ordinary congregation, and hold that the Creed is therefore not suitable for use in the public service of the Church. The controversy, which is of long standing, as to the retention of the Creed for public use in Divine Service has in recent years been revived. The Upper House of the Southern Convocation on May 10, 1905, passed resolutions as follows:—

(1) That, as recorded in the resolution of the 5th of May, 1904, this

House is resolved to maintain unimpaired the Catholic faith in the Holy Trinity and in the Incarnation, as contained in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and in the *Quicunque Vult*, and regards the faith thus presented, both in statements of doctrine and in statements of fact, as the necessary basis on which the teaching of the Church reposes.

(2) That this House, while it recognises, as taught in Holy Scripture, the truth, often overlooked, that every man is responsible before God for the faith which he holds, and while it believes that this Scriptural truth is what the minatory clauses of the *Quicunque Vult* were primarily intended to express, acknowledges, nevertheless, that, in their *prima facie* meaning and in the mind of many who hear them, those clauses convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants, and one which is not consonant with the language of the greatest teachers of the Church.

(3) That, in view of the distress and alienation of mind which the public recitation of these minatory clauses causes to many serious Churchmen, this House desires, without expressing or implying by this resolution a judgment on any further questions raised as to the form, position, or use of the *Quicunque Vult*, that each Diocesan Bishop should be authorised, upon application from an incumbent, with sufficient reason shown, to dispense with the public recitation of the *Quicunque Vult*, either on all or on some of the days when the rubric orders its recitation.

(4) That, having regard to the wide divergence of opinion in the Church with regard to the best permanent solution of the difficulties connected with the use of the *Quicunque Vult*, and to the expediency of the action finally taken representing, as far as possible, the deliberate opinion of the Church, including those other portions of the Anglican Communion whose present use corresponds with our own, this House desires to defer its final judgment until after the Lambeth Conference of 1908.

That final judgment we still await; but it may be noted here that the Lambeth Conference went so far as to express the opinion 'that inasmuch as the use or disuse of this hymn is not a term of communion, the several Churches of the Anglican Communion may rightly decide for themselves what in their varying circumstances is desirable'; and urged further 'that if any change of rule or usage is made, full regard should be had to the maintenance of the Catholic faith in its integrity, to the commendation of that faith to the minds of men, and to the relief of disquieted consciences.'

The question of the warning clauses in the *Quicunque* has been so long before Churchmen that it is unnecessary to argue it over again here. Those who wish for a plain and brief statement of the case for granting relief will find it in a pamphlet by the Dean of Christ Church, *The Use of the Quicunque in Divine Service* (Nisbet). The best method of affording such relief is a further question much disputed. The simplest solution, and the one which best recognises the principle of elasticity, is to substitute 'may' for 'shall' in the rubric ordering its recitation. Another proposal is to omit the rubric altogether and leave the document in the Prayer Book side by side with the Articles of Religion. A third is to introduce the Day Hours into a Supplement; in which

case the *Quicunque* would occupy its ancient place in the office of Prime. A fourth is to use its substantive parts as an alternative canticle to the *Te Deum*, omitting the warning clauses.

The Church of England, then, has to make up its mind whether it intends to enforce upon all clergymen the observance of the Ornaments Rubric, as it has been interpreted by the courts, and the observance of the rubric before the *Quicunque vult*, or whether in both these cases it is prepared to allow a variant use. What is intolerable, and should be felt by all loyal Churchmen as intolerable, is the claim of the individual incumbent to dispense himself from the observance of either rubric, and the claim of the individual diocesan to dispense him. Of course these are not the only common instances of breach of rules, though they are the most widely prevalent. There are clergymen who do not observe the holy days of our Church or who observe days which are not holy days of our Church; clergymen who leave out large portions of the Liturgy or interpolate large portions of a Liturgy belonging to another Communion; clergymen who not only reserve the Sacrament, contrary to the express direction of the rubric, but also make it the centre of a service of adoration contrary to the express teaching of the Article; clergymen, again, who never catechise their children or administer baptism at a public service, and so forth. The existence of these and similar irregularities is evidence that in the opinion of a large number of persons the law of worship, as laid down in 1662, needs reconsideration; and, that being so, and the opportunity of Revision having presented itself, no one who is conscious of innovating ought to object to bringing his innovation into the light of public criticism and submitting it to the general judgment of the Church of England for approval or censure. Our Church has expressed its claim to regulate ceremonies in the Thirty-fourth Article of Religion. Those who object to this claim and profess allegiance instead to some undefined 'law of the Western Church' or 'Catholic tradition' are disloyal sons, and, in the words of the Article, 'ought to be rebuked openly,' as they that 'offend against the common order of the Church, and wound the consciences of the weak brethren.'

Of the thirty or more examples of illegal practices which the Royal Commissioners scheduled as 'having significance,' there is only one, so far as I have observed, besides the use of vestments, which the Committee of the Lower House of the Southern Convocation has proposed to regularise: namely, a Reservation of the Sacrament for the purpose of administering to the sick. The proposed rubric runs as follows:

> But when the Holy Communion cannot reverently or without grave difficulty be celebrated in private, and also when there are several sick

persons in the parish desirous to receive the Communion on the same day, it shall be lawful for the priest (with the consent of the sick person), on any day when there is a celebration of the Holy Communion, to set apart at the open Communion so much of the consecrated bread and wine as shall serve the sick person (or persons) and so many as shall communicate with him. And, the open Communion ended in the church, he shall on the same day, and with as little delay as may be, go and minister the same. . . . And if any of the bread and wine that was consecrated remain over, the same shall, immediately after the service, reverently be consumed. If the consecrated bread and wine be not taken immediately to the sick person they shall be kept in such place and after such manner as the Ordinary shall approve, so that they be not used for any other purpose whatsoever. The priest shall take the consecrated bread and wine to the sick person's house without ceremonial.

If reservation for the sick is to be once more allowed in the Church of England after being forbidden for more than 350 years it would seem impossible to draft a rubric better fitted to prevent those abuses against which the Thirty-eighth Article protests. And yet anyone who has read the evidence dealing with this topic presented to the Royal Commissioners, or even those passages collected in their Report, must feel a grave doubt whether the proposal to restore the practice is wise. The Commissioners express no opinion, but they pointedly call attention to the difficulty of maintaining a distinction between reservation for the sick and reservation for purposes of adoration, and to the difficulty of effectually ensuring its observance in practice. There can be no doubt that sick persons generally prefer to have the whole service celebrated in their presence, and their edification ought to be considered before the convenience of the minister. Not a few Bishops stated in evidence that reservation was unknown in their dioceses or had ceased at their directions. The most instructive evidence was that of the Bishop of Exeter, which should be read carefully by the various Committees of Convocation who are considering this question. One paragraph I will quote :

I think in most parishes there is no need whatever of reservation for this purpose; but I cannot extend this to a universal negative in the case of large town parishes with a limited staff of clergy, and numerous sick and aged communicants, especially where the clergy have scruples (which, while I believe them to be groundless, I cannot treat with disrespect) as to celebrating after taking food. I may add that I should strongly deprecate a change in the present law. I think it wiser to leave emergencies to be provided for by Episcopal dispensation, which can readily be revoked in case of abuse, than formally to legalise what experience has shown to be liable to abuse if left unchecked.

The Revision of the Prayer Book so far discussed has been that which was undertaken at the suggestion of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline with a view to modifying the present rubrics so as to meet conscientious scruples and bring

about a better observance of the law. But the terms of reference in the Letters of Business were wide enough to allow of changes being made in the services themselves; and proposals have accordingly been put forward with this object, partly from the point of view of modern convenience, partly from the point of view of new learning, and partly from that of the liturgical art. There is certainly advantage, when Revision is under discussion, in having all the objections that can be taken to the present book clearly formulated in order that they may thoroughly be considered. But if the precedent of the Irish and American prayer-books is any guide to what is likely to happen in our own case, the substantive change will not be great. Everyone must wish that the revision of the text of the Prayer Book shall be as conservative as possible. The Prayer Book has come to take rank as a classic side by side with the Authorised Version of the Bible. Like that version, it belongs in its main features to the dawn of a great age, when men were moved with great thoughts and were inspired to give them great expression. Alike in its paraphrases from the older service-books, in its adaptations from the reformed churches of the Continent, and in its original compositions, there is a breadth and dignity which our more learned but more self-conscious scholars cannot compass. Moreover, the two Revisions which the book underwent in the seventeenth century were happily in the hands of men to whom the same free language of devotion came naturally, though their manner of composition was somewhat more elaborate and rhetorical. With good reason, therefore, we hesitate to patch so noble a structure with the tamer and imitative work of to-day. Nevertheless, the most beautiful ancient house requires adaptation to modern necessities; and the most we can claim is that no alteration shall be made without good cause.

The Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, in their first Report, suggested 128 changes. It may be interesting to collect such of these as were not merely rubrical to see what they amount to; although it is likely that a large number of them will not survive the criticism of the Convocation itself or the other Houses. In Morning and Evening Prayer no change whatever is made, but it is suggested that the last five prayers may be omitted when another service follows. In the Order of Holy Communion the only changes are a new Proper Preface for Whit-Sunday, one or two additional Offertory sentences, and a recommendation that for the Ten Commandments, provided they are said once on each Sunday, the following may be substituted:

Hear what our Lord Jesus Christ saith: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.' This is the first and great Commandment. And the second is like unto it: 'Thou

shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' On these two Commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

There is a resolution that the first six of the 'Prayers upon several occasions' and the last seven of the Thanksgivings shall be revised and others added. And most of the homilies and exhortations in the occasional services are marked for revision. The most interesting of all the proposals is one for an alternative Burial Service—a draft of which is given—to include a commendatory prayer for the faithful departed. It was no doubt necessary that such a commendation, primitive as it is, should have been disallowed at the time of the Reformation in order to get rid of the doctrine of Purgatory. But few mourners can feel that our present service expresses all they wish, or can claim, to express on behalf of their departed friends.

I said above that changes had been proposed in the interest of learning and also in that of liturgical art. Readers who wish to know what students of liturgiology think of our Prayer Book will find a temperate article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for last October by the Rev. W. C. Bishop, and among his suggestions one at least, for shortening the Litany when it precedes another service, is likely to commend itself to most Churchmen. Of more general concern will be those changes which are asked for in the interest of Biblical scholarship. The Canterbury Lower House has appointed a Committee to review Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and it may be expected that they will recommend a substitute for the Ascension Day Gospel, as well as the omission of the interpolated verse in the Epistle for the First Sunday after Easter. Two other demands, widely expressed, are for a revised lectionary and a corrected Psalter with liberty to omit the maledictory verses. A new lectionary should arrange its week-day lessons independently of Sundays, so that gaps shall not occur every seven days; it should provide special lessons for Sundays from the New Testament as well as from the Old; and it should also provide a better choice of Old Testament lessons for Sundays. Educated people can refer every lesson as they hear it to its time and place in the process of revelation, but simple people cannot do this. Hence only such lessons should be read in the Sunday services as convey teaching which the Church of Christ can endorse. Else we may unconsciously propagate a pre-Christian morality. And this we are certainly doing by allowing the maledictory portions of the Psalter to be sung in Christian worship. I do not understand how anyone can defend their use who reflects that Our Lord made an express distinction on this point between the Old Dispensation and the New. 'It was said to them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto

you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you.' It is maintained, indeed, that the *Gloria Patri* Christianises the Psalm; but can any *Gloria* Christianise such an un-Christian beatitude as 'Blessed shall he be that rewardeth thee, as thou hast served us'? We might as well recite the Deuteronomic law of divorce in the Marriage Service and think to Christianise it by a collect.

In conclusion, let me add a word about a common objection to Revision, which takes the form of a protest against the two authorities with whom the final responsibility lies, the Convocations and Parliament. By Convocation, when this objection is raised, is meant the Lower Houses; which are declared to be unequal to the task of Revision, on the ground that they are insufficiently representative of the clergy. Representative, nevertheless, they are; and it is to be remembered that the clergy have succeeded in altering their *personnel* with reference to this very question of Revision. But the real answer to this plea is that the constitutional part played by the Lower Houses of Convocation is secondary and advisory. We are still an Episcopal Church, and it is with the Upper Houses that the main responsibility lies for framing any revised code of rules for worship. The Bishops are able to gauge the desires of the presbyterate both in and out of Convocation, as well as those of the laity, both in and out of the Houses of Laymen; and they are not likely to countenance changes which do not command a large measure of approval. The final authority to which any changes in the Prayer Book must be referred is that of Parliament. A National Church, which enjoys the privileges and responsibilities of establishment, cannot complain if the State exercises a somewhat jealous supervision over its ritual and ceremonial regulations in the interests of the whole body of the people. We are not a sect, and should not claim the immunities of a sect. Moreover, the State, throughout this whole business, has behaved in so constitutional a manner that there is no reason to fear that it would wish to usurp the functions of the Church by revising the Revision submitted to it. The method of Revision at present in view is by an appendix of additions, omissions, and alterations. Parliament would have a perfect right to discuss the changes *seriatim*, though it is possible it might forgo its right if the schedule of proposed changes came to it with a united Church behind them. At any rate, it would only be the proposed changes, and not the general text of the Prayer Book, that would come under discussion.

H. C. BEECHING.

WILLIAM COBBETT AND QUEEN CAROLINE

AN UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

The following correspondence is now printed for the first time by the courteous permission of Sir William Cobbett and Mr. Richard Cobbett, who recently allowed the present writer to examine the papers of their grandfather, William Cobbett the reformer.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Cobbett was a stalwart defender of Queen Caroline in public, but few are aware of the fact that he advised her in private: in the latest biography of George the Fourth's consort, Signor Clerici's *A Queen of Indiscretions*, the name of Cobbett is not mentioned. The story of this royal marriage is so familiar that only a few notes are necessary to elucidate the correspondence. George the Third died on the 29th of January, 1820, and 'The First Gentleman of Europe' ascended the throne. He at once caused instructions to be given to the English representatives at foreign courts not to recognise Caroline as Queen of England, and commanded that her name should not be inserted in the Prayer for the Royal Family. The Queen, who was at Rome, at once protested against these insults, and made formal complaint to Lord Liverpool. His Majesty wished to divorce his consort, but Lord Liverpool insisted that an offer should be made of 50,000*l*. a year for life, on condition that she remained abroad and assumed a title other than that of Queen of England. Her Majesty's Solicitor-General, Denman, urged her to return; her Attorney-General, Brougham, begged her to stay away; but she came back, being always distrustful of the latter. 'If my head is on Temple Bar,' she said to Denman, '*it will* be Brougham's doing.' The Queen, accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton and Alderman Matthew Wood, landed at Dover on the 6th of June; and on that day Ministers in each House of Parliament moved for a secret committee to examine the report of the Milan Commission and report whether there was sufficient ground for the introduction of a Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen. On the next day Brougham in the

House of Commons read a message from her Majesty demanding an open investigation.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

June 6, 1820.

Thousands and hundreds of thousands, whose hearts beat with anxiety for the Queen, and who think with the greatest alarm of the numerous arts which are and will be employed against her, implore her to beware of insidious and perfidious advice. The public have beheld with admiration the message of her Majesty to the House of Commons; but they see and fear the danger of her Majesty being artfully led into some new negociation, which may end in a compromise fatal to her. Her enemies are powerful, active, vigilant and implacable. They fear to meet her openly. But if they can once prevail on her to give up her rights, they know that the people will look upon such a compromise as a proof that there is some truth in the accusations against her, and then her enemies, knowing that her Majesty will have lost the friendship of the people, will have no scruple to treat her with every mark of indignity. The debate in the House of Commons convinces the Public, that, if her Majesty persevere in her high and noble tone of defiance, her enemies will yield to her just claims, and will permit her to enjoy the state and place that belongs to her exalted rank. The adjournment was contrived for the purpose of gaining time to effect by crafty and perfidious advice that which could not otherwise be effected. Her Majesty is, therefore, implored to listen to no advice other than that which would lead her to demand all her rights as Queen, or a full and open investigation.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

London, June 10, 1820.

The humble individual, who hopes that the goodness of his motives will apologize for his addressing this paper to the Queen, most deeply regrets that her Majesty cannot be truly and fully informed of the sentiments of the people respecting her Majesty's case. He ventures to assure her Majesty that it is the universal hope, that she will not suffer herself to be induced to accept of *any compromise*; but, that she will insist on the full enjoyment of all her rights; that being the only thing which can completely put to silence the calumnious aspersions of her indefatigable and implacable enemies. He beseeches her Majesty to bear in mind, that though those enemies have been, thus far, baffled, and discomfited, disappointment may tend to teach them dissimulation as well as to sharpen their malignity; and that what they cannot effect by force, they may endeavour to effect by craft; what they cannot obtain by menaces, they may endeavour to obtain by blandishments; what they have not been able to extort from her fears, they may endeavour to steal from her magnanimity. If her Majesty should have advice offered her, he implores her to consider, what may be the possible ultimate objects of those who offer that advice, and to reflect, that it may be possible for them not wholly to overlook, on so important an occasion, their own interests and the gratification of their own ambition. Her Majesty knows, perhaps, little of what is passing amongst the public. Already are the windows of the shops exhibiting her Majesty's person, attired in Royal Robes, with a Crown on her head and a sceptre in her hand. And, the person, who humbly submits this paper to her Majesty, assures her, that the united soul of this loyal and just nation is poured out in prayer, that she will not yield, either to threats or intreaties, any portion, or particle, of her rights as *Queen of this kingdom*. This prayer

is founded on a sense of national honour; on a sense of what is due to the women of this kingdom; and, above all, on a most anxious desire, that her Majesty should not do anything that might leave even her bitterest enemy the smallest ground for sustaining a supposition unfavourable to her Majesty's innocence. The writer begs leave humbly to add, that he hopes, that her Majesty will reflect, that, though she *yield* only in the smallest degree, there is no form of words that can possibly be used in so doing, that will prevent her enemies from afterwards ascribing her condescension to a motive, the very thought of which would give her Majesty pain to the end of her days. WM. COBBETT.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

June 12, 1820.

The following representation is, with the greatest deference and humility, submitted for the consideration of her Majesty the Queen.

It appears probable that His Majesty's Ministers will persevere in refusing to her Majesty the possession and enjoyment of her rights as Queen of this kingdom; and that an open investigation will, in the end, take place.

In this case it must be manifest, that the *Alien Act*, as it now stands, must have a very dangerous effect with regard to the cause of her Majesty. That Act invests His Majesty's Ministers with the absolute power of sending, at their mere will and pleasure, Aliens out of the kingdom. Of course it invests them with a similar power of preventing Aliens from entering; because, they can order Aliens to be stopped at the sea ports, and to be sent back without being permitted even to land; which was, *in fact*, done in the case of the Countess de Montholon.

Whether his Majesty's Ministers would have a disposition to use this great and fearful power in such manner as to deprive her Majesty of any testimony that might be material to her Majesty's justification is a point which it becomes an humble individual to leave to her Majesty's superior judgment; but, when the writer of this paper reflects on her Majesty's long absence from England together with the many weighty matters, which must, at this time, engage her Majesty's attention, he hopes he shall not be deemed presumptuous if he supposes it possible, that her Majesty may have overlooked the fact of the existence of this Act of Parliament; and the same hope accompanies him while he begs leave further to state, that the Act is about to expire, and to be renewed and continued in force; that a bill is now before Parliament for that purpose; that if this bill become an Act, it cannot be repealed, altered, or amended, during the present session of Parliament; and that another session may not take place, until after the investigation shall have been brought to a conclusion.

A representation to the Parliament by her Majesty would, doubtless, obtain a security against danger from this source, either by causing the Act to be suspended, during the investigation, or by a clause in the Act empowering her Majesty to give, for a certain limited time, passports and certificates of residence to such Aliens as her Majesty might deem it expedient to cause to come to and to remain in the kingdom; and it is, with all humility, suggested, that a representation in the name of her Majesty would be more likely to be attended with success, than any statement or reasoning made, however ably, by Members of the House.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

London, June 15, 1820.

How great soever the fears of an humble individual to expose himself to the risk of being thought obtrusive and of incurring the displeasure of

her Majesty the Queen, those fears are overcome by that sense of duty, which imperatively calls on him to give her Majesty intimation of danger, which intimation he thinks it probable that her Majesty may receive from no other quarter; and he, therefore, relying on the gracious condescension and indulgence of her Majesty, will proceed humbly to offer her Majesty that intimation.

The enemies of her Majesty now see that they over-rated their powers of deception and delusion. They see, that public opinion in her Majesty's favour is too strong to be safely set at defiance. It would seem, therefore, to be their design to procure delay; to procrastinate; to keep things in a concealed and equivocal state; and, by these means, to weary the public mind and divert the public attention. Those enemies, whatever may be their other deficiencies, are by no means deficient in craft. They well know, that, if they can *suspend* the question for a time, until the fever of public spirit shall have abated, they shall, in great part at least, succeed in depriving her Majesty of her best, and, indeed, her only efficient, support against their machinations.

There are many men, who, in the present state of things, would be ashamed to take, *openly*, part against her Majesty, but would, nevertheless, very gladly be thought, by certain persons, to be ready, if necessary, to take such part. This description of men is very numerous; and they are, of course, extremely averse from any thing like bringing the matter to issue at the present moment, and will do every thing in their power to put off a decision of the question, which they will endeavour to reserve for a *distant day*, when they will be able to aid the enemies of her Majesty without exposing themselves to public odium.

Therefore, in the judgment of him who humbly submits this paper to her Majesty, it clearly appears, that the cause of her Majesty must of necessity suffer from procrastination; and that that procrastination should be put an end to by steps as decisive and as prompt as those which have, to her immortal honour, recently marked the conduct of her Majesty.

The writer throws himself on her Majesty's gracious indulgence, while he, with all possible diffidence, ventures even to offer an opinion as to what those steps ought to be; but he humbly hopes that his motives will plead with her Majesty in his behalf, while he begs leave to observe, that, it appears to him, that, unless a decision be come to on Friday, her Majesty, strong in her own innocence, and viewing all threats and accusations with *silent* indignation, ought to make a complaint to the House of Commons, simply informing the House; that Her Majesty finds, with surprize, that no preparations are making for her coronation; and that she relies on the House to take, in this case, such steps as justice to her Majesty and as the honour and dignity of His Majesty's Crown may, in the judgment of the House, appear to demand.

This would, it is humbly presumed, put an end to all procrastination; bring the question to issue at once; eventually secure to her Majesty the full enjoyment of all her rights; and produce universal satisfaction and gratitude amongst his Majesty's dutiful and affectionate subjects.

It need not be observed to a person of her Majesty's extensive knowledge and profound penetration, that, to attempt to withhold *obvious, notorious, and established* rights upon the bare assertion, that there exist grounds of charge against the party to whom those rights belong, is something too offensive to all ideas of law and justice to be tolerated, for a moment, in any civilized community; but, if it could be supposed possible, for such an attempt to be made, its award would unquestionably be, universal reprobation and abhorrence.

WM. COBBETT.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

London, June 20, 1820.

The humble individual, who, with the greatest submission, begs leave again to address her Majesty, the Queen, has had much experience in matters affecting the public mind; but he has never known that mind to receive so violent a shock as that which has this day been given to it by the publication of the documents relating to the negociation between the delegates of the king's Ministers and the Legal Advisers of her Majesty.

The feelings of respect, which the writer entertains towards her Majesty, would restrain him, even if he had the power, from describing minutely the effect of that publication; but he cannot refrain from stating, that the promulgation of the documents has fully answered the most sanguine hopes and expectations that her Majesty's enemies can possibly have entertained; and, as he deems it more honourable to be thought wanting in good manners than destitute of feeling, he ventures to assure her Majesty, that the offer made in her Majesty's name to *quit the country* has filled the women's eyes with tears and the men's hearts with a feeling which never before existed in them with regard to her Majesty.

He implores her Majesty to be convinced, that no *terms*, no *conditions*, no *qualifications*, can, in the public opinion, remove the impression, which consenting to abandon the country must necessarily make; and, emboldened by his zeal in her Majesty's cause, he ventures, even at the risk of incurring her displeasure, to express his anxious hope, that nothing will induce her Majesty to adopt, *on any terms*, a course, the fatal consequences of which he can clearly foresee but has not the heart to describe.

WM. COBBETT.

It was evident that the affair threatened to become the most crying scandal of the century, and Ministers were anxious not to have to proceed to extremes, seeing that, whatever the result might be, the dignity of the Crown must be seriously impaired. The Queen was now offered 50,000*l.* a year for life, a frigate for travelling, and abroad the honours due to the Queen of England; and Wilberforce in the House of Commons moved an Address to her Majesty asking her to accept these terms. The motion was carried on the 22nd of June by 391 to 124, and was at once presented to the Queen, who declined to accept the suggestion.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

London, June 23, 1820.

The writer of this paper begs leave most humbly to state to her Majesty, the Queen:

That the understood determination of her Majesty *not to go out of the kingdom* has produced a return of that public feeling which was, for a moment, banished by the report of her Majesty's intended departure;—that the object of Mr. Wilberforce's motion is clearly seen through by the public, who have no doubt, that it is intended to effect by supplication that which it is perceived cannot be effected by threats;—that it is the opinion of the writer of this paper, that the *address*, moved by Mr. Wilberforce, is intended to place her Majesty in this dilemma, namely, *to give up to the Ministers*, or, *to incur the ill-will of the Commons* by rejecting their advice;

and, that, therefore, much will depend on the *Answer*, which her Majesty shall be pleased to give to that Address.

Her Majesty has too much sagacity not to perceive *le piège* (the snare). It is plain, that, if the advice in this Address be followed, another Address will soon find its way to her Majesty from the same, or from a similar, source, if any similar source be to be found in the world; and that, thus, if her Majesty give way *now*, Address after Address will follow, 'till her Majesty be addressed out of all her rights, and, finally, out of England.

To prevent a result so injurious to her Majesty and so afflicting to His Majesty's loyal subjects, the writer of this paper presumes humbly to express an opinion, that the Answer to this Address should *explicitly reject the advice* contained in the Address; should do this in a manner calculated to flatter, rather than wound, the pride of the House; and should contain (*incidentally*) an expression of her Majesty's determination to remain at *home*—that word so sweet to English ears, and so electrifying if it were to come from the pen of her Majesty.

An Answer of this description would, it is believed, put a stop to the efforts of Mr. Wilberforce. The writer of this paper, relying on her Majesty's great goodness and indulgence, has enclosed a paper containing what he thinks would be a suitable Answer, which, with the greatest diffidence, he humbly submits to her Majesty's superior judgment.

If her Majesty thought proper to yield, upon this occasion, to any feeling other than that of her benignity, her Majesty would have a fair opportunity of observing upon the singularity of the circumstance, that, though her Majesty has *lately become Queen*, and has also *lately arrived from abroad*, and has still more recently *sent a Message to the House*, her Majesty has never heard from the House, until it thought proper to wait upon her with an humble Address *advising her to surrender a part of her rights*.

The other course may, however, be the best; though the writer of this paper ought not to disguise from her Majesty, that it is his decided opinion, that her Majesty('s) will gain nothing by her being advised to appear to do anything *out of complaisance to the Parliament*.

WM. COBBETT.

Proposed Answer.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

Accept my most cordial thanks for this loyal, dutiful and affectionate Address.

If, as to points immediately, peculiarly and exclusively affecting my own personal feelings, and dependent on a sense of female honour, I decline to avail myself of advice suggested by your kind solicitude for my comfort and tranquillity, be assured, that I retain a firm and unalterable reliance on your integrity and wisdom.

In the many and deep sorrows and afflictions, with which it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived unspeakable consolation from the warm and constant attachment of this loyal, just and generous people, of whom you are the faithful Representatives, and to cherish and live at home with whom will be the chief happiness of the remainder of my days.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

June 25, 1820.

The writer of this paper begs leave most humbly to state to her Majesty, the Queen:

That her Majesty's Answer to the Resolution of the House of Commons has given great satisfaction to the public, in as far as it contains a rejection

of the advice of the House; that, however, great *anxiety* still prevails on the subject of her Majesty's possible intentions as to *going abroad*; that the public are all alive *upon this great point*; that it is of the utmost importance that *no doubt* should longer exist on the subject; that all such doubt would, at once, be removed by an expression of her Majesty, *on the first proper occasion*, that her Majesty has resolved *not to go abroad*.

The writer of this paper thinks it right, that her Majesty should be informed, that her strength and safety lie in the Public opinion; that the Parliament will do nothing for her, except as it is influenced by the Public opinion; that the Ministers were *checked* only by that decided expression of public opinion, which her Majesty's arrival called forth, and for which they were not prepared; that to yield any thing in order to please the Parliament would only displease the Public the more on that very account; that the four Members, who carried the Resolution to her Majesty very narrowly escaped being personally handled by the people; that they made their escape all four in one carriage; that the people *leur crachoient à la figure* (spit in their faces) as they drove along the street; that these four worthy delegates of the House returned home actually covered with spittle; that it is clear, therefore, that, to recede at the request of the Parliament would be to make a useless sacrifice.

It is very clearly seen by the Public, that her Majesty's enemies want but one thing, namely, *to get her out of the country*; because, they well know, that she would then be instantly deserted by the people. It is clear also, that, unless her Majesty *go away, nobody can get money or honours by advising her to go!* For these reasons it will necessarily follow, that every art, which hatred can suggest and which perfidy can put in motion, will be employed *to induce her Majesty to depart*, or, at any rate, *to persuade the people that she is willing to depart*. The effect even of this last would be most injurious to her Majesty; and, therefore, effectual measures should, as speedily as possible, be taken to remove from the Public mind all *doubt* on the subject.

The Ministers are in a state of difficulty not possible to describe. They cannot extricate themselves from that difficulty. They are at the mercy of the Queen, who has nothing to do but to remain in her present attitude for some days. Her Majesty ought to make *no overture* for negociation; and, if her Majesty find, that the Parliament is *about to be prorogued*, she ought then to make, before they separate, a formal demand of her rights and privileges, of which a full detail ought to be given.

If this line be pursued with firmness, a short time will give her Majesty the full enjoyment of all her rights and privileges; and, in the meanwhile her Majesty is safe in the love and admiration of this generous people, who are *all* for her, in every part of the kingdom.

WM. COBBETT.

William Cobbett to the Queen.

June 29, 1820.

The writer of this paper begs to be permitted humbly to lay the following information and observations before her Majesty the Queen.

As it is now perfectly well known, that those Politicians who are usually opposed to the ministers, do not mean to attempt anything for her Majesty, except just as far as it may serve their own selfish and ambitious views; and as it is equally well known that similar motives are but too likely to actuate other persons, whose advice has not hitherto been altogether advantageous to her Majesty's cause: this being the case, it follows of course that her Majesty has no real and efficient reliance, except on *the people*. But, here her Majesty has support which is able to carry her through every perse-

cution; and, support that will never forsake her Majesty, unless her Majesty were to be induced to listen to advice that would seem to indicate a disposition to desert the people.

For this reason it appears to be of the greatest importance, not only that her Majesty should do no act which would have a tendency to damp the ardour of the public; but that her Majesty should avail herself of *early opportunities*, of giving to the public *open* marks of confidence in their support, and of cheering and encouraging them in a perseverance in the loyal and generous course which they are now pursuing.

Being of this opinion, the writer of this paper thinks it his duty most respectfully to inform her Majesty, that the public has felt some little *alarm* at her Majesty's not going to the *Theatre*, agreeably to the signification of that intention which it had pleased her Majesty to convey to the Manager. This alarm in the minds of the people arises, not from any doubts which they entertain of her Majesty's own gracious disposition and firm resolution; but from their fears that selfish and crafty persons, by the like of whom her Majesty has so often been deceived, may yet obtain from her complaisance that which they have not been able to obtain by threats. The public are all anxiety lest her Majesty should be assailed by new deceivers. These persons will endeavour to persuade her Majesty, that she ought to keep herself in *retirement*; that she ought to *shun the people*; that it is *beneath* her even to show herself to the people; that it is to *lower her own dignity* to appear to be grateful to the people. Her Majesty's sad experience, her long endurance of injury in silence; these will, it is hoped, be quite sufficient to prove to her Majesty the folly or the insincerity of advice of this description. There can be no loss of dignity in being beloved and admired by a just and sensible people; nor in shewing to such a people that her Majesty is fully sensible of all the marks she receives of that love and admiration.

The persons who would by their advice, keep her Majesty at a distance from the people, are, in the opinion of this writer, the *only enemies* that her Majesty has to dread. Such counsellors wish to see her Majesty have no support from the people, in order that they themselves may become her pretended supporters, and may raise themselves, in the end, upon her Majesty's ruin.

The zeal, the ardour, the anxiety, which the people feel in her Majesty's cause are wholly without a parallel. Persons entirely dependent upon the Government have, upon this occasion, lost sight of their own interests, and even of their own safety for the sake of her Majesty. Every brave man in the kingdom has a heart devoted to her cause. And it is presumed that, under such circumstances, her Majesty can never be too forward to prove that she is not insensible to attachment so great and so rare.

It is clearly evident that the enemies of her Majesty hope, that they shall gain by wearying the public mind; by leaving public spirit to evaporate; by weaning the people from her Majesty by degrees. Therefore it is the opinion of all thinking persons, that her Majesty should lose very little time, before she take some *open* and *decisive* step in the assertion of her rights and privileges; for, if her Majesty wait patiently the good pleasure of her enemies, if she take no step *openly actively* and *in the presence of the people to* assert her rights as Royal Consort and as Queen, it is much to be feared, that in the course of time, her enemies will (*par des moyens sourds*) produce an effect on the public mind that may be disadvantageous to her Majesty.

To the writer of this paper it appears quite monstrous; it appears to be an outrageous insult to her Majesty to suppose, that her Majesty's rights

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and privileges, or any particle of them, are to be withheld because the Ministers have chosen to say, that they have accusations to make against her Majesty. If upon a pretext like this her Majesty's rights and privileges are to be suspended, her Majesty may bid farewell to those rights and privileges for ever. The trial of Mr. Hastings lasted more than seven years, and the enemies of her Majesty would find very little difficulty in keeping the green bag replenished for seven times seven years. The laws of England proceed upon a different principle: they demand *proof of guilt first*, and then proceed to punishment. They do not first inflict punishment by withholding rights and privileges, and then proceed to demand proof of guilt. The existence of pretended charges, therefore, is no ground whatever for suspending for one single moment the enjoyment of even the smallest portion of her Majesty's rights and privileges; to obtain possession of which rights and privileges should be the first object of her Majesty's efforts.

The above is submitted to her Majesty with the greatest humility; and if the writer has been unable to check himself in freely expressing his opinions to her Majesty, he trusts that the purity of his motive will be his apology.

On the 4th of July Lord Liverpool introduced in the House of Lords a Bill of Pains and Penalties, being 'An Act to deprive her Majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of the titles, privileges, and exemptions of Queen Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth,' the preamble declaring her guilty of criminal conversation with Bergami. The Bill was forthwith read a first time. The proceedings opened on the 17th of August, and on the 24th of October Denman replied on the whole case for the Queen.

John M. Cobbett to James P. Cobbett, in New York.[1]

London, Septr. 14, 1820.

Rules of the King's Bench.

My dear James,—We have just received your letters, dated 1st and 30th of July, before which we had not for some time received any. From them, it would seem that the new business is not actually a gold mine; but, I hope, it is a little better than nothing, and, if it be, we are yet much better off than many of our neighbours. I am surprized at what you tell us about the unsaleability of the haws, for I had great hopes of their turning out to your advantage. I took much more trouble about them than I ever did about anything I ever before had to do with; but, curse the Americans, I never will, again, expect to worm anything out of them!

Mind! I am not complaining, but, at the same time, I confess you squeaze into your paper as little news as it was well possible. I am aware that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones, but, in order that you may not, in future, have the advantage of that excuse, I am going to tell you as much as I can of the news of the present day.

In the first place, we talk, and nobody talks, or thinks, about any body, or thing, but the Queen. When Peck went from here the trial had, I believe, only just began. We are going, with this, to send you the newspapers, as far as the thing has gone, and, therefore, you will not expect me to repeat all that has passed in the House of Lds. upon the subject;

[1] John M. Cobbett and James P. Cobbett were sons of William Cobbett.

but I will give you a talk about what more immediately concerns us. The Alderman, you know, has brought her over. He had never seen Papa, but once, before he went for her, and that was soon after P[apa] landed. The A[lderman] was evidently shy, for he never came or said any [thing] in any way to P[apa], but the very night the Queen came P[apa] wrote to the Ald^n. offering his services, but, at the same time, saying that he could do but little unless he had communication with him, or some one who could give him information as to her case, &c. To this the fellow replied, in a cold manner, that, as soon as an opportunity offered, he would make the communication known to her Majesty. This, you know, was just nothing. On, then, the thing went, without any thing further passing; P[apa] writing, as well as he could in her favour, and against Brougham, who was evidently selling her. All the world saw this, and B[rougham] was going to the Devil fast. He, one night, in the House of Commons, was so ill that he was obliged to leave it. All the members shunned him; and Mr. Power said, upon seeing him that night, that he verily believed he would cut his throat. However, in a day or two, he saw he must try another tack, and, therefore, to avert the public opinion for a day or two he brought forward his famous school-dame motion, to which nobody attended, but it saved him for the moment, just while he was making up his mind to be honest, which he has been ever since. But, before this honest turn came into his head, P[apa] saw that she was going, and, therefore, he wrote some letters to her, and sent them by one of us, who left them at the door. After the third or fourth had been sent, the man at the door said he could not take in any thing without having the name of the person who sent it. So that P[apa] with the next was under the necessity of sending William to go in and ask for Lady Anne Hamilton. W[illia]m found her at breakfast with the Ald^n. who upon W[illiam]'s coming in, looked confounded and guilty. W[illiam] asked her to give the letter to the Queen, upon which she asked if the Alderman's having it would not do the same (for, you see, she and the Queen thought P[apa] was in correspondence with the Alderman, and, depend on't, he had lied finely about it), upon which W[illia]m said no, that it must go to the Queen and nobody else, to which she consented, and W[illiam] came away. The very next day the Alderman came to P[apa]. But I should before have told you that he sent his brother a day or two before W[illiam] went to say that the Queen wanted to *buy the back volumes of the Register*, hoping, you see, to satisfy him with that. And, upon P[apa]'s asking him if the Queen had seen the *Register* of that week, he answered he believed not, for, he knew she had given positive orders that no paper whatever should be taken in during the proceedings against her!! We all set it down as a monstrous falsehood, and two or three days after, when the Alderman came, he let it out that the brother had been sent to return the Queen's thanks to P[apa] for what he was then doing for her! and he further said that the Queen had received, by post, 50 copies of the *Register* from different people who were anxious she should see it. P[apa] has not yet seen the Queen. He has not thought it right as yet. But he has been prime mover. And a Letter to the King which, I dare say, you have seen, was written by a person that you very well know. I am afraid to say who, for it is High Treason, and all the Devils in H. have bestirred themselves to fix it upon some one's head, but it is all secret. . . .

Anne Cobbett to James P. Cobbett, in New York.[1]

Brompton, Octr. 26, 1820.

My dear James,—Since I wrote the other letters which accompany this Papa has been to Court and kissed the Queen's hand, and a very pretty

[1] Anne was the eldest daughter of William Cobbett.

little hand he says it is. We made the gentleman dress himself very smart, and powder his head, and I assure you he cut a very different appearance to what he used to do on Long Island with the straw hat slouched over his eyes. He carried two Addresses, one from the town of Warwick and the other from Bury St. Edmund's. The Queen made him a little speech, in which she thanked him for the great services he had rendered her, and conveyed to him some handsome compliments about his talents and so forth. This was in public, of course, that is to say, her Chamberlains, Major Domos and Dames of Honour standing about. Her Chaplain, the gentleman who writes her answers for her (all that the Govr. has not written) told us the next day that when Papa left the room she turned round and said in her lively manner, 'Well, now, if that is Mr. C[obbett] no wonder such fine writing comes from him. He is the finest man I have seen since I came to England. Aye, aye, if there be only a few such men as that to stand by me, I shall not care for the Lords.' All of which the Govr. says is nothing more than bare justice, for he says he saw no man there anything to compare to himself, you know the gentleman has by no means a contemptible notion of his person. . . .

William Cobbett to Alderman Wood.

Brompton, Sunday, 29 Oct., 1820.

DEAR SIR,—The impression made by the speeches of the Attorney and Solicitor-General has been, and is, *very* great, and well it may, coming, as those speeches do, after the defective, feeble and childish defence of the Queen's Lawyers. That '*offered service stinks*' I have proved in the case of my urgent advice to circulate, through the newspapers, as well as by means of cheap pamphlets, my answer to the Attorney-General's opening and my answer to the Solicitor-General's summing up. If that had been done, things would not have been as they now are. In those answers I anticipated and confuted nearly the whole of what is now, upon being revived, making this deep impression against the Queen. The comparatively narrow circulation of the *Register* rendered those answers of comparatively little efficacy; yet, they were the best things that had been done for the Queen. Many gentlemen were so anxious for a wide circulation of them, that some even had copies printed at a cheap rate for circulation, at their own expence; but, they could not be sent *by post*, and, therefore, the circulation was comparatively narrow. If they had, as I recommended, and as I anxiously wished, been inserted in the *newspapers*, they would have gone all over the world.

I have only mentioned the past for the purpose of inducing you to *listen to the present.* If you can prevail upon *Mr. Vizard* to spare 500*l*. out of the 30,000*l*. that he has received to be expended in the *defence of the Queen*; if he will only give 500*l*. to cause it to be put *into the newspapers*, and to be published in a cheap form by any body that he chooses; if he will only spare this 500*l*. out of the 30,000*l*., which have, as yet, only gone to purchase disgrace for the Queen and to insure her conviction; if he will only spare this little sum to be paid *to the newspapers* to publish *an answer to the closing speeches* of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, *I will write that answer, and will have it ready by Thursday next.* And, you will observe, that, as in all former cases, I will receive no reward of any description. If I do not hear from you before noon to-morrow I shall think no more of the matter.

There are two things of which I must speak. (1) Enormous injury has been done and is doing to the Queen by the circumstances of her *leaving the Baron behind*, and of her not even *now daring to bring him over.* I will venture to assert, that this has done her *more harm*, more real harm, than

her own lawyers, and even *more than* her *praises* of those lawyers in her answers to some recent addresses.

It appears to me, that justice, not to say faithful and ardent attachment, to her Majesty, demands an immediate *public declaration* that she *intended* to bring him, that she *wished* to bring him, and that she was with difficulty prevailed on not to do it. This declaration on your part would have a great effect. It was the *only suspicious circumstance* that ever presented itself to my mind, and, I always hoped, that what I now find to be the fact, was the fact—namely, that you, from a good, though an erroneous motive, advised her not to bring him. However, a declaration of the fact *ought now* to be made public. (2) The notification about the *non-reception of Addresses* and the abrupt, impolite, uncivil, and almost rude language and manner of it, is well calculated to *cool* the people in the Queen's cause; and that, too, at the very moment when she stands in need of all the warmth of their friendship. It has excited *great suspicions* as to her ultimate views. It has the outward appearance of a *secret compromise*, or of a desire to compromise. And, therefore, something ought immediately to be done to remove those suspicions.

I shall send this to Brandenburgh House, where I suppose you are. If I find you not there, it shall be brought back to your house in South Audley Street. You will determine for yourself; and I shall rest satisfied that I have done my duty. I am yours most faithfully,

Wm. Cobbett.

William Cobbett to Alderman Wood.

Brompton, Monday, 31 Octr., 1820.

Dear Sir,—The notice about the *non-receipt of Addresses* will be found to be a most fatal step for the Queen! We have letters from all parts of the country, complaining most bitterly of it. These two '*Vice*-Chamberlains' have made a pretty job of it. They will *drive away* her *real friends* just at the moment when she will stand in *need* of them! You know, I always said, that, if your advice ceased to prevail she was ruined. I must, in my next, say something about this fatal notification, so abrupt, impolite, uncivil, and almost *rude*. If I were in your place, I would let it be known, *that I did not advise it*. I would keep myself clear, at any rate.

They will *pass a Bill*. Depend upon *that*. Lord Grey, I am told, means to oppose it in every stage. Tierney, I am told, means to support it. Of course, there will be *some splicing of the Ministry*. The Grenvilles will come in, and Tierney and some others. The main object is to *get the Queen away*, and I think, from what I heard yesterday, that *Gell* is the channel of the intrigue!

When I wrote to you last about the expences of the Placards and Hand-Bills I find I did not include the *printing* and some of the *minor expences*. I now enclose you the whole of the account. My son is not here, and I have forgotten the sums paid by you on account.

You see what a handle they have made of the *unimpeached character* of *Barbara Cress!* Oh! These are pretty *lawyers*. Mr. Vizard has found good employment for the 30,000*l*. I dare say. He has purchased with it the sure conviction of his client!

I am most sincerely yours,

Wm. Cobbett.

P.S.—'*The Alderman* must know nothing of our case.' These words a friend of ours saw *in a note from one of the lawyers to another!* They have done their job pretty completely! I shall never forgive these rascals as long as I live.

The second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties on the 2nd of November was passed by 123 to 95 votes, a majority of twenty-eight; the third reading by 108 to 99, a majority of nine. If there was only a majority of nine in the House of Lords, where the King's influence was great, it was almost certain that the Bill would be thrown out in the Lower House. This would be equivalent to a vote of censure on the King, since it was known to all that the Bill was the result of the King's expressed desire. It was known, too, that Brougham intended, if the matter were carried further, in the interests of his client to take the offensive and carry the war into the enemy's country, and bring forward evidence to prove the King's numerous infidelities, and, if necessary, impeach his Majesty's title to the throne by proving that he had married a Roman Catholic [Mrs. Fitzherbert] while heir-apparent, and had thus, under the Act of Settlement, forfeited the Crown, 'as if he were naturally dead.' Ministers were not prepared to face these dangers, and Lord Liverpool on the 10th of November announced in the House of Lords that 'in the present state of the country, and with the division of sentiment so nearly balanced just evinced by their Lordships,' he did not propose to proceed with the Bill.

Anne Cobbett to James P. Cobbett, in New York.

11 Michael's Place, Brompton,

November 15, 1820.

My dear James,—I suppose the same vessell which carries you this will convey to the Yankees the intelligence that even in an aristocratic country, a people under even a Kingly government, may sometimes command and have their will; the greatest triumph has been gained by the People of England that ever was gained in this world. The Ministers had carried their Bill at the third reading by a majority of *nine*, but, fearing the vengeance of the people, they did not dare send it to the House of Commons, so they *gave it up*. The decision was known about *four* o'clock in the afternoon, and in less than half an hour afterwards guns were firing in all directions, the church bells ringing in all parts of the Town, and every street, and all the suburbs have been most brilliantly illuminated for the last *five* nights; every body, whether the Queen's friends or not, being compelled to light up, and the Ministers obliged to fly out of town and leave their houses filled with police officers. This is the triumph of the *people*, and they do enjoy it, I assure you. All the gentlemen's carriages are stopped and abused unless their Servants have white bows in their hats or laurel leaves. The Mail and other coaches that carried the news into the country spread it about very soon. At Winchester, where the Mail gets in at *three* in the morning, the parish officers were soon called up, all the Parsons were awaked before daylight by the ringing of the bells. Benbow (who lives opposite to where you may remember Mr. Clement lived in the Strand), and from whence has issued that which has *caused* this triumph, has two fine emblematic and appropriate transparences, and has the whole front of his house one mass of blaze. I think he ought to think *his* injuries

avenged, for I assure you Govr. says *he* is satisfied, for his own part. Every body gives *him* the credit for it, solely and undividedly. There will be a change of Ministers, but though the Whigs *want* to get in, still they seem *shy*, for they know they cannot get in unless the people help them, and in that case they know they must give *some* reform; and the Govr. says unless they do that they *shall not* come in, and if they give a *little*, the rest will soon follow. There will be another election, in that case, and then the Govr. will be got in by some means or another. At present the whole country is mad with rejoicing. It was the threat in the concluding part of the Queen's letter which frightened them, and *her* triumph is *ours*, you know, my dear Jumpy. They have gone through the mockery of trapsing the Military through the streets every night, though they knew they could not trust them, and they actually *cheered* and *waved their caps* in passing Benbow's. Papa got a coach and took us all through the Town two nights since to see the illuminations, and the spectacle was fine beyond any thing you can imagine. All the ships in the river lighted to the mast heads, processions marching with bands of music carrying busts of the Queen with the crown on her head, covered with laurels, playing God save the Queen and bearing torches; altogether the sight was such as to overcome one, at the same time that it was most particularly gratifying to *us*. . . .

William Cobbett to Lady Anne Hamilton.

Brompton, Sunday, Nov. 19, 1820.

My Lady,—I beg leave to trouble your Ladyship with a suggestion, which appears to me not unimportant. Doubtless her Majesty will soon *order a play* at one of the theatres. If so, and at Covent Garden, the Play of *Wallace*, I, with great submission, think, ought to be the Play. It is a *new Play*; the subject very apt and suitable; and the *northern* friends of her Majesty, who have been very zealous in her cause, would be greatly flattered by the selection. The author is a very young man, whose name is *Walker*, and who, and whose father (a gentleman in Sussex), have been extremely zealous and active in her Majesty's cause. The selection would be a mark of her Majesty's desire to cherish rising genius; and would undoubtedly be greatly beneficial to the author.

After stating so many and such weighty reasons to induce your Ladyship to have the goodness to recommend the thing to her Majesty, it is unnecessary for me to add (though I cannot help doing it) that the selection would be deemed a particular favour, conferred on

Your Ladyship's most obedient and most humble Servant,

Wm. Cobbett,

and the *only favour* that he ever shall ask at her Majesty's hands. Mr. Alderman Wood knows *Mr. Walker* well, and would, I am certain, heartily second the application.

John M. Cobbett to James P. Cobbett, in New York.

11 Michael's Place, Brompton,

Novr. 26, 1820.

My dear James,—I wrote to you about 2 months since, and sent my letter (a longish one), with a whole volume of writings of Nancy's,* to Mr. Smith, to be sent off by the then next opportunity; but, by some mistake or

* Nancy was the name by which her family called Anne Cobbett.

another, I have never, for a certainty, heard that the parcel reached Liverpool. I hope it did, and that it has long since been in your possession, as it may have acted, in some measure, as an atonement for my negligence in the corresponding way. Those, on your side of the water, who may have expected long letters from me must long have thought I take but a queerish method to '*congeal my friends*.'

In the letter I have alluded to above, I gave you some information respecting the state of affairs in this country; but, more particularly, I gave you an account of the Governor's situation amongst the movers in the great affair which has, from its commencement, set every thing else aside. The Trial and all other *particulars*, you will doubtless have seen from the papers. But you may not be able to extract from them the state of the public feeling and of the miserable plight of the two political factions: the Whigs and Tories. I will do what I can in drawing their cadaverous portraits.

In the first place, with one accord, the people, the whole of the people, Churchpeople, Methodists, and sectarians of all sorts, Tradesmen, *Farmers*, labourers, and *Soldiers* as much as any, had all, long ago, declared for the Queen, leaving for her enemies the King, Ministers, and all courtiers, and all parsons and Priests of every description. This, in the first place, was almost a Revolution; for the Queen is a radical, and has consequently joined all together against the Government.

Seeing that the whole public had decided *prima facie* in her favour, the Ministers saw that they must find her guilty to save themselves from the odium of mal-treating an *innocent* woman; therefore, until the last moment, they fully intended to Pass the Bill. But, the being *obliged* to drop it when it was on the eve of passing, has been more to their disgrace than it would have been had they dropped it in an earlier stage of the proceedings. And if you read the debates immediately subsequent to the trial, you will see that, it was, at last, thrown out merely from a dread of public vengeance, as a majority, certainly, of those who voted *against* the passing of the Bill, declared the Queen guilty, but said 'it was dangerous, from the state of the public mind, to press the measure any further.' A confession of mob influence which must have stuck in their Lordships' throats sometime before they could give it utterance.

There is nothing now going on; the Parliament being prorogued for two months. But the whole Government is one universally hated monster! And the ministers would willingly turn out, but those who come in must attend to the voice of the people, and all can plainly see that that voice would call, 1st for the Trial of the Ministers as Criminals, and 2ndly for a Parliamentary Reform. The Ministers stay in to save their heads, and the Whigs stay out, because they cannot perform what they *must* promise before they will be let in.

The state of things is, therefore, as you may conceive, delightful. The Governor's power is monstrous now, and they all feel it. He has pointed out their difficulties to them, and they plainly see that they can do nothing without giving the people all they want, and their stomachs are not quite brought to that yet. We send you some papers giving account of the public rejoicings. Letters could not contain half.

Papa presented two or three Addresses to the Q[ueen] one day, and has had many more every presenting day since, but he always sends a deputy. . . .

The following letter concludes the series. Written by Cobbett, and taken from the draft in his handwriting, it was sent

to the Queen, to be copied by one of her household (probably by Lady Anne Hamilton), and sent in her name to her son-in-law:

The Queen to Prince Leopold.

Brandenburgh House, 17 February, 1821.

SIR,—Her Majesty, the Queen, having duly considered the contents of the letter which I had the honour to receive from you on the 12th instant, has been pleased to command, that an answer should be returned in the following words:—

With regard to the rejection of the application of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold for a personal interview, Her Majesty would be sorry if the act alluded to were suitably described by the word *rejection*; and Her Majesty is eager to observe on this part of your letter, that, if the proposed personal interview was declined, it was solely because Her Majesty clearly saw, that it was wholly unnecessary, and that it must be painful to both parties; because if His Royal Highness were prepared to assent, there needed no explanation; and, if to announce a refusal were to be the result of the interview, that refusal would, Her Majesty naturally concluded, come with less reserve and less pain from the pen, than from the lips of His Royal Highness.

Frank herself on all occasions, Her Majesty would have preferred a statement more explicit of the grounds of His Royal Highness's present determination as well as of that determination itself. But, before remarking on these, Her Majesty would call to the recollection of His Royal Highness, that Her Majesty had, on one pretence or another, been disappointed as to every residence that she had had in view, whether the object of her own choice or pointed out by His Majesty's Ministers; that it was not, until after these numerous disappointments, that Her Majesty thought of treating for Marlborough House, having good ground for believing that His Royal Highness was anxious to remove from that mansion, and that he had actually given directions with a view to such removal; that, Her Majesty had even good grounds for believing that His Royal Highness contemplated a temporary residence abroad; that it having been rumoured, that His Majesty had objections to her occupying Marlborough House, a communication with the Earl of Liverpool took place on the subject, and that the Minister stated, that His Majesty had no communication with His Royal Highness, Prince Leopold, and declined to authorize any answer to be given.

Under these circumstances her Majesty made the purchase of the Lease of Marlborough House, which, besides other recommendations, had that of being the property of the nation, and, therefore, the more fit for a Royal Residence; and, if Her Majesty be now compelled to abandon the hope of accomplishing her purpose, the lessons which she has received in the school of affliction will teach her to bear the disappointment with fortitude.

If Her Majesty be to abandon this hope, she would, however, have preferred doing it at once on a final determination explicitly declared by His Royal Highness to being kept in suspense by allusion to circumstances and contingencies, from which allusion it is difficult to deduce even so much as the implication of a meaning. But, if the terms, in which is conveyed what Her Majesty fears must be deemed a refusal, are not entirely satisfactory to her Majesty, her Majesty can by no means disguise her complete want of satisfaction as to the alleged *grounds* of His Royal Highness's determination.

Her Majesty does not think, that obscurity of expression can, in any case,

be of real utility, and her Majesty must lament, that, in a case like the present, where the nation might finally become the umpire, and where it was, therefore, so necessary that the motives of all parties should be clearly understood; her Majesty cannot but lament, that, in a case like this His Royal Highness should not have directed the grounds of his proceedings to be stated to her Majesty in plain and simple language.

However, her Majesty is, from the tenor of the whole of the Letter, warranted in assuming, that His Royal Highness alleges, 'that he would willingly make a surrender of Marlborough House to her Majesty, but that he has a well-grounded apprehension that such surrender would occasion uneasiness, or give positive offence to the King; and that duty and every feeling of delicacy and propriety forbid him to cause such uneasiness, or give such offence.'

That this is the real meaning of His Royal Highness, Her Majesty is confident no one can question. On this statement of grounds Her Majesty has first to suggest for the consideration of His Royal Highness whether, to represent His Majesty as ready to take positive offence on such an account is the best possible way of showing delicacy and respect towards His Majesty? For her own part, Her Majesty cannot help thinking that a bare allusion to such a ground of apprehension could have been rendered endurable in the mind of His Royal Highness only by long familiarity with the history of her Majesty's persecutions, in every page of which history the world has read, that, as towards Her Majesty, nothing has been deemed indelicate, nothing unmanly.

Far be it from Her Majesty to under-rate the weight of that duty towards His Majesty, which His Royal Highness is pleased to urge as his principal motive of restraint upon this occasion. But, Her Majesty is free to confess her inability to discover any sense of *duty* which would not, in this case, have tended to an opposite result. If it be duty, as a subject, to which His Royal Highness alludes, her Majesty has never yet heard, that, in a land of freedom, the Sovereign had any controul, direct or indirect, over the disposition of private property; and her Majesty hopes, that the time will never arrive, when individuals will, in the disposal of their estates, be under any apprehensions of creating uneasiness in the breast of the Sovereign, much less of giving him positive offence. Naboth, indeed, suffered for persisting in disposing of his own Vineyard at his pleasure; but the final consequences were not such as to induce succeeding generations to believe that there is any duty in a subject towards his Sovereign, which restrains the former from freely using his own property. Besides, if the mere apprehension of giving offence to the King be a valid ground of objection with His Royal Highness, the same ground must have been good to the same or a similar end, on the part of every subject of the realm, and, then, what, how deplorable, must have been the condition of Her Majesty! If every subject had thought himself bound in duty to the King so to act towards the Queen as to give neither offence nor uneasiness to His Majesty, Her Majesty believes, that it requires little of exaggeration to conclude, that she would have [been] completely abandoned, totally bereft of every comfort, left destitute of even raiment and of food. None understands better than Englishmen their duty as subjects; none more cheerfully render that duty; but, happily for her Majesty, they have not included in that duty an abandonment of their own rights, and have entertained no apprehensions, when called upon for the exercise of kindness and humanity.

Her Majesty is aware that His Royal Highness may have in view a duty towards His Majesty of another a more tender nature. But, can it be necessary for her Majesty to remind His Royal Highness, that, as to *this*

duty, Her Majesty also has some little claim! His Royal Highness had to witness, indeed, the omission of Her Majesty's name in the superscription on the coffin of her dear daughter; but, His Royal Highness can, surely, not have adopted the opinion that a series of unjust and barbarous treatment, of however long duration, has bereft her Majesty of a right to expect from His Royal Highness every feeling of duty which, as a son-in-law, His Royal Highness owes to the King.

Her Majesty, however, strongly urged by the circumstances of the case, forbears to enter into a detail of the singular transactions, in which Her Majesty has been the cause of showers of comforts falling on others, while even the scattering drops have been so grudgingly allotted to Her Majesty; but, Her Majesty cannot refrain from expressing her belief that there must have been some moments of His Royal Highness's life when he did not anticipate his present apprehensions; and Her Majesty, having asked His Royal Highness whether, if a melancholy event had not taken place, His Royal Highness would have come to his present determination; having asked His Royal Highness what reason conscience and honour can give for his determination being different now from what it would have been if that event had not happened; having put these questions to His Royal Highness, her Majesty has nothing further to add, except an expression of her hope, that a short time for reflection may induce His Royal Highness to alter that determination, which Her Majesty cannot help believing to have been taken under apprehensions much more imaginary than real.

LEWIS MELVILLE.

THE WRITINGS AND OPINIONS OF GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BUTLER

In the preface to *Our Fathers have Told Us*, Ruskin wrote :

> A book has just been published by a British officer who, if he had not been otherwise and more actively employed, could not only have written all my books about landscape and picture, but is very singularly also of one mind with me (God knows of how few Englishmen I can now say so) on matters regarding the Queen's safety and the nation's honour.

The book which drew forth this notable tribute (*Far Out: Rovings Retold*) was published in 1880, and is now hardly procurable ; its author died last May, having in the thirty years which intervened added to his list of writings several volumes in merit equal at least to that which Ruskin spoke of, and far exceeding the earlier works by which he is chiefly known. There needs no further justification for some detailed study of Sir William Butler's literary career, but a word may be said as to why I in particular should venture to attempt it.

During the last two years of his life I had the honour to serve with him on the Commission appointed to carry out the Act establishing a National University for Ireland. Our acquaintance had begun several years earlier over the arrangements for an address which he had consented to deliver before the Irish Literary Society of London. From first to last I knew him as a soldier of high rank and higher fame, who was always ready and willing to employ his energy, his knowledge, his insight, his wide experience of men and things, for the profit of that people from whom he sprung, and among whom his remains are laid. He was Irish and Catholic in blood, in sympathy and in outlook : all of his writings are coloured by the religion and nationality of which he was unalterably proud. Yet in this double heritage there was no narrowing prepossession. Catholic, his hero was the evangelical Gordon, his intellectual masters Ruskin and Carlyle ; Irishman and Home Ruler, he was as true an Imperialist as ever served the Queen—far truer, in all sincerity of truth, than those with whom his persistent championship of the smaller and weaker nationalities

brought him into conflict. It is in this light that I propose to examine his writings, stressing chiefly such parts and passages in them as have a political and social moral. For Sir William Butler, like Ruskin an idealist, was like Ruskin also in that he used his gift of eloquent utterance, not for its own sake, but for the sake of some result towards which he hoped to direct human endeavour. And the results and endeavours with which he was most profoundly, and in his last years exclusively, concerned, were results to be achieved, endeavours to be undertaken, by Irishmen in their own country.

His writings fall into three groups, the first comprising those narratives of campaign and exploration in remote regions by which he made his name and his lasting popularity as a writer. Of these there are four volumes—two Canadian. *The Great Lone Land* and *The Wild North-West Land* appeared in 1872 and 1873 respectively, when their author was just turned of thirty. *Akimfoo, the History of a Failure*, describes his part in Sir Garnet Wolseley's Ashanti expedition of 1874. With these I place his much later volume, *The Campaign of the Cataracts*, which recounts the abortive attempt to rescue Gordon and relieve the garrisons of the Sudan. The second group consists of military biographies, and two volumes in it have a direct connexion with the two books last named. His *Life of Gordon* (in Macmillan's 'Men of Action' series) was published in 1889, four years after the tragedy of Khartoum. Ten years later, while commanding in South Africa, he published his life of Sir George Colley, whom he had known in Ashanti when Colley was in the early stage of that successful career which broke in disaster on the height of Majuba Hill. The third biography—that of Charles Napier, the conqueror of Scinde—deals largely with the Afghan problem on which Butler had written, as always, from personal experience and observation in *Far Out*.

Far Out stands first in the third group. It is a collection of miscellaneous studies, having only the unity of a single personality and point of view. To the same category belong *Naboth's Vineyard*, a volume of South African impressions written after the late war; and the latest of all his books, *The Light of the West*, published only last year and dealing mainly with Irish subjects. The exceptions are significant—a paper on *Belgian Battlefields*, written so long ago as 1865; another on Napoleon and St. Helena, dating from 1908. From the beginning to the end of his life Butler was fascinated by the mind of Napoleon, and he died without finishing (if, indeed, he ever began) a work on the history of that transcendent genius for which he had been ceaselessly collecting materials. Unwritten also, I believe, are his own projected Memoirs, to whose appearance many of us looked forward

with singularly keen interest; and I hope that the papers on which they would have been based will not be lost to the world.

My concern, however, is not with the contribution which Sir William Butler was in a position to make towards the final appraisement of a momentous episode in modern English history; it is with the mind of the man, his instincts, his allegiances, his judgments of praise and blame, and the manner in which he utilised his long gathered store of knowledge, his experience of many lands. There is a passage in the Memoirs of Charles Napier which deprecates the 'nonsense talked about "native character." It is human character modified by political and religious influence for centuries.' And Napier goes on to argue that the veteran soldier pierces more easily than other men to the bedrock characteristics, because he has not only seen many countries, but has been forced to give and take with all manner of men.

> The more liberty a man has to follow his own way, the less he knows of mankind. He may be shrewd and know much, but liberty makes him a prince; he does what he likes, and that is death to a knowledge of human nature. The soldier is always under control; he must study man, and long habit gives him tact to discover the true character.

In truth, all of us know that, while no man is narrower and less informed than the stupid officer, none is more informed, none broader in outlook, than the travelled soldier who has brought to the tasks of his life a seeing eye and an understanding sympathy. Such a soldier was Sir William Butler, and out of his ten volumes I value those which set out his opinions more than those which recount his adventures; for the adventures have an isolated interest, the judgments are of far-reaching and permanent application. Yet no one can read *The Great Lone Land,* his first and most popular book (it has gone through nearly a score of editions), without feeling the contagious delight of strong and adventurous manhood, set to travel swiftly with all the resources that power can command, but in a country where those resources are of the most primitive order; taking part in a campaign where the real opposition is not armed man but hostile nature—river, lake, morass and desert blocking the way until they can be subdued and turned into allies. It is interesting, too, to observe how even in this early work, almost pure narrative though it be, the characteristic mind of the man breaks out. In the very opening of the story is an allusion to those historical studies which from boyhood were to him 'a delightful pastime' rather than a task. A little further one strikes the central preoccupation of all his thought—how a State should keep up for itself the supply of men fit to be soldiers —and of the women who will breed them. The ship that carries him from Queenstown carries away also its quota of the very flower of Ireland's young men and young women—a loss irrepar-

able to Ireland, irreparable also to the Empire of which, to his thinking, Ireland should be a prosperous and healthy part. The land and the dwellers on the land, not the towns and the dwellers in towns—that, to the mind of this Irishman, this soldier, should be the supreme concern of the State. And—Irishman in this also—from the first his feeling is on the side of the small nationalities against the great ones, his sympathies are with the indigenous race. Though he heaps ridicule on the personality of Louis Riel, leader of the Red River insurrection (ridicule which perhaps in his later years would not have come so glibly), he can see the case for the half-breed trappers who found themselves menaced in their traditional way of life and livelihood; and again and again he pleads for justice to the character of the native Indians as against the faithlessness and wanton cruelty of what is called advancing civilisation.

I need not dwell on this and the other records of campaigning further than to note how each is in some way part of the tribute which this Irish soldier paid to the leader who was, in his abiding judgment, the best soldier of his race and time—that other Irishman, Lord Wolseley. Passing to the biographies, how significant it is—and how Irish—that the lives which Sir William Butler chose for his study and panegyric were not the lives of lucky men. Colley's brilliant existence ended in a tragic failure; and his biographer's unmatched gift for vividly recounting some effort of man to grapple with and surmount difficulties and obstacles made by nature as well as by man was never more finely employed than in the description of that series of operations which ended on the Majuba heights. He shows how Colley's tactical gift succeeded by one carefully planned and daringly executed stroke in turning the Boer position: how the commanding eminence was occupied in a night march, which in the narration one follows breathlessly; and then, in the pages which show how, by human failure among Colley's troops, and by extraordinary address and courage displayed by the enemy, this momentary triumph was turned into defeat, there is paid the only fitting tribute to the General who met death unflinchingly, front to front, on the ground of his disaster. Evidently the part of Colley's career which gave him a heroic value to his biographer was his undaunted resolution after the two preliminary reverses at Laing's Nek and the Ingogo—his almost successful recovery from the very pit of failure. Elsewhere in the book, sympathy between the writer and his subject is imperfect. Colley, Irishman though he also was, approached too nearly to the type of the official mind for Butler's liking. Had it been otherwise, the story of his life would not have recounted a career followed rapidly from advancement to advancement without one check, without those heartburnings from enforced idleness

which preyed (and will prey) upon such men as the other two of Butler's heroes—Charles Napier and Charles Gordon.

There is no need to dwell here upon the study of Napier. It is —and it could be no other—merely a condensation of one of the most inspiring books in any language: the life written by the historian of the Peninsular War, but consisting mainly in extracts from Charles Napier's own journals and letters. Point by point Sir William Butler shares the Napier sympathies. Like them he was a worshipper of Napoleon; like them he was temperamentally and at all times for France and against Germany (the fundamental division of European sympathies); like them he was a dear lover of adventure and of military glory. But above all, like them he was a liberal in politics—I use the word without Party connotation, for the liberal finds himself against a Liberal Government scarcely less often than against a Tory. It would be truer to say that the opposition against which Napier and Gordon and Butler all flung themselves was not that of statesmen, Liberal or Tory, but of what Butler in his life of Gordon calls 'the permanent Government of England.' I quote his very remarkable observation on this head:

> The meaning of the term 'permanent' Government in England may appear strange; but there is a Government of England, and a very powerful one, too, which is always in office—a Government that has no more relation to the will of the majority of the people of England than it has to the wishes of the people of Van Diemen's Land. In every public office, in the army and navy, in the countless departments of the State, this permanent Conservative Government is entrenched, and if any person cares to study why a Liberal Executive seems to have a confirmed habit of ill-fortune almost always attached to its policy, when that policy lies outside its direct relation with the people of England, he will find the real reason of such mishaps in the antagonism ever existing between the passing Liberal Executive Administration and the permanent Official Conservative Government that lies beneath it. If the Administration of the United States knows no such habit of ill-fortune, it is because the wisdom of its founders took measures to ensure that the American Executive and its servants should be always working in the harmony of a common purpose.

The essential characteristic of this permanent Government, embodying the official mind, is abiding concern for what in foreign relations is called prestige, in domestic the dignity of the law. The abiding concern of men like Napier and Gordon is not for prestige or for law, but for honour and for justice. When agitation and discontent exist among subjects, the tendency of men like Napier and like Gordon is to ask: What is amiss with the law; what is amiss with administration? The tendency of the official mind is to say: Punish first and inquire at a more convenient season. The tendency of the official mind when arraigned for inequitable dealings with some weaker Power is to affirm that

prestige would suffer if admission were made that the superior State's action had or could have been less than just. The tendency of men like Napier and like Gordon is to right injustice for the sake of honour. The life of such men is one long and bitter struggle, and the revenge which the permanent Government wreaks upon them is to keep them out of employment. Both Napier and Gordon got the name of being bad subordinates. Why? Because of their inability to conform to the official mind, their persistent and outspoken denunciation of wrong whenever and wherever they met it.

To be on the side of the weak, however glowing and brilliant and easy it may seem in the pages of a novel or on the boards of a theatre, is in real life, and especially in official real life, the very hardest, most unromantic, unpatriotic, unfriendly, and generally unpleasant task that human existence can bring upon its creatures.

So Butler wrote in 1889 of Gordon; his own later experience exemplified the text. Napier was less unlucky than Gordon; and Butler does not hesitate to make plain that Napier's tardy success was not won without some sacrifice of principle. Looking back on the fierce controversy which sundered the victor of Meeanee from the man whom Napier himself called the 'Bayard of British India,' Sir William Butler awards the right to Outram, holding that Napier in his dealings with the Scindian Ameers was unconsciously swayed by the desire for military opportunities—that 'longing to try my hand with an army in the field' which, he himself wrote in his journal, was 'a temptation not to be described.' His critic does full justice to those high motives which coloured and masked the temptation—Napier's perception of the Ameers' misgovernment, his visions of a noble order that wiser rule might educe from that chaos. Yet the summing up is clearly given.

Love of glory, hatred of oppression, these two potent factors in the story of his life called him to the field: *he forgot that it is possible to be unjust even to injustice*, and that if there were no criminals there need be no mercy.

This is the one reservation in Butler's praise of the old knight-errant. In his praise of Gordon, that other paladin—knightlier he could not be, yet, in that he had no tie of wife or child, more utterly errant, the very Quixote of his age—Butler makes no reservation at all. And in a special aspect, to this Catholic, deep-rooted in his religion, Gordon stands nearer than Napier, for whom a sense of honour and justice was the only revelation. Gordon is not merely the hero, but the Christian hero.

Absolutely without a parallel in our modern life, Gordon stands out the foremost man of action of our time and nation, whose ruling principle was faith and good works. No gloomy faith, no exalted sense of self-confidence, no mocking of the belief of others, no separation of his sense of God from the everyday work to which his hand has to be put; no leaving of

religion at the church-door, as a garb to be put on going in and taken off coming out; but a faith which was a living, moving, genial reality with him, present always and everywhere, shining out in every act of his life, growing and strengthening as the years roll on, filling the desert with thought and lighting the gloom of tropical forest, until at last it enables him to sit quietly and alone, watching with light heart and pleasant jest the great cloud drawing nearer in which his life is to go down, but which to us is to make his name an unsetting sun in the firmament of memory.

In a notable passage later on I find the biographer's orthodoxy justifying itself against Gordon's admission that he found it hard to believe in a place of future punishment. Butler writes:

You catch the common robber, or the man who steals, perhaps through starvation, penury, or through knowing no better, and you imprison him for years or for life; and is the rich usurer who has wrung the widow's farthing from her, is the fraudulent banker, is the unjust judge, is the cruel spoiler of war to pass from a world that in millions and millions of cases gave them wealth and honours and stars and garters instead of ropes and bars and gallows, to go forthwith to free pardon, to everlasting light, and endless rest beyond the grave? It would indeed be strange justice that meted to Jude and Judas the same measure of mercy in the final judgment.

I have quoted these lines partly to illustrate the strict Catholic attitude of his mind, but also as an example (in the last sentence) of those ingenious antitheses which he used with growing delight till they became almost a mannerism. But to show this master of lofty eloquence at his highest and most characteristic expression let me take from the closing pages of this his finest book:

Thus fell in dark hour of defeat a man as unselfish as Sidney, of courage dauntless as Wolfe, of honour stainless as Outram, of sympathy wide-reaching as Drummond, of honesty straightforward as Napier, of faith as steadfast as More. Doubtful indeed is it if anywhere in the past we shall find figure of knight or soldier to equal him, for sometimes it is the sword of death that gives to life its real knighthood, and too often the soldier's end is unworthy of his knightly life; but with Gordon the harmony of life and death was complete, and the closing scenes seem to move to their fulfilment in solemn hush, as though an unseen power watched over the sequence of their sorrow.

Not by the blind hazard of chance was this great tragedy consummated; not by the discord of men or from the vague opposition of physical obstacle, by fault of route or length of delay, was help denied to him. The picture of a wonderful life had to be made perfect by heroic death. The moral had to be cut deep, and written red, and hung high, so that its lesson could be seen by all men above strife and doubt and discord. Nay, the very setting of the final scenes has to be wrought out in such contrast of colour that the dullest eye shall be able to read the meaning of it all. For many a year back this soldier's life has been a protest against our most cherished teaching. Faith is weakness, we have said. He will show us it is strength. Reward is the right of service. Publicity is true fame. Let us go into action with a newspaper correspondent riding at our elbow, or sitting in the cabin of the ship, has been our practice. He has told us that the race should be for honour, not for 'honours,' that we should 'give away our medal,' and that courage and humility, mercy and strength, should march hand in hand together. For many a year we have had no room for him in our councils. Our armies

knew him not; and it was only in semi-savage lands and in the service of remote empires he could find scope for his genius. Now our councils will be shamed in his service, and our armies will find no footing in our efforts to reach him. We have said that the Providence of God was only a calculation of chances; now for eleven months the amazing spectacle will be presented to the world of this solitary soldier standing at bay, within thirty days' travel of the centre of Empire, while the most powerful kingdom on the earth—the nation whose wealth is as the sands of the sea, whose boast is that the sun never sets upon its dominions—is unable to reach him—saving, *he* does not want—but is unable to reach him even with one message of regret for past forgetfulness.

No; there is something more in all this than mistake of Executive, or strife of party, or error of Cabinet, or fault of men can explain. The purpose of this life that has been, the lesson of this death that must be, is vaster and deeper than these things. The decrees of God are as fixed to-day as they were two thousand years ago, but they can be worked to their conclusion by the weakness of men as well as by the strength of angels.

That does not complete the stately conclusion, which is in truth a peroration. Writing with Sir William Butler lay very close to speaking—at its least careful moments to the talk of a constantly picturesque talker, at its finest to the utterance of an inspired orator. The transitions from one mood to the other mar somewhat the unity of style, and here and there results a jar to the fastidious sense; even in the noble passage which I have just quoted, the sentences about publicity are out of key in the coldness of print; they could only be brought into harmony by play of the voice. And I think that by temperament Butler was orator rather than writer, and that the very best of his work can be found in papers written for oral delivery.

For this he had extraordinary natural advantages. Very tall and erect, the smallness and symmetry of his head increased the effect of his stature. I have never seen a man more finely made—that long-limbed South of Ireland build which combines strength with swiftness, and lends itself alike to horsemanship or running and leaping. Naturally, when I knew him all this was stiffened into stateliness, but the lines were not obliterated. He wore a very slight moustache and the old-fashioned patches of white whisker not reaching below the ears. His voice was resonant as a trumpet yet without harshness; it was full of dignified and restrained emphasis. No one was ever more easy to hear, few more easy to listen to.

Men do best that which comes most natural to them; and I think the essay, the address, with its shorter limit, came easier to Sir William Butler than the book. Ruskin's praise was elicited, not by the many editioned travels, but by the volume of detached papers—records of rovings which extended from Afghanistan to California, from the Rocky Mountains to Zululand and Kimberley. Nor were those rovings only in savage lands; the passage which

Ruskin chooses for quotation is an impression of the Levant, emphasising the fact that whereas the Anglo-Saxon, extreme type of the West, is shamefaced about his own prayers, and contemptuous of other people's, in the East all men pray openly, and each is reverent to each other's worship. Again, to illustrate Butler's close interest in European politics, and his full-stored historic imagination, I would refer to a brilliant page contrasting the Malta of the Knights which said to the Turks, 'No further westward,' and the Malta of 1878, when Malta was the true bastion and defence of the Turks' hold on Constantinople. To this soldier-scholar the present was always illuminated (often luridly enough) by the past. He deals again and again with the record of recent 'little wars,' in which often he has not known 'whom to pity most, the black man hunted out of his land and life, or the white ratepayer whose pocket was being so freely bled.' But if the occurrences are recent, the story is to him an old one, that comes home to himself.

> Between the Irish wars of Elizabeth's captains and the wars waged against natives in South Africa there is only the difference of breech-loaders and rifled ordnance: civilisation is alone traceable in the greater range of the projectile and the increased power of the explosive.

The summing up of his judgment on England in a matter upon which the English tend to pride themselves peculiarly may be given here:

> The truth is, the Anglo-Saxon race has spread itself, but cannot impart to others its Christianity or its civilisation. We can only do what the Dane, the Saxon, the Frank or the Goth could. The work of the Greek or the Roman is beyond our power, and the reason for our incessant failure is quite obvious. We will not take, as the Romans took, the best strings of native character and play our tune of civilisation and progress on them; but we must invariably take our own mould and proceed to run into it whatever type of national character we come into contact with. We cannot train or teach; we can only multiply and spread. If we conquer a nation, we must either destroy it or fail to govern it.

Observe, he says 'we.' And, for all his censure of English history, his advice to Ireland, as I shall have to show, was to take a lesson from the English. In truth, he evidently looked to Ireland and England as fitted to complement each other spiritually and materially, physically and morally. His point of view is always the soldier's; and most important of all his essays in this earlier volume is that called 'A Plea for the Peasant,' whose purpose is to stress 'the intimate union existing between the land, the peasant, and the soldier in all modern countries.' Butler did not believe that any nation could be defended by a slum-bred population. 'The cradle of an army is the cottage of the peasant.' Liberal though he was (as Garibaldi was a

Liberal), he saw no impeachment to Liberalism in enforcing military service upon those fit for it. But if it was the right of the State to exact such service from such men, it was to him a supreme duty of the State to make it the interest of the subject to render service.

Conscription as it is practised in Europe is nothing more than a tax laid equally upon all classes, falling chiefly, by reason of their numbers, upon the peasant proprietors of the soil, who in paying it feel that they are the persons most interested in its continuance. In fact, it may be laid down as a rule that conscription can only become a permanent success in a country where the chief part of the population is settled permanently upon the soil. The weaver, the carpenter, the miner can carry their respective avocations to New York, to Montreal, or to Melbourne, and pursue them to better advantage even than they did in England; but the man once settled upon the soil—the peasant, the owner, or even the tenant-owner of ten, twenty or fifty acres—is a fixture. The State has given to him something more tangible than a name, and the hostage for his service in return lies in the land he calls his own.

'The land he calls his own.' The paper opens by recounting the work of Stein, who from the day of Jena set Germany to that task of building up a military system based upon the principle of peasant ownership; it passes on to show, by detailed figures, how, in the wars when British infantry established for itself its proudest record, the brawn and sinew of England's armies was furnished by the peasantry, first of Scotland and then, when that supply failed, of Catholic Ireland. And the reason why the supply failed, that is also shown. Clearances in Scotland began when owners of land thought it their private interest to substitute cattle for human beings; and English statecraft, sedulous alone for the interests of property, let the process go on.

Nay, the very war in which so many of their sons were bearing part was indirectly the cause of the expulsion of the Highlanders from their homes. Sheep and oxen became of unprecedented value through the increased demand for food supplies, and the cottage beneath whose roof-tree half a dozen soldier sons had sprung to life had to give place to a waste wherein a Highland ox could browse in freedom.

If in Ireland the same process was not carried out to the same perfection of result, the only reason, said this observer (writing in 1878), lay in the desperate and lawless resistance offered by Irish peasants to the forces of the law. Yet in Ireland also the depopulating agencies worked only too well, and in 1907 Butler (speaking to a society in Cork) has still the same moral to enforce.

I do not know whether these words of mine will reach the ears of any among those great ones whose business it is to administer the only real balance in the only real Bank of England, the rank and file of the British Army; but I can assure these eminent persons (and the assurance comes from the knowledge which fifty years of seeing, hearing, living with, and reading about the subject have given me)—I can assure those eminent gentlemen that the best soldier ever given to any nation was the Irish peasant; and

I can also tell them that in pulling down the cabins of those peasants, be they Irish or Scotch (the English peasant disappeared three hundred years ago), more was done to weaken the strength of the Empire, to sap the fighting power of the army, and to introduce novel factors into our military history than any enemy of England had ever succeeded in accomplishing in quite the previous one hundred years of history.

I have one more quotation to make on this subject from the earlier essay—the concluding words of the 'Plea for the Peasant':

Fortunate will it be if, in that hour when first the nation finds that there is a strength of nations greater than the loom and the steam-engine—a wealth of nations richer even than revenue—fortunate will it be for us if then there should arise another Stein to plant once more the people upon the soil they have so long been divorced from, and to sow in Scottish glen, on English wold and in Irish valley the seed from which even a greater Britain might yet arise.

And upon that I have only one observation to make. When a motion was introduced last year in the House of Lords advocating compulsory military service, Lord Lansdowne, speaking against it, alleged as one grave reason for his opposition the fact that such a measure must apply to Ireland as well as to Great Britain. The reason against teaching your population to bear arms is that under the Union that operation must be extended to the one part of their kingdom where peasant ownership is an existing fact.

Sufficient indication has been given of the Imperial interest which General Butler believed that he could serve by serving Ireland. In dealing finally with his latest book, *The Light of the West*—a book published in Dublin, and to my thinking strangely neglected by English readers and critics—I shall have merely to dwell upon his more immediate preoccupation, which was, in the last analysis, to consider how Ireland could be made more populous, more prosperous, and more happy. Yet here also there was a double object of aspiration: in serving Ireland he would also serve Catholicism. The first paper, which gives its name to the volume, is a study of the life of St. Patrick—a fervent description of that germinal process by which the seed, flung outwards from the centre along the skirts and fringes of Rome's Empire, was wafted, even in the wind of conquering armies and along the wake of plundering galleys, from Gaul into Britain, from Britain into Ireland, where, rooting itself inextricably in the soil, it grew like the very grass; until in the long progress of the ages, when Ireland's people flooded across the Atlantic, it was carried with them (often their one possession) and there also established itself—'the Church of St. Patrick.'

And if [says the writer] there be in the great life beyond the grave a morning trumpet note to sound the reveille of the army of the dead, glorious indeed must be the muster answering from the tombs of fourteen centuries to the Summons of the Apostle of the Gaels.

With that sole and supreme triumph of the Irish people—with the history of a religion maintained in despite of ceaseless persecution, in contempt of every imaginable bribe—Butler could fully identify himself. Gael he was not, but he came from one of the oldest and greatest among those Norman families who interpenetrated the whole life of Ireland and dominated it from within. He brought to the understanding of Irish history and Irish life the two essential sympathies, racial and religious; and nothing has ever been written, in my judgment, more fit to illuminate the past and the present for Englishmen and Irishmen than some of the papers in this little-known book. I summarise one leading line of thought.

Of any conceivable object or set of facts there are at least two distinct points of view; and the English and Irish view-points are 'geographically and fundamentally different.' 'The root-idea in Ireland has always been the land and what the land produced, be it corn or cattle.' Out of this grew the clan or tribe system.

> The Saxon or English root-idea has been the boat and the boat's crew. . . . Out of this grew a community which has developed the habits, the discipline, and the instincts of the crew of a boat into the habits, discipline, and instincts of the inhabitants of a town, changing the rude methods of plunder by force into the modern systems of acquisition by trade and commerce. The captain and the boat's crew have given place to the mayor and the corporation.

The Norman conquest was accomplished 'with comparative ease and acceptation' because the Normans—Latinised Norsemen, civilising conquerors—in conquering Ireland adopted Irish ideas and 'recognised the right of the clans to the possession of what I would call the three L's—their laws, their language, and their lands.' The second conquest, begun under Elizabeth, consummated by Cromwell, and ratified under the Stuarts, was 'the Boat's Crew policy brought back again, the system of the sea pirate against the land peasant.' Under the Plantagenets, Irish builders developed and perfected that skill which existed already in pre-Norman days. Under the Tudors and Cromwell the destructive work of the Danish invaders was done afresh. Its fruit is seen in what Butler calls 'the one ever-present object in Irish landscape,' the ruin. How much has been broken, how little and how meanly rebuilt since the second conquest, the most careless traveller can see. But it needs the historian to tell him of that other and far more important edifice which was shattered and not replaced—the fabric of society.

The Norman nobles—Fitzgeralds, Butlers, and the rest—grafted themselves in upon the hereditary princedoms of Ireland, enriching even where they were usurpers. In their time was begun the process of replacing tribal tenure by individual possession. 'The change from chief to landlord, from clansman to

tenant, has not been willingly accepted' (in Ireland or elsewhere) 'even when chieftainship and landlordism have been but different titles in the same family.' But in Ireland, when the seven or eight generations of exterminating war were concluded, which began under Elizabeth with the wars of the O'Neills and the Desmond rising and ended only under William of Orange, where were the hereditary chiefs?

At last there was peace, the peasants stood face to face with the new tenure; but the old leaders, the gentlemen who might have rendered the transition possible, who might have been accepted as landlords by the people over whom they had ruled as chiefs, had wholly vanished from the scene.

And just as on the fringes of civilisation Butler found in fatal juxtaposition (I quote the preface to *Far Out*) 'the white man who has never had a servant and the black man who has never known a master,' so in Ireland the new dispenser of destiny for the Celtic peasant was no noble with hereditary traditions of rule, but this or that 'adventurer,' Elizabethan or Cromwellian, *eo immitior quia toleraverat*, like the centurion promoted to be emperor.

This 'new race of men, alien in nationality, hostile in faith, opposite in sentiment to the people beneath them,' were for two centuries 'the English garrison.' Within our own lifetime the Irish peasant has shaken off their mastery, and is now in great measure free to shape the future for himself. What, then, is General Butler's advice to the occupying owner of the soil of Ireland—the representative of the clansmen?

It is this. 'Use your enemies instead of being content to abuse them.' Copy the boat's crew, who cut you out in every walk of life because they have learnt to pull together. Stop emigration, that ceaseless drain which is leaving the heart of Ireland bloodless; you can do so only by working the land now you have got it; there is no time or money to spare for race meetings and backing horses. In amplifying these exhortations he has pungent things to say to his fellow-countrymen:

I know nothing so heart-breaking in Ireland to-day as the waste which one is compelled to witness on so many sides: waste of crops and pasture, waste of wood and weed, waste through briar, nettle and thistle, waste through bog and mountain, waste of farm implements left out to rust in the rains of winter—all over the land.

One thing I do not see wasted—it is drink. I often come upon the butt of a haycock rotting in a field; but I have never heard that anybody found anything in the bottom of a discarded whiskey bottle.

I travel about a good deal, and often get strange sidelights on men and things. I met a man the other day on his way to a fair. 'How is the price of stock?' I asked. 'High,' he answered. 'That ought to bring money into the country,' I said. 'There's no money in the country,' he replied; 'it runs out as quick as it comes in.' 'Porter,' I said, inquiringly. 'Yes,' he answered, 'and divershun and women's hats. Look here,' he went on, pointing his stick to Galtee More, which was out

in his morning majesty, clear of cloud, 'if you were to put a public-house on top of that mountain to-morrow there would be a road up to it the day after.' Ah, my lord, if we could only get as much public spirit into the land as we have public-house spirit in it I believe we would be the most prosperous people in the wide world.

Such things can be said to Ireland with acceptation only by one who can recognise and point (as Butler did) to 'that long and dark succession of events historical, political, religious and social which for fully four hundred years have cast upon Ireland a shadow that could pass at the first rising of the sun of justice above her horizon'; who can see that even the first beams find Ireland 'dazed and bewildered in the new-born daylight, scarce knowing whither to turn in this her fresh-found dawn of freedom.' They were said, too, by one who did not limit himself to pointing out the evil; he laboured after the remedy—education. Living some four hours distant from Dublin (in his own Tipperary, within the famous Glen of Aherlow), he journeyed up every fortnight to attend long sittings of the National Board which regulates the primary schools. Of the University Commission, where I served with him, he never missed a meeting, patiently attending through days spent in discussion of often wearisome and unfamiliar detail. This devotion to duty seemed to me all the more noteworthy because certainly his last years were shadowed with something of age's pessimism; and in his admiration of those 'bright eager faces, lit with the wonderful hope of childhood speaking and sparkling in every feature' of which he writes, there was more of pity than of pleasure, pity for the disillusionment that life in Ireland under its present development must, he thought, almost inevitably bring to them.[1]

In politics, his view on the governing question is sufficiently avowed in his fine study of Parnell, reprinted in *The Light of the West*. Mr. Redmond inherited the friendship and warm personal support which he had given to the great leader, and at the last election General Butler wrote a special message of approval and encouragement to one of the younger men, who, brought up in landlord traditions, was now coming forward as a Nationalist candidate. But he would take no partisan action in politics; he was, he said, for all Irishmen.

And the Irishman whom he had in his mind was always really the Irishman living by the land or by some activity closely connected with it. The memory which, among all my memories of walks and talks with him, stands out as most vivid and most typical, pictures him standing at a gate in an old wall near Dublin, and while we waited for a tram pointing to the excellent rough-casting

[1] I never knew him discuss this ceaselessly recurring question of primary education without enthusiastic expression of friendship and admiration for Dr. Starkie, the Resident Commissioner.

of the stone wall. 'When I was young,' he said, 'the country was full of men who knew, by inherited tradition, the proper ways of doing that work; now, none but a mason could do it, and he would do it badly. The country's life used to turn out peasants who could put their hand knowledgeably to a dozen different jobs; now they do not know even the ordinary work of a labourer.' I differed from him and quoted instances of men I had employed, who, while doing their own work excellently, were always ready to attempt things that lay properly outside it—repair of machinery and the like—and were generally successful by sheer natural intelligence. 'Yes,' he said, 'that is true; when you get a good Irishman you get the most useful man in the world.'

And it seems to me, looking back on him there, with his tall, handsome, athletic figure, his versatility of talent, his courage, his ceaseless spring of enterprising activity, his companionable charm, and his power even to the last of assimilating a wholly new interest and of facing new problems, that he himself was a magnificent illustration of the proposition he laid down.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF DIVORCE

'Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath,' so runs the legend on the leaden casket bequeathed to us by our greatest poet. Thoughtful people are everywhere awaiting the report of the Divorce Commission, which is to give us the new device of the twentieth century. Few Royal Commissions have excited so much interest among women of all classes. The evidence has been read day by day by rich women and poor women alike; if they are impressed by the earnestness and sincerity of the witnesses, they are as much bewildered by the diversity of views and judgments. The tendency of the evidence seems to branch off into three channels:

(1) For the practical extension of divorce to the working-classes by simplification of procedure and reduction of cost.

(2) The equalisation of the causes for which divorce may be obtained as between the sexes.

(3) The extension of the causes which may entitle to divorce; several have been suggested, of which insanity and alcoholism, in their incurable forms, seem to be pre-eminent.

Many women regret that in a matter which so nearly concerns every woman in the kingdom, women were not more largely represented on the Commission. We might well have had a Roman Catholic and a High Anglican, a Quakeress as well as a Presbyterian. We should have liked to see a working-woman and a working-man's wife, an anti-suffragist as well as a suffragist, a Socialist with a member of the Primrose League. An equal number of women to the men would have been none too many if it had been desired to obtain the views of the mass of women and of the workers.

Every little child in the community has a right to a father and a mother, to the gentle care and sympathy of the one, and to the love and more bracing and strenuous influence of the other parent. For not all the schools, homes, crèches, and other philanthropic institutions can make up to a child for the loss of a home with a good father and mother in it. If it is of supreme importance to raise and protect the position of woman in marriage; it is a national

question, second to none, to secure for the children of our country a worthy upbringing by worthy parents. To ensure a heritage of sound health, to give the little ones the advantages of the right home influence, with a good education to follow, might well tax and occupy all our churches, chapels, and scientific bodies for many a long year to come. The susceptibilities of the individual in wedlock sink into comparative insignificance beside the great fundamental problem of the welfare of the children. The family, too, as the unit of the social organism, has a duty to society too often completely ignored. These things have been allowed too much and too long to take care of themselves. Perhaps there is nothing which would raise and dignify the tone of marriage more completely than the insistence on the social obligation of the family, as contrasted with the purely individual standpoint which is commonly accepted.

Lady MacLaren, in her *Woman's Charter*, urges that the State shall insist upon a new, or at all events a reformed, up-to-date Church of England marriage service. But no Church worthy of the name could accept a State dictation—if reformation be in truth needed it must come from within—though it would seem inevitable that a marriage service must be kept in touch with realities. The reference to an ancient polygamous society can have little value for the modern bride and bridegroom, while it is something of a scandal that the marriage service is now notoriously mutilated. The bride issues her fiat of what she will, and will not accept, and finds it easy to get her alterations made to suit her. It comes to this, that no two marriage service celebrations are quite alike, and the original is rarely heard. There is no insistence on any pledge of love and duty to possible children, nor of social obligation.

I was privileged the other day to hear the views of a clever and most excellent working-woman—herself, wife, mother, and grandmother. I condense here what she said :

> Our people don't make such a fuss about little things in marriage as the gentry do. A woman takes a man for better or worse, very often 'tis for worse. But we never give up. Drink is our worst enemy, but a man may come out of his drink ; the woman's got to think of the children. We rather despise divorce ; 'tis a bad business when you've got it, and generally means lower and lower down, it dòn't stop there. We think the gentry don't do so well in their married lives as we do. Look at the poor man's wife with a handful of children, she's a wonder ! Divorce has always been impossible for us because of the expense ; if things get too bad we separate.

One law for the rich and another for the poor is not righteous or possible, but we do not think that there is any demand for divorce from the workers nor that it will be popular with them, in spite of their long endurances. All honour to them !

I knew intimately a working-woman who married an excellent fellow and was a most happy wife and mother. Her husband became afflicted with an obscure form of brain disease and had to go to a public asylum. The wife about that time inherited a legacy of two or three hundred pounds, and I thought, in my wisdom, to advise her to keep it for the children, as she could look for no further help from her husband. But she showed me a better way. She should go on every visiting day, she said, to see her husband: he should have every luxury and indulgence that the rules permitted; she should put by enough money for his burial, and keep all the rest for the years of sickness that might lie before him. 'His children shall see what I thought of their father. I have arms to work, and the children will do very well.' And so it was. She cleaned and scrubbed for 12*s.* a week; the sick man lived a few years, the money was all spent upon him. The children have grown to be a credit to their mother, and are doing good work in the world. Are we to encourage men and women to cast off the partner who has fallen wounded by the way, to be cared for in public institutions or by the good Samaritans of the world, while they, forgetful, start off on a fresh quest of pleasure and interest? It cannot be.

In certain Scandinavian countries the ties that bind married couples are of the slightest, if the following story may be taken as typical. I was writing letters one morning when a card was brought to me with a long German letter, at the end of which I discovered the name and style of my visitor, the eminent Professor ——. An old and venerable-looking man, with long white hair, came into the room, followed by an old lady, his wife, also white-haired. We began to talk, and by-and-by the Professor, turning to his wife, said, 'You remember, my dear, it was the day we dined at ——, and your late husband took you in to dinner.' I gave a little jump, but bethought myself that they had not mastered the use of the word 'late' in English. In a short while, however, the wife said, 'You know, dear, when we go to your late wife's garden.' I then could be under no misapprehension. I ascertained when they were gone that both husband and wife had divorced their previous partners for political or religious differences, but were in the habit of meeting them. Since then the Professor, despite his white locks, has divorced the lady he brought to see me, and has married again—a young girl this time. A story goes that a husband and wife sitting down to bridge one evening at a friend's house found themselves playing with their 'late' wife and husband! Not an impossible situation in a matrimonial game of 'General Post.'

A young Scandinavian, coming one day to call, told me that after his long absence he should spend Christmas with his mother,

the new year with his father and 'Madame.' In such a polygamous society the family cannot be said to exist. What effect does it have on the children?

The American Minister, Mr. Lowell, many years ago, was wont to declare that one of the greatest dangers that threatened America was the laxness of the divorce laws. 'We have got to change all that, and we shall change it,' he used to say. It would be strange if when a reform of this kind is proceeding in America we should be pressed in the old country to extend divorce for mere inclination's sake!

In the decline of ancient Rome, when divorce was made easy and accessible to all, there was a complete break up of the family, with great laxity of moral life. We know that Christianity attacked these evils, smiting with unsparing hand, finally establishing a new and purer order. Roman divorce under the Empire has been recently compared to divorce in the modern world in America for the insouciance with which it was sought and the ease with which it could be obtained. May not the moral health of a community be gauged by the respect in which marriage and the family are held?

No consideration of the law of divorce can be of real value without a study of the laws affecting marriage in other countries in Europe and in America. Mr. Mesnil, speaking to the Commission, told of how more than 200 divorces had been decreed in a single day at the Tribunal of the Seine. What, we may ask, happens to all these discarded partners? Do they do better in their next attempts, or do they become mere wreckers to devour other lives in turn? How do the women fare as compared with the men? A sequel-history of these '*divorcés*' would be interesting and instructive.

The result of a constant change and shuffle of marriage partners must be a great blow to family life and a permanent injury to the children. In all such cases the children are deprived of a father or a mother. In the case of re-marriage after divorce a child may have his own mother and a step-mother at one and the same time, or two fathers in the same way. And whereas under separation the child has to realise that his parents no longer live together, that one has caused pain to the other—has perhaps wronged the other; under divorce and re-marriage the child has to realise the wrong, and to realise also that after all it has not hurt much. He is not likely to approve of the substituted parent, and his sympathies will almost certainly go out to 'poor papa' or 'poor mama' left in the cold, who might have been forgiven, and who, although the real culprit, has probably been kind to him, has probably loved him. M. Bourget, in his most interesting book

On Divorce, has presented such a case with his customary skill and ability. Again we ask, What of the children?

In setting forth these considerations we by no means intend to suggest that the marriage law is without blots and anomalies, or that marriage itself does not need to be infused with a new spirit, with a greater sense of civic responsibility, with a larger sympathy, a deeper sense of parental duty, a more reverential love and tenderness to the partner in the bond. A higher morality inside as well as outside marriage has to be evolved, nay, in spite of appearances, is being evolved day by day.

Meantime, to plain folk it appears that a few alterations in the marriage code might be made to adjust things more fairly, and yet not greatly disturb existing conditions. Where one or the other turns marriage into a sorry farce, as by the wife's action in the 'Jackson' case, it would seem possible to annul a marriage, which has never taken place, so as to prevent the defaulting partner from taking any profit under possible marriage settlements, which should also be annulled. Should a wife be allowed costs against her husband when the suit is discovered to have no *bona fide* character of grievance? Again the meaning of cruelty might be more definitely defined. Wicked and slanderous public accusations by man or wife against the other are a very definite and special form of cruelty, while there are many other forms of cruelty, apart from personal violence, which are not beyond the skill of the law to recognise. 'Deliberately to cause suffering' has been suggested as a possible definition. It would not be necessary to go so far as the court in America, which, the story goes, found a man guilty of cruelty for not speaking to his wife at breakfast.

The Eugenists have a message to the modern world which is making itself heard, of the duty of parents to the unborn, to the new generation. Many good and conscientious persons may suffer with the new duty, as it may appear, of denying themselves marriage where there is hereditary blot, whether mental or physical. But is it quite certain that this must be so? Are there not many happy marriages without children? Why should not men and women marry who are resolute against a family but who love one another? Why should there be sad, lonely individuals who might find in marriage the highest happiness and usefulness? A counsel not, perhaps, for the very young, but for the mature, who realise the difference between love and passion.

We are persuaded that in any loosening of the marriage tie women must lose infinitely more than they can gain, and immeasurably more than men. The marriage laws, with all their shortcomings and defects, have been designed and instituted in the interests of Woman: to give her protection, materially, and raise

her to a position of dignity in the family. I am well aware that this is not a popular view, but I think any impartial student must come to this conclusion. That there are failures in married life is not wonderful, for human beings are often selfish, and always imperfect. Easy divorce will make every failure more complete, each rupture more definite. The removal of all stigma from the public avowal of failure and the search for release will benefit the guilty while it penalises the innocent; especially if divorce should ever be granted to the 'fancy free.' It is amazing to find some advanced women advocating more and easier channels of divorce. Divorce means failure, and failure means fault, probably on both sides. Increased divorce must injuriously affect the children, who are, after all, the chief thing that matters; it must jeopardise the position of the woman as wife and mother. Men and women would then take one another for richer, *not* for poorer; in health, *not* in sickness; for better, *not* for worse. Marriage must become a contract like any other contract to be broken at discretion—with a money penalty.

Woe betide the weaker partner—woman.

E. B. Harrison.

THE CRISIS IN THE GROWTH OF FRENCH ROYALISM

The history of Pretenders in every time and every country is often a record of bravery and devotion, but it is quite as often a record of rivalries, estrangements and insubordinations of all sorts. Their followers take almost inevitably to the habit of plotting, and when they are tired of conspiring against the common enemy they conspire against each other with the same gusto. All this they do professedly from the highest motives, and, while taxing one another with treasons, they proclaim the purity of their intentions and will not allow the least suspicion to be cast on their devotion to their King. Frequently the latter gets tired of their divisions and of the outcry which they cause, and dismisses the most turbulent from his service. When these are not numerous they retire to some secluded place, where they wear out the rest of their existence in cursing their enemies' perfidiousness and lamenting the blindness of kings. When, on the contrary, they happen to be numerically considerable, they seldom resist the temptation of punishing their ungrateful master by setting up another Pretender against him.

It is curious that history—not the history of eighteenth-century England or Russia, but the contemporaneous history of France—should afford us an instance of a totally different situation : a Pretender solemnly warning a large section of his adherents, then blaming them, and finally excommunicating them and forbidding the remnant of his faithful from holding any converse with them, but the excommunicate averring more loudly than ever that they love and respect their King, that it is out of mere loyalty that they feel themselves compelled to disobey his orders, and that they will restore him in spite of himself.

I must confess that two years and a-half ago, when I noticed in this Review the revival of the Royalist idea in France,[1] I neither expected that the Duke of Orleans would sever himself from the only men who were likely to gain him popularity again, nor that in a comparatively short space of time the movement initiated by

[1] 'The Neo-royalist Movement in France,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1908.

the writers on the staff of the *Action Française*, and bearing the name of their then almost unknown periodical, would spread sufficiently to command universal attention.[2] The success of this movement is undoubtedly one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of the few past years. However, if I had been told that the Duke of Orleans would have, at some future date, to take the step he has just taken, I could have foreseen that the *Action Française* men would draw the line between their ideal and its representative, and prefer their work to their chief. Their *animus* is unchanged, and now, as in 1908, it is above all as instancing the extraordinary power of ideas in this country that they are interesting.

They are primarily ideologists, which is not quite so bad as being *idéologues*. They are mostly writers or professors—that is to say, men with a professional inclination towards systems, and though the tendency, in a time when most people talk at random, is not to be regretted, it is a fact that they are systematic in everything.

To begin with, they are systematic in their literary views, with which it is not amiss to begin the examination of their intellectual tendencies, as their political does not differ much from their literary spirit. One feature common to them all is their resolute anti-romanticism. M. Emile Faguet, in an article[3] in which he brilliantly defended the school of 1830 against them, has tried to find political causes for their violent hostility against the Romanticists: the latter were supposed to have been the importers of foreign formulas, and, above all, they have been Republicans. I will not deny that these causes are really active among the Royalist writers, but there are others—more psychological than political—which I am afraid I detect in almost everything from their pen. The Royalist writers seem to me to monopolise with undue exclusiveness the tradition of the best French writing and the best French thinking. Under pretence that they love whatever is classical—I should like to know of how many besides their four or five leaders it is really true—they have a tendency to attribute to themselves all that is immortal in the seventeenth century. Only the other day they hooted down a *conférencier* at the Odéon who they thought had spoken disrespectfully of Racine: they seemed to be avenging a personal offence. With a little practice men of very ordinary mental capacity persuade themselves in this way that they are lineal descendants of Molière or Bossuet. The method is really too easy. The best four or five journalists on the *Action Française* write with almost unfailing correctness and consistency, and the editor of the paper, Léon Daudet, though a

[2] The Action Française, let it be noticed from the outset, is the name both of the party and of its chief periodical.

[3] Vide *Les Marches de l'Est*, 15th of November 1910.

Romanticist himself, is a most amusing humorist and a writer of real originality; but it is a far cry from mere correctness and consistency to the equilibrium of the classics. In fact, the real affinities of M. Maurras, the chief theorist of the *Action Française*, and, above all, of M. Pierre Lasserre, its chief critic, are more with the solid affirmations of the so-called classics who held the rod about 1800, than with the subtle likes and dislikes of Fénelon's *Lettre à l'Académie*. The true classic spirit connotes a poetical sensitiveness, as emotional in its essence as the lyricism of Lamartine, and altogether beyond the reach of ninety-nine in a hundred even educated moderns. But the intellectual virtues already mentioned are natural to the French mind, provided it be not distorted by artificial culture, and when a man has been groping his way to the truth of which he is capable through the numberless pitfalls of exaggeration, pretence and sham profundity, with which it must be admitted that the individualism of Romanticists has been strewing French literature for nearly a century, and suddenly finds himself on this forgotten classic plane, he experiences a sense of relief which nothing in his mental adventures had equalled before. He feels he holds a formula both clear to his mind and congenial to his deepest tendencies, and he immediately makes use of it with the delighted avidity with which young Benjamin Franklin applied Socrates' method to everything, and, above all, against everything. Nearly all the leaders of the *Action Française* are literary people who have passed through a variety of intellectual and spiritual experiences,[4] and are more or less converts. They generally have the convert's *intransigeance*, but, being literary converts, they have more pride than gratefulness, and the shade is easily perceptible even in their propagandism. There is something forward and defiant in their attempts at persuading, and the method in which they delight is not winsomeness, but confutation.

When they are right—which is not exceptional, so many people being wrong—the confutation is generally excellent. They have not only sound average principles, but knowledge and a wide illustration, and their demonstrations are often entirely satisfying. Lasserre especially is a literary martinet—by no means the sympathetic critic of the Jules Lemaître type—but his bullying is often in the right quarters. It is the same thing whenever the *Action Française* men confront what they call *les blagues*, the empty words which had a meaning in 1790 and 1848, but have none now, the stereotyped humbug of professional politicians. These bubbles they burst with admirable facility. But it is not always so. Maurras and his friends are not always right, and though one can hardly expect of journalists that they will confess a mistake, they are confident to a degree. They have gone to a

[4] Vide *Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1908, pp. 289-290.

school where humility and self-distrust were never taught. Their masters are de Maistre, de Bonald, Comte, Veuillot—much more than Taine and Renan, whom they often quote but hardly imitate—and those were men who might regard themselves as sinners, but, the moment their system was at issue, never doubted their own infallibility.

No mental attitude is more reposeful. The *Action Française* men have every one of them adopted it, and they are not likely to adopt another. They seldom—even Maurras, who is rather losing than gaining by the enormous amount of work he is compelled to do—condescend to consider an objection. They dispose of it by an apparent reverting to general principles, which is often a mere evasion, or by an astonished raising of eyebrows at its futility, or, I am sorry to say, in a great many cases by an insult. I read the *Action Française* every day, and I often forget to read it critically, so sensible and terse is a great deal of what I read, but hardly an issue is free from unpleasant insults. The habit has been introduced into the paper no doubt by Léon Daudet. This well-known son of Alphonse Daudet can be perfectly fascinating. He has an inexhaustible fund of drollery which nobody can resist, and a power of passing from a pun to a perfect sentence which can only belong to an exceptional writer. He can also be most gentlemanly in his ways, and he is one of the best orators of his party. But he has an unfortunate propensity to make fun of everything and everybody, which must be contagious, for it has infected all his collaborators. And what his wit and *gamincrie* keep within the limits of the funny becomes unendurable when coming from more ponderous pens. It was amusing to the national irreverence to hear him speak of President Fallières as the ox, and even of M. Briand as the fish, for a few days, but the daily use of these nicknames—one of which could not be explained in decent society—palls on one as coarseness always does.[5] It is astonishing that the many aristocratic subscribers to the *Action Française* never enter a protest. I dislike almost as much the habit of challenging opponents—Sorbonne professors or politicians of all degrees—to accept public controversy which everybody knows they will not accept. It really reminds one too much of Tartarin. But this cavalier tone delights a congenial audience. One should see how easily young men, country noblemen, and inferior journalists catch it. Certainly Maurras and his school have been instrumental in reclaiming a great many minds from jejune declamation or pretentiousness; but I am afraid they are also responsible for a spirit which I have found embodied in a remarkable little speech from a writer in the *Univers*, despising the feeble intellects 'in which the

[5] The extent to which this method—for it is one—is carried would appear incredible to many. Even booksellers' lists in the *Action Française* are relieved by insulting epithets.

superstition of the opponent's superiority is still harboured.' This facile arrogance is rampant in most of the Royalist press, and, I am sorry to say, is not absent from the religious press.

So much for the intellectual temperament of the *Action Française*. We shall find the same characteristics, good as well as bad, in its political attitude. Lucidity, defiant outspokenness, violence in language and action, are its main features.

Nowhere since the disappearance of those uncompromising Royalists—de Bonald and de Maistre—has the Monarchist doctrine been expounded and defended with so much mastery as in the *Action Française*. Maurras, who is much more of a political philosopher than a journalist, knows its history thoroughly, and handles it with unquestionable authority. The strong points of the monarchy will never find a better advocate. It takes a deeply rooted and somewhat stupid attachment to the Republic to resist the picture he often draws of a monarch tied by all his fibres to the vital interests of the country, and turning its resources of all sorts to account with the concurrence of all the good and sensible Frenchmen. The contrast with a great deal that we have seen in the last forty years is too startling not to be convincing as well.

The pity is that the picture, even when some of its details stand out clearly, remains rather vague in its entirety and leaves the uncertain in their uncertainty. What will be this wonderful *régime* in which the monarch will be absolute and yet not tyrannical; in which the French territory will be decentralised so as to restore to the old provinces as much as possible of their autonomy and yet will not escape from the royal authority; in which the masses will be deprived of their franchise, but will find a compensation in the strengthening of all the corporative privileges? The picture is wonderful, but it is vague.

As I said above, the Royalist writers have little patience with questions and objections. They have a pretty way nowadays of saying that the question you ask them has been answered a hundred times, or they meet an objection from the past history of the Monarchy by pointing out that we are a hundred years ahead of the Revolution, or an objection concerning the future by reference to the past. Sometimes they will speak of even Louis XVIII. as *ce grand roi*, which is not a little comical; sometimes they hint that all post-revolutionary monarchies have been tainted and ought not to be taken into account. The melancholy truth is that there is no perfect constitution, no perfect historical period, and that, in spite of knowledge and shrewdness, one cannot turn the shabby reality into an ideal without quibbles; when history is made to serve politics it has every now and then to become more than flexible. However, it must be confessed that, thanks to its *intransigeance* with many, in spite of it with some,

the doctrine which is the basis of Maurras's political attitude alone possesses an appearance of solidity and coherence. The counterpart would only be found in the Republican views of the ex-Sillon members, and they have been so shaken that their expression has become loose and counts for little at present.

The love of intellectual regularity which appears in the literary standpoint of the *Action Française* satisfies itself as well in this political rigidity. But here the stiffness of the doctrine changes itself into violence whenever there is a chance. Disdain and sarcasm abound in the speeches of the chief orators of the party—Daudet, Lasserre, Montesquiou, Dimier—but disdain and sarcasm are the offspring of intellectual pride, and there is more than that in these men. They are all patriots, of a patriotism which the evident purity of their public life places beyond all suspicion. But their patriotism expresses itself not in the warm outpourings of Déroulède or Madame Adam, but in the hatreds—no matter how reasoned—of Drumont. They love their country, but their mental habit is chiefly a detestation of its enemies. Ask any of them whom he hates, he will never hesitate a second before giving an answer. He hates the Jews with his main and might—in practically every case he is a recanting Republican whom the Dreyfus Affair has converted, and he has Drumont's works on his finger tips—he hates all the *métèques*, or foreign intruders, whom he meets in literature, in the universities, in Government offices, &c., and whose disguises he never tires of pulling off; he hates the Freemasons as the chief guardians of the revolutionary humbug which has deceived France for five generations; he hates the Republican Government, the Presidents, the Premiers, the Ministers, and all the deputies; and last, but not least, he hates the Bonapartists, the Liberal Catholics, the Liberal Royalists, the wishy-washy of all shades and parties, and, at the present moment, I am afraid that it is only through resolute exercise of his will-power that he does not hate the Duke of Orleans.

Certainly the Action Française is an overheated party, and its atmosphere is the most electric that has been known in this country since 1848. The results are such as may logically be foreseen. There is something distinctly revolutionary in the language and ways of the Neo-Royalists.

Their meetings, their daily paper, the *Action Française*, might be conducted by the most extreme Socialists. I have noticed several times that when their orators mention the Revolution—the future, not the past, of course—they raise the same applause as when they mention the King. The *Action Française* is full, not only of bravadoes, but threats. There is a permanent one, which they call the *coup de force*—*i.e.* the bodily removal of the Republican authorities and the substitution by surprise of a Royalist

Government instead. Maurras has published a little book in which he sets forth the advisability and practicability of this method, and references to it are so frequent as to leave no doubt that the notion is familiar. As to minor instances they would be numberless. In the last few days I copied two from articles by Daudet; in one place he said that in case of a Bonapartist restoration he and his friends would be with the people on the other side of the barricade against the usurper's government; in the other, he hinted as clearly as possible that Briand would never dare suppress the *Action Française*, knowing well that his 'hide' would be at stake.

A good deal of all this is mere talk and Southern bombast, but these fire-eaters are no cowards, and pass easily from words to deeds. The *Action Française* announced a few weeks ago that André Gaucher, one of its staff, possessed an excellent revolver, which he always carries. Every now and then you will read in some paragraph, describing a row in which the writer played a part, some such sentence as the following: 'My cane' or 'my fist administered to the ruffian the castigation he deserved.' The reader cannot have forgotten the riots at the Sorbonne against M. Thalamas, the insulter of Jeanne d'Arc, nor the repeated mutilation of statues representing objectionable individuals. The Camelots du Roi, as they call themselves, certainly fight the police bravely, and submit to the prison cheerfully. The assault, a few months ago, of M. Briand by the camelot Lacour deserves special attention. The Neo-Royalists, chiefly under the inspiration of Daudet, rely very much on the influence of ridicule. It appeared to them that if M. Briand got his ears boxed by a camelot, as President Fallières has had his beard pulled by Mathis, the ludicrousness of his situation would weaken him more effectively than a parliamentary campaign. Whereupon a young man of the name of Lacour carried out the plan, broke through a file of soldiers and a group of official gentlemen surrounding M. Briand, and hit him. Since then the assaulter has been in a penitentiary, where he is not treated as a political prisoner—which is absolutely unfair—but Léon Daudet never lays down his pen without recalling the fact that M. Briand has been publicly punished and disgraced.

Even a cursory examination of the daily *L'Action Française* leaves an impression of incredible vitality. This paper is, from the modern journalist's point of view, the worst one can read in Paris, but for the man attentive to ideas and tired of chit-chat and tameness not one is more interesting. The space given to ordinary news, which in *Le Matin* for instance will occupy two pages, is about thirty square inches. Political news is almost as scarce. No terms could convey an idea of the contempt these men have for Chamber gossip. The leader is either a thoughtful disquisition

by Maurras, or one of Daudet's indescribable lampoons, which produce the effect of a pantomime, and would be masterpieces of their kind if they had not the trick of winding up with rodomontades. Every day the same Daudet, under the pseudonym of Rivarol, tells personal news, in which the phrases bandit, brigand, thief, etc., occur plentifully, and which are interspersed with doggerel couplets, sometimes clever, often delightfully and deliberately silly. Maurras, also under a pseudonym, Criton, makes a review of the papers, and indefatigably puts them right. The articles on literature by Lasserre, on the theatre by André Gaucher, and on Art by Louis Dimier, are positive, trenchant and biassed, but virile and refreshing after the platitudes with which the daily press is flooded. Every now and then one may read articles, signed or not, on religious questions. Most of them, of a violently reactionary character, are incredibly poor stuff. I have no doubt that Daudet never reads them, but what must Maurras—who does read them—think of such inferior collaborators? The concurrence of the *Action Française* in a revolting deformation of Catholicism, glorified with the name of orthodoxy, is its most objectionable point. It is difficult to account for it otherwise than by political contingencies, raised as best they may to the rank of part of the monarchical doctrine. Maurras and most of his friends, being confessedly unbelievers, cannot possibly admit the basis on which their theological correspondents are standing, and if they welcome this trash it must be for some reason which they would probably not like to explain. The rest of the paper is of entirely local interest: column after column of minor Royalist news or fiery letters from provincial correspondents, showing what hold the paper and its doctrine have on distant subscribers. Every day the reader is reminded that Briand has confessed the power of the *Action Française,* and that the Court of Cassation could only rehabilitate Dreyfus by falsifying an article of the code. Reprints of all kinds are frequent, and nobody seems to mind; the readers love what they get, and never have enough, for the paper is their mirror. Nothing can give a better idea of its general tone than some revivalist organs. The *Action Française* is a religion, I might say sect—for charity is absent from its propagandism—and it has the zeal, the fervidness, and the violence natural in sects.

Compare at present with these enthusiasts the decorous proprietors, readers, and writers of a newspaper like the *Gaulois*, the best representative of the older Royalist party. The contrast is almost ludicrous. With the very few exceptions which were mentioned in the debates before the Haute-Cour in 1899, the Royalism of ten years ago, even of three or four years ago—when the *Action Française* was yet much more the effort of a few literary men to

pass from dream to action than a political reality—was not dying, for the phrase implies a struggle, nor was it dead, for a certain number of people still cherished it: it was one of those things which are kept, not for themselves, but for their associations. It was an heirloom, a part of one's coat-of-arms, or an elegancy, or a pose. The Royalists of the real school not only did not try to win adherents to their creed, they would have resented any attempt at joining them as a familiarity. In writing this I remember how even one of the most open-minded Royalists spoke of Maurras himself, less than four years ago; I remember the tone of his voice, the slightly pouting mouth, and the raised eyebrows, as he dropped his final and careless verdict: *Ces gens-là n'existent pas pour nous.* Loyalty was administered as an estate, from which the owner reaped the credit of being noble at a small expense and of being faithful without any sacrifice. It is true that all the appearances of a living party were kept up. The Duke of Orleans was represented in Paris—as he is still—by a Bureau Politique, and sent messages through an official organ, the *Correspondance Nationale.* There were then, as now, local committees in each *département*, which were supposed to prepare elections, etc. If one was to believe M. Anatole France, there existed complete lists of the prefects, high functionaries, ambassadors, etc., who were to be appointed if—not the *coup de force*, as Maurras says, but the 'shifting of the wind,' took place. All this was so like child's play that the local committees seemed almost as apocryphal as the lists. The Royalist deputies—five or six in all—were not elected on their ticket. The Royalist papers hardly ever spoke of the King: they opposed the Government, some violently in the style of Drumont or Cassagnac, many in a decent perfunctory way—that was all. Among these courteous adversaries of the Republic shone *Le Gaulois*, which is a less amusing *Figaro*, giving all the fashionable news, and read much more on account of the births and weddings than for its politics. The *Gaulois* was the very image of its readers: dignified, though frivolous, and so pleased with itself as to have no wishes. Its editor was, and still is, M. Arthur Meyer, a Jew who was on the wrong side of fifty when he became a Christian. M. Arthur Meyer is the *bête noire* of the *Action Française*, and comes in for a tremendous share of abuse. I think he can easily be described by a comparison which must have occurred to Daudet, but which probably he regards as too good for him. M. Meyer is exactly a man of the intellectual type of old de Blowitz on the *Times*. Both are harmless persons, who could live three lives and rise to the highest position, and still remain reporters. Nobody becomes more easily than a Jew what it is agreed to call a Parisien, but nobody is more apt to rest satisfied with that.

Against the *Gaulois* the *Action Française* carried on an open warfare, which the other paper with great dignity ignored. But it was evident that beside M. Meyer there was somebody whom the Neo-Royalists hated quite as much, but whom for some reason they only mentioned in veiled allusions. This, as it appeared, was no other than the Comte de Larègle, the successor of M. d'Haussonville at the head of the Bureau Politique, and the sole official representative of the Duke of Orleans in France. The gentlemen at the head of the Bureau Politique could not be in amity with those in the *Action Française*. Their spirit and method, and even their aims, are too different. M. de Larègle was something like the semi-recognised ambassador of a prince whom the Republic feared no longer, while Maurras and his friends were desperadoes, pitching into the Cabinet, the Parliament, the financiers; in short, into all that the Bureau Politique made it a rule to treat respectfully. The same flag could not shield such antagonistic tendencies very long. Sooner or later, M. de Larègle was sure to denounce indiscipline, and Maurras to expose treasonable neglects of duty. The Action Française had always professed itself an entirely independent section of the Royalist party and accepted the full responsibility of its acts; but independence of this kind is only possible theoretically, and there must have been numberless causes of friction. Maurras and his friends claimed with regard to the official Royalist organisation exactly the same freedom as Sangnier and the Sillon with the Episcopate. Logic made it a necessity for the Bureau Politique to act very much as the French Episcopate have done. M. de Larègle could not issue an Act of Conformity, but he could enforce discipline, and he tried to do it.

On the 25th of November 1910 he drew up *par ordre de Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans* a confidential circular which was sent round to the Royalist committees. This circular only designated the Action Française by the phrase 'independent Royalist groups,' but it was too clear that every word was aimed against it and meant to place it at last under the immediate jurisdiction of the regular authorities. Its independence was recognised in the opening paragraphs of the document, but, immediately afterwards, the abuse of Royalists by other Royalists was forbidden, the heads of the official Royalist committees were enjoined never to accept the presidency of an Action Française meeting, while, on the contrary, the Action Française groups were requested to attend the banquets, meetings, etc., organised by their superiors, to give the latter due notice if they held a public assembly, etc.; in short, were duly placed among the rank and file instead of being the brilliant free-lances they really are and intend to remain.

Five days later a leader, entitled 'A Necessary Execution' and signed by all the staff, appeared in the *Action Française*. It was the denunciation of the Comte de Larègle as 'a Dreyfusist of yesterday and probably of to-day, a man with no intelligence but a rare capacity for intrigue, and finally very nearly a bankrupt.' This was only a beginning: more revelations were to follow.

In fact—in spite of a letter which the Duke of Orleans wrote immediately to his representative, in which he assured him of his confidence and threatened the Action Française with public disapproval—a great deal followed. More about the 'Bandit' Larègle—as henceforward he was uniformly called—about 'Judas' Arthur Meyer, about the Comte de Lamarzelle, the Comte de Ramel, the Comte de Lanjuinais, the Comte de Castillon, etc., etc., all fools or more or less unworthy, all disloyal servants of the Exiled Prince. During a fortnight Maurras daily filled three columns of his paper with these denunciations, the tone of which recalls unpleasantly the dangerously personal tone of the Jacobin clubs, and the substance of which often appears extremely slight, but full of literary talent, of the most prudent tactics in spite of the style, and of incredible energy. At that stage the Duke of Orleans dealt a second and final blow by declaring all the leaders of the Action Française taboo. The Prince gave their names in full and forbade any communication with them. Maurras and his friends received this sentence with renewed protests of loyalty and love, but they knew that the Prince was deceived; their duty was to enlighten him, and he could only be enlightened if all the facts of the case were placed before the public so as to dispel the atmosphere created by traitors; therefore they would continue to say everything.

What came afterwards seems to me only like an ingenious novel. The Action Française owes a great deal, as I said above, to Edouard Drumont. Now Drumont is one of those men who, while being very intelligent, eager for facts, and fundamentally honest, have a taste for the mysterious in politics, which is as misleading as the other extreme of thinking everybody straightforward and everything plain as the newspapers make it. We cannot forget that he thought a Bill restrictive of the Press entirely directed against himself, and flew to Brussels as if he had had the police after him. Maurras, Daudet, and their friends seem to have the same propensity to see plots and conspiracies everywhere. Here is the explanation they give of the attempt on the part of the older Royalists to gag and shackle them. The reader will see that it implies an admirable belief in the wickedness of mankind.

M. de Larègle—so contend Maurras and Daudet—is deeply in debt and personally despicable; he is an unscrupulous beggar. Consequently he is ready to do everything and anything. Arthur Meyer, on the other hand, is a Hebrew, and the only cause he is not capable of betraying is the Hebrew cause. Now, it is a sort of received axiom among the people who know anything of modern politics that the big Jews are making use of the Republic, but if the financial conditions under this *régime* seemed to them to become precarious they would immediately take the necessary steps to restore the Empire. The reign of Napoleon the Third was the heyday of their rising power, and they know that Bonapartism now, as then, means the triumph of the wealthy *bourgeoisie* and the deceiving of the people. Add to this that Aristide Briand has no conscience, and you will have all the elements for a correct view of what was the plan framed by the Bureau Politique. On the instigation of Meyer and of his friends —Jewish financiers or French aristocrats who have married into Jewish families, or members of Parliament who think themselves statesmen—Briand was ready to get the decree of banishment against Prince Victor Napoleon repealed. In due time the Prince could have become President of the Republic, and, if advisable, Emperor. That he was in collusion with Briand was evident. Had he not solemnly approved the policy of the Premier in his interviews with journalists at Moncalieri? Had he not given positive earnests to the Freemasons by being in Rome without visiting the Pope almost on the morrow of his marriage with a Catholic princess? On the other hand, there were numerous proofs of communications between the writers on the Royalist *Accord Social* and those on the Briandist *Démocratie Sociale*. All this evidence was clear. But the plan could only be carried out if the faithful sheep-dogs in the Action Française were muzzled or hung, and that was what the bandit Larègle promised to do, and did try to do, through his confidential instructions. Was it not fortunate that the poor dogs had turned against the false shepherd?

Such is the very black account we have read many times, and can see every day taken for granted, in the *Action Française*. Whether the plot which they congratulate themselves on having exposed had any reality, and whether the conspirators are what they are described, does not concern us. All we have to do is to tell the facts as they appear to the dispassionate outsider. We can, however, point out that the evidence on which the existence of the plot is based is entirely circumstantial, and we can also say that Maurras and his friends are in good faith in thinking themselves as clear-sighted as loyal; belief in the reality of huge machinations against them is part of their intellectual temperament.

But what is the position in which the Royalist party is placed in consequence of these strange occurrences?

Officially the Action Française is blamed and M. de Larègle is approved. If the same events had taken place only four years ago the sentence of the Duke would have been final, and the Action Française would have vanished and little commotion would have been raised, for the history of Royalists in those days interested nobody except themselves. But to-day things are very different. Approved as he is, it is M. de Larègle who sinks, and, blamed as he is, it is Maurras who triumphs. First of all, he gets the benefit of unexpected attention from the most different quarters. The Royalist rows at the Sorbonne were only *faits-divers*, the Royalist schism is the subject of serious comments in every paper, ranging from M. Aulard's to M. Sangnier's opinion. Then the Action Française has a unique chance of numbering its adherents as compared with those of the orthodox section of Royalism, and the advantage is undoubtedly on its side. An ominous sign for the Bureau Politique was the secession—from the very first day following the decision of the Duke—of M. de Lur-Saluces, his personal friend, and one of those who had been exiled by the Haute-Cour for their attachment to his cause. This gentleman has been followed since by many others, who profess the same aversion to what they generally call Jewish domineering.

Long lists of names published in a newspaper are likely to secure more attention than they deserve, and to leave one unduly under the impression that there is a considerable movement started. I have tried to resist that impression, and, in fact, it is still true that the followers of the Action Française are an infinitesimal proportion in France. But one change has occurred in the last few years which has its importance. Practically all the provincial papers which used to oppose the Republican Government and Constitution with polemical arguments borrowed from the *Libre Parole*, for instance, now copy the *Action Française* and are avowedly Royalist. Whether their readers follow them is not always evident, but this evolution is sure to tell in time. It is also certain, as a Royalist from the North of France said in a letter to the *Action Française*, that the faces you see at a Catholic Congress all reappear at a monarchical meeting like those conducted in December at Lille and Roubaix by M. Jules Lemaître; the indifference—as contrasted with Leo the Thirteenth's partiality—of Pope Pius the Tenth to the Republic is gradually winning back to their old convictions a good many insufficiently republicanised Catholics, and preparing once more the alliance of the Throne and the Altar. And all this means success, not for the Bureau Politique and its parliamentary methods, but for the intransigent doctrine and revolutionary spirit of the Action Française. It

seems evident that Maurras is rapidly reconstructing the Royalist party, but with the concurrence of its hitherto most unknown elements—viz. the country gentry, almost anonymous army officers, a sprinkling of clergy, tradespeople, etc. His decided aloofness from the rich aristocracy, and his uncompromising attitude with regard to the Bonapartists, have gone far towards bringing about these results. His policy has been, like that of Pius the Tenth, one of concentration and elimination. He has sifted the monarchical doctrine from all its impurities and taken it away by just making it alive—if not ready to work—from those who held it as a useless jewel in a casket. This in itself was a revolution and has already had the contagious effects of a revolution.

The last question we have to answer concerns the country at large. How far is it affected by the influence of the Action Française? Questions of this nature are never solved by the rough production of numbers. The large majority in France would call itself Radical, and yet nothing at the present moment is more inert and passive and, to be plain, more negligible than the Radical party, because they have only their name left and neither a programme, nor men, nor convictions. They are just what the old Royalists used to be. The Action Française, on the most favourable calculations, cannot rely on more than a hundred thousand—that is to say, one in four hundred Frenchmen—but they are all in a yeasty condition, and that changes the position of the problem. One ought to ask, not the proportion of Royalists among Frenchmen, but their proportion among the small section of Frenchmen who take an active interest in politics. No answer is possible, but the proportion would certainly be considerable. The progress made by the Action Française in the last three years is an indisputable reality.

Perhaps if Maurras, who is a true idealist, could see the curve of his advance he would not be entirely satisfied. The Action Française men seem very anxious to make proselytes among the working classes. They have borrowed (from the Marquis de la Tour du Pin) a complete sociology, the main lines of which ought to make them popular, and their constant pampering of the national anti-Semitism is another element of success. Yet it seems very unlikely that the syndicates with which the Action Française is coquetting should accept the Royalist theory that corporative privileges are only safe under a monarch. They are too strong already to look round for protection, and they are aware that their movement develops itself independently throughout the world, no matter what Constitutions it finds on its way. Daudet may well, as he says, be at the elbow of the Parisian workers on a day of riot, but they would part company the next day. In fact,

the class, outside his faithful, to which Maurras appeals most strongly is that of the smaller proprietors or manufacturers whom syndicalism scares, and who have gradually come to mistrust a Government in which energy is exceptional because responsibility is almost non-existent. He has re-awakened among them the long dormant yearning for 'a man,' or, as it is often put, for a gendarme. This, it cannot be doubted, is now alive in France. But will it turn to the profit of the Prince, will it even turn to the profit of any prince—Victor Napoleon rather than Philippe d'Orléans? It is exceedingly doubtful. Perhaps its sole effect will be to strengthen the tendency evident in M. Briand as well as in M. Clemenceau to play the 'man,' or the gendarme, whenever there is a chance. Both have been 'princes' more than once, and been loved or hated accordingly. As it is, the system cherished by the Action Française cannot be popular, and that accounts for their instinctively showing mostly its negative or revolutionary aspect, while praising all the time its positive virtue.

There is one person whom I have throughout mentioned rather as a quantity than as an individual—the Duke of Orleans. We cannot conclude this chapter of his history without a word concerning the relation between him and the Action Française. For the present the latter have made his position so uncomfortable that he may never forgive them. They have actually 'kidnapped' him just when he had the greatest reasons for being discontented with them, and while lavishing the most respectful expressions of attachment for him, they still continue day after day to lead away old soldiers from his regular troops. One may imagine the day when he will find himself practically alone on one side and his adoring rebels on the other, compelled at last to go over to them and to confess that they were right and he was wrong.

Maurras and his friends seem never to have realised the falseness of the situation in which they placed him. They simply revel in the pleasure of fighting and the sense of victory. Once more their hatreds get the better of their love. But do they love the Duke of Orleans as much as they imagine? Perhaps not. In an article published in the hottest of the crisis Daudet as much as confessed that the Duke believes little or not at all in the success of his own cause, and Maurras has tried to justify his disobedience by a remarkable reasoning. As long as the Pretender is not restored, he contends, his authority is conditioned, first, by the very fact of the existence of the Republic and, secondly, by the supreme necessity of getting rid of the present Constitution. What does this mean? Nothing, unless it be that the King is as yet an 'idea' to which everything else ought to be sacrificed, chiefly the semblance of authority held much more by the Jews than by the Duke himself. And the conclusion to which we are

brought now, as in 1908, is that the Action Française men are undoubtedly sincere in wishing the return of a king and a remodelling of the political frame of France, but their attention is fixed a great deal more on the present than on the future, on the pleasure of fighting enemies than on the results of victory, on the consciousness of thinking right than on the rights of the Pretender; and finally that they are very much, with respect to the latter, in the position of the lover bullied by his mistress in the popular comedy, and expostulating with her in an immortal speech: 'Is it any business of yours that I am in love with you?' Their situation is a paradox, but I have said enough to show that the paradox may be productive of tangible effects.

ERNEST DIMNET.

NATIONAL INSURANCE AGAINST INVALIDITY AND OLD AGE

A REPLY TO MR. CARSON ROBERTS

I

In the December 1910 number of this Review Mr. Carson Roberts gives an alarming account of the expenditure to which the country is committed under the provisions of the Old-Age Pension Act and of the additional burden on national finance which would be the result of the intended proposal to supplement the system of old-age pensions by a subsidised scheme of insurance against invalidity on lines resembling those characterising the German scheme of invalidity. As a remedy he proposes a scheme of his own, which in the further course of this article will be referred to as 'the scheme,' and which, according to its inventor's allegation, will, besides providing much more extensive benefits than the German scheme, enable the State subsidy to be permanently reduced to the annual sum of ten millions, being twenty-six millions less than the annual cost which the combined effect of the Old-Age Pension Act and of the projected invalidity insurance would finally entail according to Mr. Roberts's estimate.[1] I propose to show: (*a*) that the scheme cannot carry out what it seems to promise; (*b*) that it is to a large extent of an illusory character; and (*c*) that the saving which it would effect could only be obtained by taxing adult persons now living for the benefit of those who are unborn or still in their early childhood. The scheme, in fact, bears a very strong resemblance to the will of the celebrated Mr. Thellusson, who, by starving his children and grandchildren, tried to turn his great-grandchildren into multi-millionaires.

II

The scheme, when in full operation, is to compel every wage-earner who has attained the age of sixteen years and whose yearly income does not exceed 156*l*. to pay 4*d*. on every £ of wages

[1] As to the trustworthiness of the estimate see my observations sub XVI.

received, and in return to provide the benefits mentioned below (sub III). Every wage-earner belonging to this class who has not attained the age of twenty years when the scheme comes into operation is to be deprived of the benefit of the Old-Age Pension Act and to be compelled to join the scheme; persons above the age of twenty and below the age of sixty years are to have the choice between retaining the benefit of the Old-Age-Pension Act or joining the scheme.[2] The carrying out of this method of option is practically impossible, as the following observations will show.

Large classes of persons who are now entitled to the benefit of the Old-Age Pension Act would be unable to join in the scheme as they are not wage-earners, or as they earn wages exceeding the prescribed maximum. Shopkeepers and hucksters, farmers and market gardeners, fishermen, boatmen, cab-drivers, tailors, dressmakers, cobblers, barbers, hairdressers, and many other classes of traders working on their own account; children who assist their parents without receiving wages may all become entitled to old-age pensions, and none of them can acquire any claim to the benefits of the scheme.[3]

The option would therefore have to be exercised exclusively by the persons subject to compulsory insurance, but how are they to be ascertained? Is a paper resembling the census paper to be sent round to every householder, requiring him to state the names of all persons under his or her care who earn wages and whose yearly earnings do not exceed 156*l.*? Are persons whose names are omitted to be deprived of the benefit of the option? Is there any time limit for the exercise of the option? Each of these questions requires an answer, and every possible answer points the way to fresh difficulties.

But these difficulties are not the only ones nor the most serious. The scheme—as will appear hereafter—is of a complicated nature, and a considerable part of the benefits which it is intended to confer are contingent on events which it is impossible to foresee. When the time comes at which the renunciation of the pension becomes a practical reality the persons suffering by that reality will say that they did not understand what they were doing, that they were induced by misleading representations to give up their birthright for a mess of pottage. Will it be possible to resist their appeals?

[2] I assume that as to persons between the ages of twenty and twenty-one the scheme would provide that the election is binding notwithstanding the infancy of the declarants.

[3] Voluntary insurance is to be allowed without limit; but persons not subject to compulsion are not to have the benefit of the Government subsidy; the permission to participate in an unsubsidised scheme is no equivalent for the loss of the claim to an old-age pension.

A compulsory scheme of insurance has no reason of existence if it is not intended to benefit those who by nature are improvident and thriftless; these, in so far as they have reached the age of twenty, will all be left out if their participation is to depend on their choice. If all the benefits of the scheme were as clear and certain as they are obscure and doubtful, no person of thriftless habits would clog himself with a permanent charge of nearly 2 per cent. on his wages if he could obtain an old-age pension, without paying any contribution.

These considerations show that the introduction of the scheme on the proposed optional basis would, even if the scheme were satisfactory in itself, be neither feasible nor desirable from any point of view.

III

The main features of the scheme may be summarised[4] as follows:

(*a*) As mentioned above, every wage-earner[5] whose annual earnings do not exceed 156*l*. is to be compelled to join and to pay contributions amounting to 4*d*. in the pound on the wages earned by him or her.

(*b*) Old-age pensions are to be payable at the age of seventy, but the 'age of claim' is to be reduced 'by one year for each five years of contribution,' with the result that a person who has contributed for fifty years becomes entitled to his pension at the age of sixty[6] (see p. 959).

'The minimum pension' is to be 'twenty times the average contribution, or one-third of the average earnings'[7] (p. 960).

(*c*) 'Permanent pensions of adequate amount' are to be 'claimable by those who become permanently incapable of further work at any time after the age of twenty' (p. 960).

(*d*) 'For married women there are special survivorship

[4] As far as possible, I shall use Mr. Carson Roberts's own language. The pages indicated in brackets are the pages of the article referred to above.

[5] No definition of the term wage-earner is attempted. Are commercial and bank clerks, schoolmasters, chemists' assistants, engineers, secretaries of companies, and others receiving salaries to be included?

[6] On page 966 it is stated to be one of the merits of the scheme that "it reduces the age at which pensions may be claimed to sixty." This is misleading, as it is quite clear from the passage quoted in the text that the age of claim is to be gradually reduced, and that it will take fifty years before any person can claim an old-age pension on attaining the age of sixty.

[7] The expression 'minimum pension' as used by Mr. Roberts is inaccurate and misleading. It gives the reader the impression that under no circumstances can a pension be less than one-third of the average earnings, but as shown below, sub V, this is far from being the case. The expression 'minimum pension' is used by Mr. Roberts to indicate the pension which may be claimed when a contributor has reached the prescribed age—seventy or sixty-five or sixty, as the case may be; if he postpones the claim for a few years the pension is increased, but the amount always depends on the amount of contributions paid, and there is no minimum amount in the ordinary sense of the word.

pensions, one half of the contributions during married life being taken into calculation, in addition to the woman's own contributions' (p. 960). The scheme gives a married woman 'help when left with children under the age of sixteen, even though she be not of age to claim a pension' (p. 968). 'Support is provided for the widow and orphans of a wage-earner until the latter reach the age of sixteen years' (p. 960).

(*e*) 'Emigrants and those who reach the wage limit of 3*l.* and wish to set up in business for themselves are allowed to reclaim the contributions made by them or their employers' (p. 960).

(*f*) A subsidy is to be paid to 'the friendly societies' and 'those corporations who have worked to build up insurance by mutual effort,' enabling their 'benefit scales to be increased 10 or 15 per cent.' (p. 969).

(*g*) It is suggested that at some later stage the contributions could be increased by 2*d.*, payable exclusively by the employers, whose liabilities under the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Acts would thereupon cease and be replaced by an enlargement of the benefits of the scheme (p. 972).

(*h*) 'The scheme . . . would not entail a tithe of the regulations and instructions which the German scheme requires' (p. 963). 'Wage classes, penalties and forfeitures, investigations of various kinds, adjustments and other administrative complications would be swept away' (p. 970). Medical certificates are not to be made the basis of any claim (this is not asserted in direct language, but the question on p. 967 : 'Is it well to make medical certificates the basis of claim?' as it appears in the context can have no other meaning).

Each of the matters enumerated above requires separate examination.

IV

Mr. Carson Roberts, in bringing forward his 'simple' method of contribution, has overlooked the fact that there are many classes of the population whose remuneration to a large extent consists of board and lodging, or of lodging without board, or board without lodging, and that there are other classes who receive the whole or part of their remuneration in tips from the public, or by way of commission, or by means of a profit on the goods which they sell on account of their masters.[*] In the case of all these classes of persons some yearly income must be assessed, both for the purpose of ascertaining whether they come

[*] An instance of this came before the courts in a recent case in which the question had arisen whether the yearly earnings of a ship's steward, who claimed compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act, exceeded 250*l.*, and in which it was proved that part of his emolument consisted in the profit he was allowed to make on the sale of whisky to passengers.

under the compulsory provisions and for fixing the amount of the contributions. Even in the case of persons whose wages are entirely paid in money the assessment of the average yearly income is necessary, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not their earnings are below the maximum limit of 156*l*. The assessment of yearly incomes for all classes must be continued from year to year, as otherwise it cannot be ascertained whether the earnings of a particular person, which were originally below the prescribed limit, have in the meantime been increased so as to exceed such limit and *vice versâ*.

V

The statement according to which the minimum[9] old-age pension will be 'twenty times the amount of the average contribution or one-third of the average earnings,' requires somewhat careful examination. It cannot mean that a pension equal to one-third of the average wages is to be paid irrespectively of the number of contributions received. This would contradict the rule repeatedly brought forward as one of the main characteristics of the scheme, according to which 'the benefits vary in exact proportion to the contributions' (p. 970). For the same reason it cannot mean that a person who has paid his or her contributions during the whole of the period during which he or she was compelled to insure is entitled to at least one-third of his or her average wages; for if that was the meaning the benefits obtained for seventeen years' contributions[10] by a person who is fifty years old at the time when the scheme comes into operation would be equal to those obtained for forty-six years' contributions by a person who, at the commencement of the operation of the scheme, is only fifteen years old. There is, therefore, only one possible meaning —a pension equal to one-third of the average wages[11] may be claimed by a person who has paid his contributions uninter-

[9] As to the meaning of the word 'minimum' in this context see above, sub III, note (*f*). In order not to complicate my argument I disregard the consequences of postponing the age claim.

[10] In the case of persons who are respectively fifty and fifteen years old at the commencement of the operation of the scheme the pensions would be payable on their reaching the respective ages of fifty-seven and sixty-one years.

[11] The expressions 'average contributions' and 'average wages' require some explanation. 'Average contribution,' as used by Mr. Carson Roberts, must mean the quotient arrived at, if the aggregate sum of the contributions paid by an insured person is divided by the number of weeks covering the full period of forty-five years. 'Average wages' would generally be taken to mean the quotient arrived at by dividing the aggregate sum of weekly wages received in periods of full employment by the number of weeks during which the person concerned was in full employment.

ruptedly during the whole period; that is to say, from the beginning of his or her sixteenth to the end of his or her sixtieth year. If during any part of the period the contributions have remained unpaid the pension suffers a proportionate reduction. The practical effect of this is, that only in the presence of an almost impossible combination of circumstances can the full pension become payable to anyone. It is hardly conceivable that a person should have been in uninterrupted receipt of wages for forty-five years, that during the whole time he should never have been ill, never have been unemployed, and that he should never have earned more than the prescribed minimum. Persons who during part of the time have been wage-earners, and during another part have earned their living in other ways, would only receive a small portion of the full pension, and the same would be the case with persons who during part of the time have earned wages exceeding the minimum. During the period of transition —that is to say, during the first fifty years after the introduction of the scheme—no one could possibly become entitled to the full pensions, and the pensions of a very large number of persons coming under the scheme would probably be considerably less than the five shillings to which many of them are entitled under the present law, without having to pay any contribution.

VI

The scheme is to include 'permanent pensions of adequate amount claimable by those who become permanently incapable of further work at any time after the age of twenty.' What is to be considered an adequate amount? Is it to be equal in all cases irrespectively of the previous duration of the insurance? Is it to continue until the age at which the old-age pension becomes payable is reached, or is it continued beyond that age? All these questions are left unanswered by Mr. Roberts, nor does he attempt to make an estimate of the cost of these pensions. The following statement appears on p. 967: 'Although earlier infirmity is fully recognised, age and not invalidity is treated as the more important claim,' but I cannot find any trace of the method by which this full recognition is carried out. On the contrary, the invalidity pensions are included in the so-called 'special benefits,' as to which Mr. Carson Roberts says (on p. 971): 'No scale for these special benefits, other than that of the survivorship pension for married women, has as yet been named, because it is proposed to make this the element of elasticity in the financial chain.' The old-age pensions (which he calls 'retiring pensions') are to be the only fixed element, the design being in other respects 'to offer provisionally such special benefits as are safely within the

measure of the surplus income,[12] and to obtain final equilibrium between income and outgoings by increasing these special benefits, if and when the financial barometer—represented in this instance by an actuarial syndicate—indicates that it is safe to do so.' Thus the 'permanent pensions of adequate amount' of p. 960 have on p. 971 become 'elements of elasticity.' They are at present unsubstantial shadows which in a dim and distant future may become materialised by an 'actuarial syndicate.' To use plain language, the 'adequate permanent pensions of adequate amount, claimable by those who become permanently incapable of further work,' only exist for the purpose of window-dressing; they cannot be deemed a tangible part of the scheme, and they are not so looked upon by its inventor.[13]

VII

As the survivorship pensions to be paid to widows and the allowances to be paid to orphans are also to be provided out of that mysterious surplus income which has been referred to in connexion with the invalidity pensions, and, like these, belong to the 'element of elasticity'—that is to say, to the uncovenanted mercies of the scheme—it is unnecessary to refer to them at length, but one or two questions occur as regards the precise meaning of Mr. Carson Roberts's somewhat loose phraseology. On p. 967 he says of the scheme: 'It treats the married woman as an active member of the community, who contributes her work to maintain her husband's service and to tend the rising generation, and it gives her a title to a special survivorship pension about equal to that of a woman who has maintained herself. It gives her help when left with children under the age of sixteen, *even though she be not of age to claim the pension.*' (The italics are mine.) To an unsophisticated mind the expression 'survivorship pension' contained in the first part of this passage seems to indicate a pension payable to a widow as from her husband's death, but this is inconsistent with the second part of

[12] The expression 'surplus income' requires explanation. In the case of a scheme involving accumulation, the income of any year must, of course, in the first instance be applied to pay the claims arising in the year for old-age pensions on the regular scale; the scheme may then provide that the whole of the surplus, or a fixed percentage of the surplus, is to be added to capital; in the latter case, the remaining income would be surplus income available for the so-called 'special benefits,' but Mr. Carson Roberts's huge accumulations would be quite impossible unless the whole surplus was capitalised. This also appears to be the meaning of the following passage appearing on p. 959: 'All surplus income is to accumulate at interest, &c.' If all surplus is to be accumulated what surplus remains for the 'special benefits'?

[13] Mr. Carson Roberts, on p. 967 (sub II), roundly abuses invalidity pensions, and refers to them as one of the specially objectionable features of the German scheme (see my observations, sub XIII).

the passage, which leads to the inference that the survivorship pension, as distinguished from the allowance for young children, is not payable to a widow before she has reached the age at which an insured person becomes entitled to an old-age pension. As regards the scale of this so-called survivorship pension, it is stated on p. 960 that 'one-half of the husband's contribution during married life' is to be 'taken into the calculation in addition to the woman's own contribution.' The mention of the married woman's contributions seems to assume that she herself, as a wage-earner, comes under the scheme, and might lead to the conclusion that a widow who is not herself insured has no claim to the survivorship pension, but I suppose Mr. Roberts means that a widow who is insured on her own account can, on attaining the prescribed age, claim the survivorship pension, as well as the pension to which she is entitled in her own right. As the amount of the survivorship pension depends exclusively on the contributions made by the husband *during marriage*, it must in many cases be extremely small. Mr. Carson Roberts's allegation (on p. 968) that the survivorship pension is 'about equal to that of a woman who has maintained herself' is, therefore, not in accordance with the facts, and the rhetorical flourish about 'woman being treated as an active member of the community' appears quite meaningless, when it is remembered that the benefit in question is only intended for a very limited class of married women, and, moreover, that it is one of those 'special benefits' which are to come out of a problematical surplus.

VIII

The passage on p. 960 stating that 'emigrants and those who reach the wage limit of 3*l.*, and wish to set up in business for themselves, are allowed to reclaim the contribution made by them or their employers,' must, I assume, be interpreted as meaning that the following classes of persons are entitled to the return of the whole of the contributions made by them or on their behalf: (*a*) persons who leave the United Kingdom with the intention of establishing their home in another country; (*b*) persons whose wages have been raised so as to exceed the yearly sum of 156*l.*; (*c*) persons who take up an occupation in which they are not wage-earners. As regards the persons coming under classes (*b*) and (*c*), it is not clear whether they are bound to take advantage of the right to the return of their contributions, or whether they may, if they prefer to do so, remain insured on the basis of the contributions actually made. If they are confined to the former alternative they will suffer considerably, should they, at a subsequent period, again become subject to compulsory insurance; for

in that case their pension would be computed exclusively on the basis of the contributions made after the beginning of their second membership. It is not stated whether Mr. Carson Roberts in his estimate has allowed for the sums required for the repayment of contributions, or whether these, like the invalidity pensions and the widows' benefits, depend on the 'surplus' and the 'actuarial syndicate,' and like these are 'elements of elasticity.'

IX

The promised subsidy to 'the friendly societies and those corporations who have worked to build up insurance by mutual effort' (p. 969) is clearly one of the contingent 'special benefits,' but the light-hearted way in which these bodies are mentioned wholesale, without any regard to the many differences existing between them respectively as to scope and nature of work, financial position, conditions of membership, methods of management, &c., is only one of the many proofs of the superficiality of the methods by which the scheme has been constructed.

X

On p. 972 an enlargement of the scheme is foreshadowed, involving the repeal of the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Acts. Mr. Carson Roberts says that at present the employers cover their liability under these Acts by insurance 'at premiums which range from one to two pence in the wage-pound.' When the proposed enlargement takes place they are to pay twopence in the wage-pound, and the compensation is to be paid out of the fund. The fatuity of this suggestion must be obvious to any person acquainted with the scope of the Acts in question. The scheme insures wage-earners whose yearly earnings do not exceed 156*l.*; the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906,[14] refers to a much wider class than the class of persons which would be deemed wage-earners under the scheme, and includes all persons belonging to the class whose earnings do not exceed 250*l.*,—the scheme, even when it is fully-fledged, recognises total incapacity only as a ground of claim; the Act gives a claim for compensation in the case of partial, as well as total, incapacity,—the scheme, after its enlargement, will provide for widows and orphans in the half-hearted and ambiguous way described above,—the Act gives a claim to compensation to a wide class of 'dependants.' Therefore, a repeal of the Acts in question and the substitution of the scheme, besides imposing larger

[14] In order not to complicate the argument I leave the Employers' Liability Act out of account.

sacrifices on the employers (on Mr. Roberts's own showing), would be of considerable disadvantage to the workmen.[15]

But this is not all. The insurance of accidents arising in the course of employment ought not under any circumstances to be mixed up with the general insurance against invalidity.[16] The former involves a classification of risks and a corresponding classification of premiums, and cannot be made dependent on the duration of the period of insurance, while the latter does not admit of classified premiums, and must, on any sound contributory system, depend at least in part on the length of insurance. To lump the two things together with a uniform system of premiums would be an injustice to everybody concerned, and create a complication of risks which no method of calculation could possibly manage to cope with.[17]

XI

According to Mr. Carson Roberts 'the scheme . . . would not entail a tithe of the regulations and instructions which the German scheme requires' (p. 963), and 'wage-classes, penalties, and forfeitures, investigations of various kinds, adjustments of account, and other administrative complications would be swept away' (p. 970). In order to test the justification of these allegations it will be necessary to inquire into the machinery for the administration of the insurance funds and the methods for collecting contributions and dealing with claims for pensions. Mr. Roberts assumes that the funds will be invested at 3½ per cent., and ultimately produce an income exceeding fifty millions (see his Chart opposite to p. 973). The capital value of the investments would, therefore, amount to over 1,400 millions (about twice the amount of the British National Debt).[18] The total income from all sources would ultimately amount to over

[15] Mr. Carson Roberts says that if the extra 2*d.* in the pound were added to the contributions 'the insurances against premature invalidity or death would . . . be raised to an ample scale with one-third pay as a minimum,' but the forecast is mere guesswork, and not based on any actuarial calculation, and even if the predicted result were certain it would be of no advantage to the workmen who, under the present law, are entitled to claim more than one-third pay, or to those who are now deemed 'workmen' under the Act, but would be entirely left out of the scheme.

[16] I entirely approve of 'Accident Assurance' as a separate system of insurance, and would be glad to see it substituted for the liability existing under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906. The working of that Act has been very unsatisfactory in many respects. See on this subject a very interesting Paper by Sir John Gray Hill, read in 1910 at the London Conference of the International Law Association.

[17] Any sound scheme of invalidity insurance would, of course, provide against the overlapping of accident claims and ordinary invalidity claims.

[18] The investment of such huge sums would, of course, depress the rate of interest, but it is hardly worth while to discuss the financial difficulties of the scheme.

eighty millions—the same sum would have to be disbursed in pensions, repayments of contributions, subsidies to friendly societies, 'preventive treatment for certain diseases, and . . . . special incentives to attain proficiency or to acquire the qualities of greatest value to the nation' (see p. 972). Not one word is said in the whole of Mr. Roberts's article as to the constitution of the authority or board which is to superintend this huge financial undertaking. Is it expected that it should be conducted without regulations or without complicated accounts?

XII

The method of collection and payment proposed by Mr. Roberts is described on p. 971. As far as I understand, it is intended to work as follows [19]: In the case of persons subject to compulsory insurance the employers are to pay the contributions of each employee to the local post office (having previously deducted the employee's share of such contribution from his or her wages). Each insured person is provided with a book, and each contribution is receipted in that book. When the time comes for claiming the pension its amount is ascertained by a process which Mr. Carson Roberts calls a 'simple summation of contributions'; I suppose he means that the amount of the pension is such fraction of the aggregate amount of the contributions as is found when the proper formula of calculation is applied. The pension is then to be paid in regular instalments by remittances from the post office. In the case of a person not subject to compulsion the procedure is the same, except that the insured person himself or herself has to make the payment. The formula for computing the amount of the pension must, of course, be different from the formula applied in the case of compulsory insurance, as the benefit of the Government subsidy is to be confined to the class which is subject to compulsion.[20]

The subsidised funds must for obvious reasons be administered separately from the unsubsidised fund. The administrators of the subsidised funds have to see: (a) that every person subject

[19] I have amplified Mr. Roberts's somewhat bald statement on this subject, and in doing so have tried to give the most favourable interpretation to his directions.

[20] Mr. Roberts says, 'The scheme places no limit upon voluntary membership, but, on the other hand, it strictly limits the assistance given by the State in the case of those who earn over 156*l*. per annum. What it offers to them is a pension free of profit charge, and of any cost in regard to administration' (p. 967). According to this the State is to insure every person, whatever his position or income may be, free of all charges. What possible reason can there be for such a course of action, and what would the insurance companies have to say to that kind of competition? In the case of all Continental State insurance schemes a maximum amount of earnings is always made a condition of admission to voluntary insurance.

to compulsion pays his contributions; (b) that no one whose earnings exceed the prescribed limit is allowed to join the subsidised scheme; (c) that no one whose earnings have been below the limit, but have increased so as to exceed it, is allowed to continue his or her contributions; (d) that the aggregate amount of the contributions paid in any year by any insured person be neither less nor more[21] than the prescribed percentage of wages.

The objects enumerated under (a), (b), and (c) cannot possibly be accomplished unless penalties be imposed on employers and employees who neglect to perform the duties incumbent on them under the scheme, or who make false statements. It must be remembered in this connexion that the employers include every householder who keeps one or more domestic servants, and every trader—however small his trade may be—who employs one or more assistants.

As regards the object referred to, under (d), it has been shown above, sub IV, that the remuneration of the wage-earning class, in many cases, is not received in money from employers, and that, therefore, the payment of contributions by means of the deduction of a fixed percentage of the money wages is impracticable. It will be found on a consideration of the matter that if the compulsory contributions are to depend on the earnings of the insured persons, the class system is unavoidable.[22] If the class system is to be avoided the only alternative system would be the one adopted in France, where the compulsory contribution is a uniform fixed sum for each adult male, and another uniform fixed sum for each female and each youth.

XIII

According to Mr. Carson Roberts there need be no adjudication as to claims, because the contribution book tells its own tale, but surely this is not enough. Even in the case of old-age pensions, payable under the scheme, the claimant must prove his or her age, and the genuineness of the entries in the book must be tested, as well as the question whether the claimant did in fact on every occasion when a contribution was paid belong to the class entitled to the benefits of the compulsory scheme. But in the case of the 'special benefits' some further proofs are obviously required. Thus a person who wants to have one of the 'permanent pensions of adequate amount . . . . claimable by those

[21] A person paying more than the proper percentage would take an undue proportion of the Government subsidy, as under the scheme the pensions depend on the amount of the contributions, and no maximum contribution has been fixed.

[22] In Germany the earnings of each class of employment are assessed by the local authority; on the basis of that assessment the division into five classes is effected. The Austrian Bill also adopts the class system. As pointed out, sub XIV, Mr. Roberts's statements on Austrian law are founded on totally erroneous information.

who become permanently incapable of further work,' must in some way convince some authority that he comes within the definition, and I am unable to see how, in the case of such a claimant, a medical certificate can be dispensed with.

Thus it seems after all that organisation and regulations, complicated accounts, penalties, wage classes, and medical certificates are necessary adjuncts of any scheme having the characteristics which are held out as special attractions of Mr. Roberts's proposals.

XIV

The foregoing observations have proved: (*a*) that Mr. Roberts's option proposal is unworkable, and that if the scheme were to be introduced at all the method for its introduction would have to be changed; (*b*) that under the scheme large classes of persons who are now entitled to the benefits of the Old-Age Pension Act would be left unprovided for; (*c*) that the old-age pension payable under the scheme would not reach the promised third of the average wages, except under quite special circumstances, that many of the old-age pensions would amount to less than five shillings a week, and that it would take fifty years before any old-age pension could be payable at the age of sixty; (*d*) that the invalidity pensions and other special benefits held out as attractions of the scheme, having to be provided out of an undefined and problematical 'surplus,' are of a merely contingent and uncertain nature, and cannot be relied upon; (*e*) that Mr. Carson Roberts has failed to grasp the administrative difficulties which his scheme will involve, and has, in fact, shown that he has made no serious attempt to study the practical aspects of the subject of universal insurance.

Under these circumstances his allegation on p. 958 to the effect that his scheme 'has been worked out after an intimate comparison of the pension systems existing in this and other countries, and careful inquiries as to the actual results of each,' creates a particularly painful effect, which effect is intensified by the presentation of the fruits of his 'careful inquiries' into foreign systems. One of his great battle horses is 'the Austrian [23] law of December 1906.' That law, according to Mr. Carson Roberts, 'is a very bold departure in the direction of obligatory thrift; it provides noble pensions and insurance of all kinds for every employed person, excepting those who earn less than 25*l.* a year. It is based upon absolutely sound financial principles.' This

[23] As the note on p. 977 speaks of Austria-Hungary, it is as well to point out that Hungary, on the subject in question, has an entirely independent system; except as regards miners, there is no compulsory insurance of any sort against invalidity and old age in Hungary.

statement and other passages [24] are clearly intended to convey the impression that the Austrian law in question, like the German law, is one for the insurance of the working classes, but this is not the case; it only concerns certain classes of clerks, *and expressly excludes the working classes from its scope.* At the end of 1909 only 160,000 persons were insured under the law in question, which appears to have been unsuccessful, even within its limited area. This is bad enough; but worse is to come. It seems to be unknown to Mr. Roberts that in 1908 a scheme for the general insurance of the working classes against old age and invalidity, intended to affect ten million persons, was brought forward by the Austrian Government, and has since been publicly discussed and made the subject of universal comment both in Austria and in other countries. This scheme includes and accentuates all the characteristics of the German scheme, particularly those which Mr. Roberts objects to.

The information about Germany is not quite as far from the true facts as that about Austria and Hungary, but it contains a number of misleading representations.

As an instance of this I quote Mr. Roberts's comments on the fact that in Germany 'over 92 per cent. of the pensions are claimed on the ground of invalidity or accident,' [26] and his statement that 'the age claim is destined to vanish entirely from the scheme' (p. 967). It is true that the amount paid on invalidity pensions (including the so-called 'Krankenrenten') in 1909 represented about 90 per cent. of the total amount spent in pensions, but an entirely false impression is created by the allegation that the old-age pensions 'are destined to vanish entirely.' Every person who attains the age of seventy years is entitled to claim his old-age pension if he has not before that age become entitled to an invalidity pension, and there exists no intention whatever to take away that right from anybody; but, as most insured persons become entitled to invalidity pensions before reaching the age of seventy,[27] the number of those who claim old-age pensions becomes naturally reduced. A person who has attained the age of seventy and still earns his livelihood to the full extent is entitled

[24] See p. 975, where it is said that the 'colossal error' made by Germany 'has been wholly avoided in Austria,' and p. 977, where Austria-Hungary is said to have 'cut the Gordian knot.'

[25] In a poor country like Austria it would be a grim joke to say that the working classes are to be insured, but that all persons earning less than 500 kronen are to be excluded.

[26] I cannot here enter into any question as to German accident insurance, which is entirely distinct from invalidity insurance. The reference in the text to accident pensions is only another sign of the confusion of mind which is characteristic of most of Mr. Roberts's utterances on the German scheme.

[27] Out of 129,178 invalidity pensions granted in 1909, 116,290 were granted to persons who had not reached the age of seventy.

to his old-age pension notwithstanding this fact, and if he continues to pay his contributions until he becomes invalided he can then exchange the old-age pension for an invalidity pension, if the amount of the latter is higher than that of the former. Mr. Carson Roberts says: 'This is a joyless prospect to offer to the workmen. Are none to win a few years of honourable rest save those who can no longer enjoy such years?' It is strange that he has no pity with the 90 per cent. who become invalided before they reach the age of seventy,[23] but that the 10 per cent. who remain vigorous at the age of seventy are the subject of his commiseration, because—as he erroneously assumes—they cannot claim their old-age pensions. As the Austrian law to which Mr. Roberts refers does not exist, and as the French law has only just come into force, the only system of compulsory insurance against old age and invalidity of which the results can be tested is the German system.

Mr. Carson Roberts speaks of these results as 'paltry,' but what will the benefits of his own scheme be when it has been twenty years in existence? The German invalidity pensions are to a large extent dependent on the duration of the insurances; and another thirty-five years must elapse before the invalidity pensions can reach their maximum amount in the case of persons becoming invalided at the age of seventy. Under Mr. Carson Roberts's scheme the old-age pensions after twenty years will be considerably less than one-half of the full amount, and the invalidity pensions will still be an 'element of elasticity.'

The complaint about the 'paltry results' of the German system comes with a particularly bad grace from a critic who finds fault with that system because it does not go far enough in the direction of capitalisation. If a larger proportion of the contributions and the whole of the Government subsidy had had to be capitalised in the manner suggested by Mr. Roberts, the German pensions at the present moment would be considerably lower than what they are now. The criticism leads, in fact, to a *reductio ad absurdum* of Mr. Carson Roberts's own scheme, for, if the

[23] Mr. Roberts, referring to invalidity pensions, says (on p. 967): 'In the years that have passed since the German system was designed, many pension schemes, national or local, have been enacted, but none of them have followed the early model in this matter.' Could anything be further removed from the real facts? The only two important specimens of European legislation providing for old age and invalidity are the French and the British statutes. The French statute recognises invalidity as a ground of claim; the British statute only provides for old age, but the passing of a supplementary contributory scheme providing for invalidity pensions is so universally desired that even Mr. Roberts includes 'permanent pensions of adequate amount claimable by those who become permanently incapable of further work' in his programme, though they are not included in his Budget. The scheme embodied in the Austrian Bill—as mentioned above—entirely follows the German scheme in recognising invalidity as a ground of claim.

moderate German capitalisation has produced such paltry results in the first period after the introduction of compulsory insurance, what would be the results in this country in the corresponding period if Mr. Carson Roberts's immoderate capitalisation scheme were to be adopted?

The question as to the capitalisation of contributions is one of degree; if the benefits to be given within the first period are not to be too insignificant, two alternative systems are possible: the system adopted in Germany as to invalidity pensions, under which the part of the pension coming out of contributions consists partly of a fixed amount, and partly of a variable amount depending on the number of contributions,[29] or the system adopted by the French law of 1910, under which the pension—except as to the sum added by the Government—depends entirely on the number of contributions, the additions to the deficiency of the intermediate period being made up by special Government subsidies.

The question as to the capitalisation of subsidies is, on the other hand, a question of principle, the answer to which depends on the view which is taken as to the objects for which a Government subsidy ought to be granted at all. The only country in which Government subsidies are at present paid as an addition to the contributions of the insured is Belgium, where, however, insurance is purely voluntary, and the subsidy is intended as an encouragement to join the scheme; but even there it was impossible to dispense with additions to the *pensions* in the intermediate period, so as not to injure older applicants, and the temporary provisions of the law of 1900 accordingly provide for an extra subsidy in that shape. Under a compulsory scheme a subsidy in the shape of an addition to the contribution, and intended for capitalisation in the same way as the contribution, is objectionable on principle. The comparison with the subsidies given by employers to the pension funds formed by their employees is fallacious. As between employer and employee a contribution to the pension fund is in effect part of the employee's remuneration. The remuneration of an employee ought not only to provide for his immediate wants, but also for the insurance against invalidity, but it is not part of the duty of the State to supply a part of the workmen's remuneration. As between the State and the members of a pension fund a subsidy is only justifiable in one of two ways: (*a*) as a temporary means of assisting rapid accumulation of contributions by providing additional pensions for the intermediate period (this is

[29] Mr. Roberts alleges, on p. 975, that 'only a small fraction' of the contributions is applied to accumulation, but this creates an entirely false impression. The accumulations in the year 1909 amounted to nearly half the aggregate amount of the contributions, and the accumulated funds had a value of over 75,000,000*l*.

done under the French law of 1910); (b) as a form of assistance to indigent persons, taking the place of Poor Law assistance, though not having the same disqualifying effect; (the Austrian Bill expressly recognises this by a provision, which declares that the addition of 90 kronen made by the Government to the invalidity and old-age pension is to be confined to the case of persons whose income does not exceed a prescribed limit). Whether the subsidy be given for the purpose of tiding over an intermediate period, or whether it be given for the purpose of replacing Poor Law assistance, it must be given so as to be immediately effective, and therefore take the shape of an addition to the pensions. For the same reasons the old-age pensions payable in future years under the Old-Age Pension Acts ought not to be provided out of contributions and subsidies furnished, to a large extent, by contributors and taxpayers to whom they will be of no advantage. The present generation has to relieve its own indigence, and ought not to be taxed for the purpose of relieving the indigence which is expected to exist in fifty years.[30] From the point of view of practical politics, it is clear that no scheme which, like Mr. Roberts's scheme, promises only scanty benefits to contributors who have passed middle age, and which imposes on the taxpayers of the present generation the double burden of having to relieve their own poor and having to provide for those of the next generation, will have the smallest chance of acceptance.

XV

I do not wish to discuss Mr. Carson Roberts's forecasts of the future cost of old-age pensions and of the supplemental Government measure. As regards the latter, his estimate must have been purely arbitrary, as he could not have known anything about the nature of the Government scheme. As regards the former I do not feel satisfied that he has properly considered all the factors which influence the figures, and in any case a forecast covering such a very long period must always be of a speculative character.[31]

[30] Under the French law of 1910 the capital value of the annuities granted by the Government when the insured have reached the prescribed age or become invalided is charged to the expenses of the year in which such pension is granted. There is something to be said for this method, as a pension when granted is really a part of the National Debt, but to describe the capital value of pensions *to be granted in the future* as a part of the National Debt is absurd; one might as well assess the capital value of the salaries of all Government officials and say that that capital value is part of the National Debt.

[31] It must also be remembered that the question whether the expenditure of a particular sum in a particular year exceeds the proper limit, cannot be answered without knowledge as to the means which will exist in that year for meeting that expenditure. As the wealth of the country increases, its power to bear taxes increases. In fifty years a charge of twenty-five millions, in all probability, will not be nearly as burdensome as it would be now.

But whether he be right or wrong, the remedy which he suggests, if it were possible to apply it, would be considerably worse than the disease he points out. The matter is, no doubt, one which requires the serious attention of every advocate of sound State finance, and it is to be hoped that the Government proposals, of which an outline has recently been published, will be jealously scrutinised by all competent persons; but the issues ought not to be confused by the consideration of rival projects, based on unsound economics [32] and constructed with insufficient technical knowledge and without adequate appreciation of the relevant facts.

ERNEST J. SCHUSTER.

[32] I have abstained from criticising Mr. Roberts' economic doctrines; the following passage taken from p. 963 is a good specimen of their quality: 'The subsidy voted to a pension fund is a debt due—a supplement earned by the toil which helps to build up the revenues out of which it is paid.' This suggests that it is the proper function of the State to pay a part of the workmen's wages. It is unnecessary to point out the disastrous consequences which the adoption of this doctrine would entail, but if the State is to supplement the reward of toil why should not the meagre profits of small artisans, shopkeepers, and farmers be also supplemented?

THE DEMAND FOR HOME RULE

A SUGGESTED SOLUTION

THE dominant factor in British politics being the question of Home Rule, the time has arrived when vague generalities must be discarded and clear definition given of the meaning of the demand. While in Great Britain Home Rule is described as merely a union of hearts of British and Irish democracies, in Ireland the hatred of the Saxon is not disguised, and in America the determination that Home Rule means a free and independent nation is proclaimed without reserve.

To facilitate clear thinking upon this ill-understood but all-important question, it is well that the underlying causes and the various phases of the agitation be set out, and a possible solution of the present difficulty considered. In searching for the causes of the antipathy to England that animates a large proportion of the Irish people we may put aside ancient history, in the horrors of which each side participated with impartial ferocity. In securing the Act of Union the British Government and its Ministers in Dublin sounded the lowest level of political depravity. But the masses of the people were not moved. The beginning of the trials of the Irish peasantry came with the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders. Hitherto these voters were a valuable asset to the landlord, and as such were secure in their tenure; but with their disfranchisement in 1829 began the consolidation of small holdings into farms approaching the economic standard, with the result that the Irish exodus began. But they did not relinquish their holdings without a struggle, and crime and outrage were the order of the day. Later on the introduction of Free Trade inflicted heavy losses upon the Irish farmers, who felt that they were sacrificed in the interests of the English manufacturers. This measure may have been sound or unsound. The Irish farmers probably took but little interest in the broad economic aspect; they only knew that prices fell and life became harder, and were filled with bitter resentment against a country that had inflicted upon them what they conceived to be a great injustice.

At this period the great mass of the people lived on very small holdings and eked out an existence by taking con-acre for the planting of the potatoes that were the staple food of the peasantry. The small holder, having laboriously collected manure, took at a heavy rent—sometimes as much as 6*l.* per acre—a plot of half an acre or more, from which he gathered an enormous crop of potatoes. The smaller potatoes fed one or two pigs, which sold well and enabled the con-acre man to buy milk, while the farmer had the land manured and ready for a crop of corn for the next year. So long as the potato crop was abundant this system enabled the country to support a large population on the lowest level of comfort. Adam Smith saw the danger of the situation, and pointed out that the failure of the potato crop must mean famine, as it left nothing upon which the people could fall back. In 1845 the soundness of his views was exemplified. In that year a blight swept over and utterly destroyed the potato crop, leaving the poorer cultivators dazed and starving. The landlords did what they could to help their unfortunate tenants, but their incomes had practically vanished. The Government, hidebound by economic ideas, determined that the people should not be pauperised by gifts of food. They must work for any relief. So roads were projected everywhere—roads that could never develop anything; roads leading to morasses; roads into the barren bogs; roads that were palpably useless. The starving people might with as much reason have been put to shot drill as a preliminary to a scanty meal. And the people laid down the spades and shovels that they were too weak to use, and died in thousands on the roadside. No pen could exaggerate the horrors of that awful famine of 1845-46. Then came the cruellest law that ever disgraced a Parliament. A clause in the Relief Act provided that should any farmer who held land be forced to apply for aid under the Act for himself and his family, he should not have it until he had first given up all his land to the landlord except one quarter of an acre. The consequence was that men, who with assistance in food and seed might have tided over the crisis and preserved their families, were driven from their farms to join the 'working' gangs or to struggle for a passage to America through never-to-be-forgotten horrors. At this time two American warships arrived in Cork Harbour laden with corn for the famine-stricken people, but were detained for some time, and permission refused to land the corn, while the question was being considered in London whether the corn could be permitted to be landed until it had paid the duty! No wonder that the thousands who sought safety and shelter in America left Ireland with curses on their lips, and in considering the attitude of the Irish in America, the majority of whom are the children and grandchildren

of these striken emigrants, we should not forget the causes that left a blistet of hatred requiring more than two generations to assuage.

The epidemic of cholera that swept over the country in the following year carried off many thousands of the enfeebled survivors of the famine. Again the land was filled with wailing, and the people became desperate. The rebellion of 1848 was a hopeless evidence of exasperation, and was never dangerous; evictions became more frequent, and the tide of emigration was swelled by large numbers of tenants who, on giving up their small holdings, were sent to America, the late landlord contributing two-thirds of the cost of the passage of the man and his family, and the Guardians the remainder. In the meantime, the Encumbered Estates Act had been passed, and thousands of properties were being sold at ridiculously low prices, and purchased by individuals or companies as commercial speculations. The change on these properties of the relations between landlord and tenant was profound. Rents were in most cases raised and regular payment was demanded, and as far as possible enforced. This may seem a matter of course, but under the old landlords irregularity of payment was the normal condition. The change was not received with favour; it was resisted by means lawful and unlawful, and laid the foundation of antagonism that afterwards developed against landlordism in general.

The American Civil War attracted to the ranks of the Northern Army many thousands of Irishmen, who proved their valuable qualities as a fighting race, and who, at the conclusion of the war, found themselves with military training, experienced in warfare, and with a supply of officers who had experience in the field. Many were the emigrants of the bitter famine years, who, filled with desire to strike a blow at England, accepted the theory that the survivors who remained in Ireland were animated by a like enthusiasm. In 1866 many Irish-American soldiers came over to assist in carrying out the projected rebellion planned by James Stephens; but they found little enthusiasm and no preparation, so they returned to assist in the two abortive attempts at the invasion of Canada.

Down to this time the efforts of the Fenians had been directed towards an Irish secession. There was great folly, but nothing ignoble, in the idea, and its failure might have been remembered without bitterness but for the hanging of three young men, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, in June 1867 for the constructive murder of a policeman, killed by a bullet fired into the lock of a police van for the purpose of bursting it open and releasing two Fenian prisoners being conveyed in the van. When one reads now the actual circumstances of the crime and the trial, it is difficult

to conceive how the executive of the day could have permitted the carrying out of the extreme penalty. No circumstance of the long series of disorders has sunk so deeply into the minds of the disaffected portion of the Irish people, and annually in many parts of Ireland processions in honour of 'The Manchester Martyrs' are still formed on the anniversary of the executions.

In 1873 Isaac Butt, Q.C., M.P., a Protestant and an able lawyer, formed a Home Rule party, which included members of both parties, and many Conservative landlords. His demand was the restoration of the Irish Parliament in its former component parts of Lords and Commons, with the right to sit in the Imperial Parliament and vote on Imperial affairs. The idea of the Home Rule party was Imperial Federation, preserving for the benefit of Ireland the aristocracy, who are now in process of being wiped out by the action of the land legislation. What the ultimate fate of persistent action in this direction might have been is now a fruitless speculation. The supercession of Isaac Butt by Charles S. Parnell in 1878 put an end to the original idea of Home Rule, and 1879 saw the rise of the new departure in the demand for the expropriation of the landlords and the division of the land among a peasant proprietary. This change in the programme of the Irish party was brought about by the coalition between John Devoy and Michael Davitt. John Devoy controlled the Irish Skirmishing Fund, raised mainly by Patrick Ford, editor of the *Irish World*, for the purpose of injuring England, whenever and wherever possible, by means of dynamite, rifle, or dagger. The enemies of England were to be approached with offers of assistance; it is asserted that an arrangement was actually completed with Russia for the supply of privateers in the event of the then existing strain between Great Britain and that Power reaching the breaking point. A submarine was purchased, and lay for years in an American harbour, while money was forthcoming for the necessary action in Ireland.

The following are the terms of the cable message sent to Parnell by Devoy:

> The Nationalists here will support you on the following conditions:
>
> First, abandonment of the Federal demand, and substitution of a general declaration in favour of self-government.
>
> Second, vigorous agitation of the land question on the basis of a peasant proprietary, while accepting concessions tending to abolish arbitrary evictions.
>
> Third, exclusion of all sectarian issues from the platform.
>
> Fourth, Irish members to vote together on all Imperial and home questions.
>
> Fifth, advocacy of all struggling nationalities in the British Empire and elsewhere.

Thus was changed the entire aspect of the original demand, involving the extinction of an independent landed class and leaving the country in the hands of an ignorant peasantry. It must not be imagined that this demand for the expropriation of landlords was confined to Parliamentary agitation. From the moment when the no-rent proclamation was made the country was filled with outrage. Murders, burnings, maiming of cattle, threatening letters, and every form of intimidation were reported day by day. Boycotting followed. Landlords, agents, stewards, and bailiffs who had hitherto lived in friendship with tenants and neighbours now ventured abroad in danger of their lives, and every bond was broken that had hitherto bound the different classes together. The country fell into the hands of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, or Mollie Maguires, one of the most blood-stained of all the secret societies that have from time to time terrorised Ireland, whose orders are now paramount with the mass of the people of the south and west, the executive power of repression having fallen from the hands of a Minister unhappily beguiled from the pleasant groves of literature, to stumble along the rugged path of Irish politics, crushed by a burden that Nature has unfitted him to bear.

The inward history of the Mollie Maguires, against whose determination Mr. O'Brien is now making so stout a fight, is very fully set forth in a book, *The Mollie Maguires and Detectives*, by Allan Pinkerton, published by O. W. Dillingham Co., of New York. Pinkerton is the famous American free lance, who supplies everything from a detective to an armed force in support of law and order. The book has no literary merit, but it is the story of the work of a detective day by day for two years, during which he was engaged with the Molly Maguires. In 1873 Pinkerton was approached by Mr. Gowen, the President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company and the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, who informed him that for years the operations of the companies were hampered by a band of assassins, who had murdered many of the managers, and, having got members of their Order elected to the police and the judicial offices, had terrorised the district. Pinkerton sent down a man named MacParlan, who for two years lived the life of an apparently debauched miner, reporting, however, day by day to Pinkerton under extraordinary difficulties. He was admitted to the Mollie Maguires, and ultimately became 'body master,' or chief of a district, much against his will. The following is his account of his initiation and obligation. To all appearances the society was animated by the purest motives : every meeting began with prayer, after which the orders were given for the 'removal' of obnoxious persons. MacParlan was known by the name of

McKenna. As he entered the room where the initiation took place each Mollie, ranged round the room, made the sign of the Cross. He was taken to the middle of the room, and, when all was ready, Lawler, the master, said, 'The neophyte will kneel.'

I will now proceed [said the presiding officer] to explain to you the objects of the Ancient Order of Hibernians: We are joined together to promote friendship, unity, and true Christian charity among our members, by raising money for the aged, sick, blind, and infirm. The motto of the Order is 'Friendship, Unity, and true Christian Charity'—unity in uniting for mutual support in sickness and distress; friendship in assisting each other to the best of our ability; true Christian charity by doing to each other and all the world as we would wish they should do unto us. It is the desire to promote friendship among the Irish Catholics, and especially to assist one another in all trials. You are expected to keep all matters occurring within the division-room a secret in your own heart. None of the workings of the society are to be recalled to those not known to be members.

The obligation was then administered to the still kneeling neophyte as follows:

I, James McKenna, having heard the objects of the Order fully explained, do solemnly swear that I will, with the help of God, keep inviolably secret all the acts and things done by this Order, and obey the Constitution and by-laws in every respect. Should I hear a member illy spoken of, I will espouse his cause, and convey the information to him as soon as possible for me so to do. I will obey my superior officers in everything lawful, and not otherwise. All this I do solemnly swear.

The signs, grips, and pass-words were then given. These being changed at intervals of three months by orders received from Ireland.

The objects of the Order as thus laid down would seem to be not alone unobjectionable, but worthy of the widest publicity. The pledge of secrecy might be explained as the glamour that undoubtedly attracts certain people to the membership of secret societies; but the obligation to obey superior officers, though guarded by the condition 'in everything lawful,' arouses the suspicion of a hidden meaning.

MacParlan worked as a detective for two years, reporting whenever possible to Pinkerton, warning him of projected murders, and cognisant of all the details of the working of the society. Suspected at last, he escaped with difficulty, and ultimately came forward as a witness. The result of the action of the public prosecutor was the conviction of twelve persons for murder in the first degree; of four for murder in the second degree; of four as accessories; and of sixteen for conspiracy. The following extract from the speech of the prosecuting counsel, delivered on the 4th of May 1876, at Pottsville, where four men were arraigned for murder before three judges—the Hon. C. L. Flushing, D. B.

Green, and T. H. Walker—will show to some extent the real character of the society:

The society (Mollie Maguires) sprang up at a time when there was an organised resistance in Ireland to the payment of rents. The malcontents became known as Ribbonmen, and they generally made their attacks upon the agents of the non-resident landowners or upon the constables or bailiffs who attempted to collect the rents. Their object was to intimidate and hold in terror all those to whom they owed money or who were employed in the collection. As a branch of this society, and growing out of it, sprang the men known as Mollie Maguires, and the name of their society simply arose from this circumstance—that in the perpetration of their offences they dressed as women, and generally ducked or beat their victims, or inflicted some such punishment as infuriated women would be likely to administer. Hence originated the name of the 'Mollie Maguires,' which has been handed down to us at the present day; and the organisation of the Mollie Maguires, therefore, is identical with that of the Ribbonmen in Ireland, who have terrorised over the Irish people to so great an extent.

How this association came into this country we do not know. We had suspected for many years, and we know now, that it is criminal in its character. That is proved beyond peradventure. It will not do to-day to say that it was only in particular localities in this county that it was a criminal organisation, because the highest officer in the society in this county, the county delegate, Jack Kehoe, the man who attended the State Convention and was the representative of the whole Order in this county, is at present, as you hear from the testimony, in prison awaiting his trial for murder. Whether this society, known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, is, beyond the limits of this county, a good society or not I cannot tell; but I have believed at some times that it was, and I am willing to be satisfied of that fact now, if there is any evidence of it. But there has been an attack made upon this organisation, and up to this time we have not had furnished to us any evidence that in any place its objects were laudable or commendable. Criminal in its character, criminal in its purpose, it had frequently a political object. You will find the leaders of this society the prominent men in the townships. Through the instrumentality of their Order, and by its power, they were able to secure offices for themselves. You see here, and know now, that one of the commissioners of this county is a member of this Order. You know that a previous commissioner of this county was a member of this Order, convicted of a high offence, and pardoned by the Governor. You know that another county commissioner, before that, was a member of this Order, convicted of an offence and pardoned by the Governor. High constables, chiefs of police, candidates for associate judges, men who were trusted by their fellow-men, were all the time guilty of murder.

But in addition to the criminal and the political motives, these people claim national characteristics. They claim that they were *par excellence* the representatives of the Irish of this county. They claim more than that—that they represent the Irish Catholics of this country. I shall say but little about the Irish, except that I am myself the son of an Irishman, proud of my ancestry and proud of my race, and never ashamed of it except when I see that Ireland has given birth to such wretches as these! These men call themselves Irishmen! These men parade on St. Patrick's Day and claim to be good Catholics! Where are the honest Irishmen of this county? Why do not they rise up and strike down these wretches that usurp the name of Irishmen? If a German commits an offence and engages in murder, do

all the other Germans take his part and establish a false alibi to defeat the ends of justice? If an American becomes a criminal, do the Americans protect him? Do they not say, 'Away with you! You have disgraced the country that bore you'? If an Englishman becomes an offender, do the English nation take him to their arms and make him a hero? Why, then, do not the honest Irishmen of this county come together in public meeting and separate themselves widely from and denounce this organisation? It is a disgrace to Ireland that the honest Irish of this county, probably five or ten thousand in number, should permit a few hundred wretches like these to say that they are the true representatives of the Irishmen of Schuylkill County.

I give this lengthy extract as the result of the trials bore out the statements of MacParlan as to the action of this terrible society, the name of which is still prominent in Irish politics.

So far I have dealt with the forces of antagonism that have been working from abroad; that have supplied the greater part of the funds that support the Irish Nationalists; and that control positively the Parliamentary action of the Nationalist party, and probably the extra-Parliamentary pressure exercised at present with a practically free hand. At home the agitation has been carried out with an entire disregard of every principle that forms the foundation of a civilised society: the law of contract, the security of property, the protection of life and of individual liberty, obedience to the law have been contemptuously put aside by a body of agitators, paid by foreign enemies, and many of whom have no greater stake in the object of the agitation than the salaries they receive.

In all large towns there is an element on which apostles of unrest may always count, and during the land agitation this disturbing element has been utilised to the fullest extent. It has supplied the ingredients for disorderly meetings, and taken its full share in the intimidation that has been so marked a characteristic of the land campaign. These people will always raise their voices against a possible compromise, and work with all their force for the continuance of the troubled waters in which they have fished, not without success, for thirty years. In the meantime, England has struck her colours to the agitation, and yielded to the demand that the landlords must go. Irish Land Acts have been passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1885, 1896, 1903, 1904, and 1909, the result of which is that up to the present some 86,000,000*l*. have been advanced for the purchase of Irish properties from the old landowners and their resale to the tenants, on terms that leave them owners in fee, subject to an annual payment for sixty-eight and a-half years of instalments amounting in some cases to about one-third of their former rent. Further sales to the amount of 40,000,000*l*. have been agreed upon, and a still further sum of about 100,000,000*l*. will be required to com-

plete the land transfer. The repayment of these advances when all the properties have been transferred will require a sum of approximately 200,000,000*l*. That is being, and will be, paid to one single absentee landlord in the shape of the British Treasury, while, though the Irish farmers have 50,000,000*l*. in the savings and other banks, there is no circulation of money, and credit has been shaken to its foundations. Only a few months ago a solvent municipality in the south of Ireland desired to consolidate its debts, small in amount, and under two years of the annual rating. Banks were applied to in vain, and at length two of the principal insurance companies were approached, the security being ample and the proposed interest and sinking fund being reasonable. The answer was that no money could be advanced upon any Irish security.

The attitude of the farmers towards Home Rule is complex. They have undoubtedly a sentimental dislike to England, stimulated by influences both lay and cleric, but those who have purchased their farms only desire to be left in peaceable enjoyment of the advantages that they have gained, and have a lurking fear that when the agitators have finished the landlords, the next army to be led to victory will be the labourers, who are already whispering that the cry of 'the land for the people,' which has been so successful, was not meant to stop short with the farmers, from whom they must have their share. It is so clear that no flaw could be found in the logic of such a demand that the uneasiness of the farmers is reasonable.

Then, it may be asked, why do the farmers vote for the removal of the protecting hand of England? They do so because the political weakness of the mass of the Irish people in the South and West is moral cowardice. They shrink from opposing what they consider a great majority, and it must be remembered that in this portion of Ireland there would be for the mass of the voters no secret in the ballot. Whatever the cause, we must accept the result, in sending a pledge-bound party of some seventy members to Parliament, as an assurance that the great mass of the Roman Catholic voters are in favour of Home Rule.

To this day the details of Home Rule have never been defined. It is assumed by its advocates that the Royal Irish Constabulary, the education grant, the old-age pensions, the agricultural grant and Irish development grant will remain as grants from the Imperial revenue—they amount to about 4,868,000*l*.—and that no contribution will be demanded for the upkeep of the Army and Navy. This is an assumption that Ireland will be treated under Home Rule with exceptional generosity. Every colony of the Empire, whether Crown Colony or self-governing, has to devote a considerable proportion of its revenue to its defence, and it is

unlikely that Ireland would be relieved from [illegible] burden while being granted practical autonomy. The Act of Union is often quoted as at least a contract, and the amount of over-taxation, as reported by the Royal Commission, is looked upon as a reserve fund from which Irish demands must one day be satisfied. The fact remains that the contract is as dead as the Treaty of Berlin. It was broken the day that the Irish Church was disestablished. Granting everything that can be said for the expediency of that measure, it put an end to the contract or agreement of the Act of Union, and restored to the Imperial Parliament complete freedom of action in dealing with the joint finances of the United Kingdom.

Now, putting aside the question of finance, it is well to consider how far the expressed desire of the majority of the Irish people for some measure of Home Rule, involving the session of a legislative body in Dublin, can be satisfied.

Here it may be remarked that whatever measure of Home Rule be granted to Ireland will be insisted upon by Scotland and Wales in equal fulness. If this be conceded, we shall have each division of the dis-United Kingdom arranging its own provincial affairs without interference, and then assembling in force in Westminster to take a hand in the legislation affecting England; or as an alternative there will be four independent Parliaments, each of which will nominate a few delegates to meet for Imperial purposes if a definition of that term can be arrived at.

If we leave out the financial aspect, on which I do not pretend to pose as an expert, the next lion in the path is the attitude of the Protestants of Ulster. I use the word 'Protestants' because, while there are undoubtedly some Protestants who are in favour of Home Rule, the overwhelming majority are opposed to it. We are assured that in the event of a Parliament in Dublin attempting to impose any taxation upon that portion of Ulster in which the Protestants predominate, they will resist, if necessary, with arms in their hands. The strength of Protestant feeling in Ulster is well known, and, however imprudent such a course would be, it cannot be denied that such an uprising might light a flame of fanaticism, not alone in Ireland, but in England, that would produce calamitous consequences. They feel that Home Rule as demanded would hand them over to a Parliament in which the Roman Catholic element would leave them in a hopeless minority and deprive them of the comfort of feeling that they are an integral portion of a Protestant United Kingdom. Every Irishman must sympathise with a desire to see restored to Ireland's capital some measure of its former vitality by attracting to it annually the presence of the classes that made Dublin in days gone by a gay and prosperous city. Can this be done without weakening the bonds that bind Ireland to the United Kingdom? We have

in Ireland every local institution that England and Scotland enjoy. County and Urban Councils, Poor Law, hospitals, lunatic asylums, are all in the hands of elected boards. The only institutions over which Government retains control are the police and gaols and the appointment of the judiciary. The proposal to abolish the Royal Irish Constabulary is tantamount to a demand that the operations of a widespread secret society shall be combated by a series of local police without cohesion, arms, or training. To hand the force over to an Executive that, in the event of the demands of Mr. Redmond's party being conceded, would be composed mainly of men who from their antecedents could not be expected to encourage an impartial enforcement of the law against the tactics of the United Irish League; to place in the same hands the appointment of the judges, would shake the confidence that is now reposed in our superior Courts of Justice. Still, beyond the control exercised by local elected bodies, there are matters of Irish interest, such as railways, canals, or drainage, that could be more satisfactorily dealt with in Dublin than in London, and so relieve the Imperial Parliament of questions that now occupy an undue amount of time. The strongest objection of Ulster to a Parliament or Council sitting in Dublin is that they would be in a hopeless minority. I see no reason why Irish business should not be sent to a Committee of Irish members of Parliament and the twenty-eight Irish elected Peers, sitting together in Dublin during the recess and reporting to Parliament on its reassembling. Such a Joint Committee would make a fair balance of parties, especially when the inevitable redistribution measure becomes law, and we should have the substance of Irish consideration of Irish measures, instead of straining after the shadow of an autonomy that England can never afford to grant except in such a form as would ere long be bitterly resented as Dead Sea fruit.

I am not oblivious of the difficulties of the details of such a solution. It might even involve a change in Parliamentary practice to the extent of remitting Bills to a Joint Committee after the first reading; but the more one considers the difficulties of the detail of any devolution, the more insoluble the problem appears, short of the *status quo* on the one hand or complete separation and autonomy on the other.

The Irish Council Bill, introduced by the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1907, proposed to increase the expenses of Irish administration by creating an Irish Treasury Department. It created a Council of 107 members, whose election expenses were to be borne by the Irish Treasury. It handed over to the control of the Council every department, with the exception of the judiciary and the police, with complete power of loosing or binding the

various officials employed. This control was to be exercised by a series of committees, the least efficient of all means of controlling a department of trained officials. It so effectually removed Irish business from the purview of the Imperial Parliament that it secured the Imperial Treasury from all possibility of pressure in the event of more money being required.

Sections 16 and 17 permitted a slight suspicion to leak out that all might not be well with such a Council, by the proviso that in the exercise of its large powers no preference should be shown to any religious denomination; but the possible objection to such a proviso was appeased by the difficulty under which the validity of payment made under such alleged preference could be brought under the notice of the Judicial Committee, to whom an appeal was given. The Bill was calculated to accentuate rather than to reduce the sectarian friction that is always too ready to operate in Irish matters.

The reports of such a Joint Committee as I suggest would probably be accepted without question by Parliament; a practical Home Rule would be established, while, instead of drifting into fragments, the United Kingdom would remain the solidly cemented heart of the British Empire.

HENRY A. BLAKE.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER

XX

XIX

No. CCCCIX—March 1911

THE LIBERAL POLICY OF IMPERIAL DISINTEGRATION

Lord Beaconsfield in one of his greatest speeches—delivered at t Crystal Palace in June 1872, less than nine years before his lamente death—dwelt at considerable length on the anti-Imperial and ant Colonial spirit that had disfigured the policy of the Liberal party ev since the unhappy day when Mr. Cobden with his raging and tearii propaganda captured, for the extreme Radical party, the old Libera and Peelites on the one side, and the Chartists and Irish Nationalis on the other. A coalition very similar to that of 1846, except f the fact that most of the old Liberals have now joined tl Unionist party, has held office in this country for over five yeai and has freely used its power—which at first was very great to further that Imperial disintegration which was one of Mr. Cobden chief aims. This sinister influence, which is now beginning to produ its natural results, was specially manifested in connection with tl Imperial Conference of 1907. It may be useful, therefore, to reca some of Lord Beaconsfield's words, and to consider their bearing subsequent history and on present circumstances.

Lord Beaconsfield then said:

If you look to the history of this country since the advent of Liberalism—forty years ago—you will find that there has been no effort so continuous, so subtle, supported by so much energy, and carried on with so much ability and acumen, as the attempts of Liberalism to effect the disintegration of the Empire of England. . . .

. . . It has been proved to all of us that we have lost money by our Colonies. It has been shown with precise, with mathematical demonstration, that there never was a jewel in the Crown of England that was so truly costly as the possession of India. How often has it been suggested that we should at once emancipate ourselves from this incubus. Well, that result was nearly accomplished. When those subtle views were adopted by the country under the plausible plea of granting self-government to the Colonies, I confess that I myself thought that the tie was broken. Not that I for one object to self-government. I cannot conceive how our distant Colonies can have their affairs administered except by self-government. But self-government, in my opinion, when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff. . . .

. . . Well, what has been the result of this attempt during the reign of Liberalism for the disintegration of the Empire? It has entirely failed. But how has it failed? Through the sympathy of the Colonies with the Mother Country. They have decided that the Empire shall not be destroyed, and in my opinion no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land.

And elsewhere in the same speech, he declared his full confidence—a confidence that was justified in the next General Election—that the British people were, in all these matters, Conservative:

When I say 'Conservative,' I use the word in its purest and loftiest sense. I mean that the people of England, and especially the working classes of England, are proud of belonging to a great country, and wish to maintain its greatness—that they are proud of belonging to an Imperial country, and are resolved to maintain, if they can, their Empire—that they believe on the whole that the greatness and the Empire of England are to be attributed to the ancient institutions of the land.

And after dwelling further on the follies of extreme Radicalism, and their destructive tendencies, he continued:

I say with confidence that the great body of the working class of England utterly repudiate such sentiments. They have no sympathy with them. They are English to the core. They repudiate cosmopolitan principles. They adhere to national principles. They are for maintaining the greatness of the kingdom and the Empire, and they are proud of being subjects of our Sovereign and members of such an Empire.

Before I apply these words of warning and of hope to the circumstances of the present day, and endeavour to illustrate them by reference to recent history, let me point out that twenty years before the date of this speech, Lord Beaconsfield himself had almost lost hope that the Imperialist party could successfully resist the intrigues

of the Radical coalition, or maintain the integrity of the Empire agai them. During the years from 1846 to 1874, the Liberals, under Lo John Russell, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Gladsto were always in power, and nearly always in office—there were or three little interludes, each only lasting a few months, during wh their opponents were in office, but not in power—and Lord Malmesbu in his *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, quotes a letter from Mr. Disra dated the 13th of August, 1852, in which he expresses his despair of bei able to resist the forces making for disintegration. At that period outlook of Imperialism in England was almost as gloomy as it is n and it is to that period that Lord Beaconsfield refers in the w quoted above. 'I confess that I myself thought that the tie [with Colonies] was broken.'

At the present time, as at the time when Lord Beaconsfield sp in 1872, the party in this country that wishes to avert the disintegrat of the Empire—which party is far stronger among the masses of people than it is in the House of Commons—looks largely for suppor our kinsmen beyond the seas. So that it is not only unpatrio but it is also distinctly unfair and disingenuous, on the part of th who have been the real authors of the present crisis—the Radical ho Government and their followers—to endeavour to sow ill-fee between British Imperialists and the loyal people of Canada by im ing to the former an absurd and impossible desire to intrude En interests into a matter of Canadian domestic politics. As Mr. Aus Chamberlain finely observed in a recent debate in the House, English Imperialists are really the disciples and followers of t Colonial statesmen, and especially of those Canadian statesmen, have always been the pioneers and the apostles of the Imperial i Personally, I am proud to remember that some of my earliest less in Imperial politics were derived from Mr. (afterwards Sir J Macdonald and Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Cartier, whom I me Richmond in 1865 as the guests of Sir Morton Peto and Mr. Bra at the time of their famous Confederation mission to England. first to last—and to-day not one whit less than at former perio her history—the attitude of Canada, our eldest daughter-State, to Motherland has been marked not only by stately and dignified loy but also by tender and touching affection. From the earliest t down to 1887, when Mr. Stanhope, the Conservative Secretar State for the Colonies, and our first Vice-President of the Imp Federation League,[1] sent out invitations to the Colonies to send representatives to the first Colonial Conference, and again from

[1] I had the honour to be one of the founders of the Imperial Federation Le and at the inaugural meeting of the 29th of July 1884, on the motion of Mr. Grey (Liberal M.P. for Northumberland, and subsequently Earl Grey, now Gove General of the Dominion), I was elected a member of the original Committee,

own to the last Conference of 1907, Canada has been stretching out her hand to the Motherland. All along she has been eagerly offering us, in the loftiest spirit of patriotism, the first choice of her fullest Reciprocity, and would do so still, as I shall show presently. She has given us the most splendid earnest of the intensity of her national feeling in this direction; and at this moment the solid Unionist party is eagerly desirous of grasping the outstretched hand, and accepting the offer in the same magnanimous spirit as that in which it is made. But when our Radical Government, at an Imperial Conference, met these generous advances with what Mr. Winston Churchill rudely, but too truly describes as 'a banging and locking and bolting and barring the door,' we Unionists are shocked and grieved, and I feel sure that our Canadian brethren will not blame us if we are indignant, not with their statesmen, God knows, who are bound, if the British Government persists in its ill-conditioned folly, to seek other allies for Canada's glorious future, but with the bigots who regard every policy that does not accord with the immutable laws of the Cobden Club as 'sloppy' and 'a disastrous political imposture.' Those are the polite epithets that Mr. Asquith thinks it decent and sensible to apply to the opinions held, not only by the Unionists of the United Kingdom, not only by the vast majority of the statesmen and economists of every one of our Colonies and Dependencies, but practically by the whole civilised world outside the petty self-sufficient clique of the Cobden Club! The Radical Coalition boisterously applauds the offer of Reciprocity by America to Canada, because it makes for Pan-Americanism,[2] but when Canada offers us Reciprocity, having already freely given us Preference of its loving bounty, the Radicals insultingly talk about 'sordid bonds,' and 'bang the door.' An important organ of Canadian public opinion, the Ottawa *Journal*, in its issue of the 1st of February, after discussing the obvious danger to the British Imperial tie that is involved in the Continental American Reciprocity Agreement, shows clearly how grossly unjust to Canada is this ungrateful and irritating attitude of the Radical party. It says:

In Customs matters this country has dealt pretty fairly with the Mother-country since 1896. And Canada has given the Mother-country ample opportunity to do still better. For fourteen years our Customs duties have conceded a preference to England. If England had cared to respond we should have done still more, and with mutual preference established there would never have been

Sir Frederick Young, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Courthope, Sir John Colomb, Mr. Finch-Hatton, and others. We elected Mr. Stanhope as our Vice-President, and as an intimate personal friend of that eminent statesman I can bear the strongest personal testimony to his keen enthusiasm for the cause of Imperial Federation.

[2] The *Nation*, a leading organ of official Radicalism, in its issue of the 4th of February, 1911, says of the American and Canadian Reciprocity Agreement, 'It is, on the part of the United States, even more an affirmation of Pan-Americanism than a bargain.'

talk of reciprocity with the United States. The present proposition, to be pla
spoken, is the outcome of English indifference to business with us.

A good many people in England and some in this country for years pa
whenever inter-Imperial trade preferences have been spoken of, have be
blathering about the meanness of the idea of buying loyalty by commerc
arrangements. If commercial arrangements have no bearing upon nation
affiliations, then no dread need be entertained as to the effect of the prese
reciprocity proposition upon our loyalty. But if commercial arrangements
have an effect upon national affiliations, then a lot of Little Englanders shou
have their heads in sackcloth and ashes now. For fourteen years Canada, com
mercially, has held open arms out to England, but without avail, so far as respo
sive trade preference is concerned. How much longer should this country repu
others ?

That the *Nation* and other Liberal organs are right in their jud
ment that the Reciprocity Agreement made between the Governmen
of Canada and the United States, and awaiting confirmation
concurrent legislation in the two countries, makes for Pan-Americanism
is quite obvious, though it is difficult to understand how this can
regarded by Englishmen as a matter for triumph. Even if it mad
British Imperial Preference more difficult of attainment—and I sha
show presently that this is only true to a very limited extent—on
would have thought that even the most bigoted Cobdenite wou
hesitate to purchase a petty party advantage at such a cost. Wheth
the Pan-Americanism that will be assured by this Reciprocity Agre
ment be at first commercial only, or whether it be both commerci
and political—the former inevitably leads to the latter—the establis
ment of a North-American 'Continental' Zollverein is unquestionab
one of the most important and far-reaching events in modern com
mercial and political history. Applauded by the Radical coalitio
it constitutes a definite and most alarming step forward—hardly le
alarming than the Irish separation with which Mr. Asquith propos
to purchase Mr. Redmond's American votes—in the policy of Imper
disintegration which has been unhappily adopted by the moder
Liberal party.

Whether its economical and industrial results to Canada will,
balance, be likely to be for good or for evil may be a doubtful questio
and at any rate it is not a question for us to discuss on this side of t
water. The Canadians themselves are the best, and must be the onl
judges of that question. It is being fully, fairly, and intelligent
discussed at Ottawa, and must be decided, of course, in the first pla
with reference to what is best for Canadian interests. And we mu
remember that, in this connexion, owing to the perversity of t
British Radical Government, the debates in the Canadian Parliame
cannot turn on the question 'Which is best for Canada, British Pr
ference or United States Preference ?'—there would be little doul
about the decision of the Canadian Parliament if that were the poi

at issue. For what did Sir Wilfrid Laurier say at Ottawa on the 1st of April 1907, on the occasion of the Canadian Club Banquet to Mr. Bryce, our Ambassador at Washington ?

We are turning our hopes to the old Motherland. We have introduced the doctrine and policy of Preference to Great Britain and towards all the British Empire and this is the policy by which we stand at the present time. Not for my part that I do not value American trade. Not for my part that I do not value all that we would have to gain if our relations were on a better footing. But this is a matter on which we shall have no more pilgrimages to Washington. This is the simple message I have to convey to your guest at the present moment.

In that speech at the Canadian Club, Sir Wilfrid Laurier showed himself to be, not only a patriotic statesman, but also an accomplished diplomatist. Not only Mr. Bryce himself and the authorities at Washington, but also the British Government in London, must have understood perfectly well the delicate hint contained in these words. But unhappily—while the President of the United States wisely took it to heart—it entirely failed to elicit any sympathetic response from Downing Street.

And we may note in passing that, with this policy of Imperial Preference, and with the weapon of the Canadian Tariff devised on scientific Tariff Reform principles, Sir Wilfrid Laurier has not had to make any more 'pilgrimages to Washington'! The United States have now had to come as suppliants to Ottawa, with offers of immense concessions that leave poor 'Free Trade' Great Britain entirely out in the cold!

And, further, what did Mr. Fielding, the very able and patriotic Canadian Minister who has now been negotiating with the suppliant Ministers of the United States, say on this subject at Ottawa on the 7th of June 1904, when introducing the Canadian Budget of 1904 ?

The two great political parties in Canada are practically a unit in favour of Preferential trade, and as Mr. Chamberlain has practically taken up *the Canadian Policy* to that extent, Canadians are heartily in accord with him.

And again at Ottawa, on the 29th of November 1906, the same powerful Minister declared :

It is a question for you people of Great Britain. We adopted the British Preference because we believed it was a good thing for Canada. When you people see fit to adopt it as a good thing for Great Britain, why, we shall be *pleased*; but if it does not suit you to adopt it from the standpoint of your own *interests*, we have no objection to make ; you must go your own way.

And while Canadian Ministers were making these patriotic appeals to the people of the Motherland, what did Mr. Borden, the leader of the Canadian Opposition, say ? These were his wise and far-seeing views, uttered in the Canadian Parliament on the 13th of March 1905 :

I have been of opinion for a number of years that the national prosperity of the Empire—and indeed the strength of the Empire, so far as the ties that bind

together the different portions are concerned—might be improved by a system of mutual trade preferences within the Empire. I have advocated a policy of that kind, so far as Canada is concerned, in Parliament and on the public platform, and I see no reason to take back anything I have ever said. I believe that the policy would be a good one, *better for Canada* and for the Empire as a whole. I recognise to the full, however, that while we are free to form our own conclusion as to the wisdom of the policy for Canada and for the Empire, it is absolutely within the right of every portion of the Empire to come to a conclusion upon the matter for themselves. In so far as it touches the material welfare of the British Isles, it is a matter for the British Isles alone. As a Canadian I am heartily in sympathy with the movement. I believe that the people of Canada, of the British Isles, and of the other Colonies and Dependencies could come together on a business basis and make an arrangement by which they could give each other in trade matters certain advantages which they do not extend to other countries.

The quotations I have given from the speeches of the leading Canadian statesmen of the day, on both sides of Canadian party politics, are sufficient to show what is the unanimous opinion of public men in Canada upon the general question of Preference. In the whole British Empire, the sole dissentient voice—Mr. Deakin, speaking at the Baltic in London on the 15th of May 1907, wittily called it the voice of 'the one obstinate twelfth juryman' who stops the verdict—comes from the Cobden Club and its dervishes.

In these circumstances the Canadian Parliament will decide the various questions raised by the American Reciprocity Agreement primarily with reference to the commercial and industrial interests of Canada, and only in the second place with reference to the interests of the Empire at large. And rightly and necessarily so. After the 'banging and bolting' of which Mr. Churchill brags, we can hardly with decency say anything about the loss to British trade and British industry involved in the success of that valiant action of Mr. Churchill and his colleagues. And yet even the Government itself admits that there must be loss. Mr. Sydney Buxton admitted it in the debate in the House. Mr. Montagu, who is now Mr. Asquith's Under-Secretary of State for India, went to Canada in 1904 with the special object of finding arguments against Imperial Preference—on his return to England, he wrote a book to show that the Tariff Reform movement had aroused in the United States a desire for Reciprocity with Canada—and thereon he solemnly warned us as follows:

It would be a deplorable thing, from the point of view of British Trade, were Canada to enter into a reciprocal Treaty with the United States, and would mean considerable loss of trade with Canada.—*Canada and the Empire*, p. 64.

It is happily true that Mr. Fielding assures us that there is nothing in the Agreement to prevent Canada at any future time dealing as she likes with the British Preference. That is highly satisfactory so far as it goes—it obviously gives us in this country new and strong

incentives for pushing on the great remedial policy of Tariff Reform. But he also tells us—which is hardly so satisfactory for British manufacturers and artisans at the present moment under a Radical Government—that where the Agreement brings the Canadian Tariff on American goods to a rate below that on British goods, the latter will be reduced at least to the American level. Yes; but hitherto we have been accustomed to work on an advantage of about 33 per cent. preference over American goods, and it is poor consolation to be told that at the worst only the preference will be lost to us! And Mr. Buxton, when replying to Mr. Austen Chamberlain in the debate of the 8th of February, admitted that according to Mr. Fielding's explanation, some British manufactures will now lose the whole of the preference given to us in 1897, and some other British goods will lose a considerable portion of that preference.

But, turning to the political aspect of the Agreement, Mr. Buxton will have the consolation of feeling that the Liberal Government, of which he is a distinguished member, has at last by its action at the Imperial Conference of 1907 succeeded in doing something towards carrying out the behest of the *Star*. On the 5th of January 1905 a strongly partisan journal, the *Star*, of which Mr. Buxton was stated at the time to be one of the proprietors, declared that

> The truth is, that the time has come for Liberals to hunt the devil of Imperialism out of our politics. It is folly to make terms with it, to imitate it, or to outbid it. The very name is wrong. The very word 'Empire' is an outrage on Liberal principles. An empire implies an autocrat. It means Cæsarism. We are a free people and not an Empire. Let us think democratically, not Imperially. Let us hear no more of this twaddle about our Imperial destiny and our mighty mission.

It is evident from the nature of this Continental Reciprocity Agreement, and Canadian comments on its probable effects, that Mr. Asquith's Government has already done much to oblige Mr. Buxton and the *Star*, and to make it impossible hereafter for any Liberal politician to talk this 'twaddle' without a blush.

When the Agreement was before the House of Representatives at Washington, no less a personage than the Speaker-elect of the new House, Mr. Champ Clark, advocated its ratification on the ground that it would lead the way to the peaceable absorption of Canada by the United States. The statement was received with loud applause. And when asked by another member whether this would be approved by Great Britain, he frankly declared his opinion—obviously based on the attitude of British Radicals—that Great Britain would 'gladly yield her North American Colony.' Subsequently, another member of Congress, Mr. Bennet, moved to refer the question of annexation to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Of course, every effort has been

made, both here and in the States, to minimise the importance of these statements! But an American politician in the responsible position of Speaker-elect—who will be the virtual leader of the new House of Representatives—can hardly afford to speak with levity on such a subject. And the mere fact that the statements have been made is sufficient to show that the belief in Great Britain's willingness to disintegrate her Empire is not unknown in the States.

The report of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington very fairly and honestly stated that the McCall Bill, embodying the Reciprocity Agreement, 'takes a long step towards establishing for continental North America a policy of unrestricted trade and commerce'—that is to say, a policy under which the United States will have incorporated Canada with itself as one great commercial and fiscal unit, each of the two members thereof giving the other Free Trade, and each taxing British goods as the goods of a foreign nation.

Now, that being the understood and admitted tendency of the Reciprocity Agreement, let us see what some of the chief organs of Canadian public opinion say of it. I have already quoted an Ottawa journal. The Montreal *Star*, one of the leading exponents of Imperial politics in Canada, publishes a full-page appeal to Sir Wilfrid Laurier to give up the Agreement:

> We now know, what a few of us realised at first, that such a gift can only be accepted by the barter of our commercial and, ultimately, our political freedom. If we turn the swollen stream of our food exports away from the west-to-east lines that carry it to the British market, and send it along the north-to-south lines to the American market, or, rather, to the American middle-man, we utterly shatter the costly steel framework of this nation, and debase the Dominion to a string of subject provinces serving the convenience of the nearest American centres.

The appeal declares that the Premier is the one man who can save the Canadian people, a people bound to preserve their independence. It declares that the Agreement will cut the Confederation at half-a-dozen vital points, that it will isolate the Maritime and the Western Provinces, that it will turn Quebec into

> the backyard and lumber camp of New England, stunt Ontario, which has been built on the growth of the West, and cause the great railway systems of the West to 'die in the middle.' 'The Georgian Bay Canal will never be dug.' 'Why widen the Welland Canal when Lake Erie starts from Buffalo? Why bother about the Long Sault Dam when nothing but pleasure craft will use the St. Lawrence route? Canadian ports will be side-tracked and Canadian shipping will put itself under the Stars and Stripes.'

And it asks very pertinently:

> Are we going to keep faith with men who have invested money in Canadian enterprises on the understanding that the development of Canada along national lines was a permanent feature of our policy, or are we about to destroy the value

of millions of these investments by a wanton act of betrayal, and close every money market in the world against us for years to come? . . .

. . . If the ties of commerce are no longer to bind the British peoples together, how long will the exceedingly slender political ligaments last?

I might multiply these expressions of horror and resentment almost indefinitely. I will only take one more, from the Toronto *News*:

Mr. Taft's Message to Congress reveals the attitude of mind with which he approached the negotiations. Recognising that the United States has seriously reduced its original stores of raw materials, the President urges that their depletion be stayed by obtaining access to Canadian timber, pulpwood, and other raw materials. For these reasons he is striving to lay a controlling hand upon our great unused heritage before we develop our own manufactures to a higher state or bind ourselves in closer trade bonds to Great Britain and other parts of the Empire.

I venture to maintain that every patriotic Briton must warmly sympathise with these patriotic Canadians. Surely the political aspect of the Agreement more than fully justifies Mr. Balfour's description of its ratification as an Imperial disaster? Surely no intelligent student of politics can possibly doubt the inevitable tendency of its operation? We all know perfectly well that the tendency, at any rate—whether that tendency be checked and stopped, as on former occasions, by the grand loyalty and patriotism of the Canadian people (which most of us hope and firmly believe will be the case) or not—is undoubtedly in the direction of the political alienation of Canada from the British Crown, and her ultimate absorption (which she has hitherto so loyally and wisely striven to avert) as an appanage of her mighty neighbour. This tendency, in such circumstances of close commercial relationship, when aided by geographical proximity, and not balanced by any very broad differences of race or religion, must always be a very powerful one, even when all allowance is made for the noble sentiments, so strong in Canada, of loyalty and national pride and social dignity. For the moment, the Radical party in Britain may affect to under-rate or even to ignore, the strength of this undoubted tendency; but that they are well aware of it can be proved out of the mouth of the very founder and apostle of their anti-Imperialist creed. Lord Morley's delightful *Life of Richard Cobden* has been called *The Pilgrim's Progress* of the Little Englander; and this is how Mr. Cobden speaks, at page 129, of the foundation of the German Zollverein under the astute and masterful leadership of Prussia, and of its political tendencies:

Prussia must be looked upon as a rising State, whose greatness will be based upon the Commercial League (the Zollverein) . . . The effect of the League must inevitably be to throw the preponderating influence over thirty millions of people into the hands of the Cabinet of Berlin. . . .

. . . A common standard of weights and measures, as well as of money, is preparing, and these being assimilated, and the revenue received from Prussia,

whose literature and modes will become the standard for the other portions of Germany, what shall prevent this entire family of one common language, and possessing perfect freedom of intercourse, from merging into one nation? In fact they are substantially one nation now, and their remaining subdivisions will become by-and-by only imaginary.

This is how a clever and far-seeing Radical statesman views such an event as the establishment of a great Zollverein, when he is not oppressed by the exigencies of partisan politics. Throughout the whole course of ancient and modern history we see this tendency continually asserting itself. Even in the most recent times, we can see the same idea underlying the political consolidation, not only of the German Empire but also of the Republics of the United States and of Brazil, and of the great federated Dominions of Canada, of Australia, and of South Africa. And when we remember that among the statesmen who now occupy the Treasury Bench, there are certainly some who are not merely politicians but also scholars and men of affairs, it is difficult to understand how they can conscientiously view this great remodelling of the commercial map of North America with the terrible *insouciance* affected by the Prime Minister in his speech on the Address on the 7th of February, and subsequently in the debates of the 8th and 9th of February.

Mr. Asquith on the former occasion, contented himself with the confession of a British impotence that does not exist except in the morbid brain of a Little Englander. He said:

To my mind—and I speak only for myself for the moment—it is as certain as the rising of the sun or the succession of the seasons that, as time went on, sooner or later, the people of the United States, with their growing population, their developing industries, the constant encroachment upon and exhaustion of their natural sources of food supply—the people of the United States in order to bring down the cost of living and to maintain the fair subsistence of their people, would have been bound to bring down the tariff walls which separate them from countries close to their own doors.

Yes, but the very fact that the United States must, now or very shortly, submit to the inevitable, and open their doors unconditionally to the much-needed inflow of the Canadian products of food and raw material, makes it all the more absurd that Canada should now be expected to purchase, by wide concessions on her part—possibly damaging to her own industries, and certainly prejudicial to British trade—these very concessions from the United States, that the latter Power is bound, for the sake of her own populations and her own industries, to offer gratuitously before very long.

Mr. Asquith affects not to see that it is Canada's reciprocity—which must divert a great volume of trade from the east-and-west

route to the north-and-south lines—and not the American concessions, that affects us in this country. For he goes on to say:

> I will add that the inevitable tendency of irresistible economic forces could not have been neutralised or counteracted by any artificial arrangement which we could make with Canada or any other part of the Empire.

But there never has been, and there never could be, any reason whatever for us to attempt the ridiculous task of counteracting 'the inevitable tendency of irresistible economic forces' that must induce the United States before long spontaneously to open her market freely to the supply of food-stuffs from Canada. Those supplies the population of the United States must have in any case, so that it makes very little difference to us whether she taxes those supplies or not, except that in the latter case it becomes more necessary than ever for us to offer Canada the inducement of a preference, to obtain our share of those supplies direct and not through the American middle-man. Mr. Asquith seems to forget, too, that of late years we have often received larger supplies of wheat from India, Australia, and New Zealand than from either the United States or Canada, and those other supplies are certain to be largely augmented by Preference.

On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether there are any economic forces at all, to induce Canada to throw open her doors to the United States; and there are certainly no irresistible ones. Unlike the latter power she is not in want of food-stuffs; and her rapidly-growing manufactures are neither so vast nor so well organised as those of the United States. The cars that carry the Canadian foodstuffs south will not return empty.

The Prime Minister seems to have adopted the absurd argument of the leading organ of official Liberalism in the London Press, that the maintenance of trade barriers between Canada and the United States was always contrary to nature, and therefore, eventually impossible. Why impossible? It is done in every part of Europe. In taking up such an utterly untenable position, both Mr. Asquith and the *Westminster Gazette* have altogether forgotten the remarkable statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Imperial Conference of 1907:

> We have done everything that we could—that has been our policy—to throw the whole of our trade towards Great Britain. We are side by side with a nation—one of the wealthiest and most enterprising nations on earth to-day—the American people. They are of the Anglo-Saxon race, the great commercial race of the world, and if anything they are perhaps more enterprising than their progenitors, and put in perhaps more energy and activity to push their trade than any other nation that I know of. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the case of Canada, with a population now of 6,000,000 by the side of a population of 80,000,000 of such enterprising business men as are the Americans, our trade with them should be larger than our trade with Great Britain. First of all they

are double in number, being 90,000,000—while you are only 40,000,000. Apart from that, they are neighbours. There is no boundary line except a purely conventional one over the whole territory. Their habits are the same as ours, and therefore we are induced to trade, and cannot help it, by the force of nature. But so far as legislation can influence trade we have done everything possible to push our trade towards the British people as against the American people.

What has Mr. Asquith to say to this phrase of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's 'as against the American people'? Surely this is definite enough? There is nothing 'sloppy' in this!

And the Canadian Premier went on:

In 1897, when we introduced Preference to British trade, the British importations into Canada had fallen to £29,000,000. Now they have reached to the figure of £69,000,000, a very considerable increase.

Again, this statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's is definite and undeniable; indeed, both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd-George, at the same session of the Imperial Conference, strongly corroborated the Canadian Premier's claim. The Radical Chancellor of the Exchequer was forced *malgré lui* to admit that the benefit conferred on British trade by Canadian Preference had been very great indeed.

And then Sir Wilfrid Laurier—answering, as if by a prophetic inspiration, Mr. Asquith's 'sloppy' remarks about 'the inevitable tendency of irresistible economic forces'—went on to say:

Not only have we done it by Preference, by legislation, but we have forced our trade against the laws of nature and geography. If we were to follow the laws of nature and geography between Canada and the United States, the whole trade would flow from south to north, and from north to south. We have done everything possible by building canals and subsidising railways to bring the trade from west to east and east to west, so as to bring trade into British channels. All this we have done recognising the principle of the great advantage of forcing trade within the British Empire. *This principle we recognise.* We are bound to say that though the preference which we have given has not done as much, perhaps, for British trade as the British merchant or manufacturer would like, we have told the British people at the same time that there is a way of doing more. There is the preference of *mutual* trade, and this is what we had in view when we adopted in 1902 the resolution of that year.

Now, Mr. Asquith was one of the two or three representatives of English public opinion who actually heard this speech delivered by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and who therefore had not—as was, unhappily the case with everybody else, both at home, and in the Colonies, and abroad—to rely solely on the fleeting and casual impression produced by a brief and colourless communiqué, followed months afterwards by an immense and practically unreadable Blue-book. And yet Mr. Asquith's speech, quoted above, shows him to be absolutely oblivious of what the Canadian Premier said at the Imperial Conference!

For other people, the method adopted of reporting the proceedings has been entirely successful in burking those proceedings. For

instance, it is impossible to understand how, with this very definite statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's staring him in the face in the pages of the huge Imperial Conference Blue-book—*if he had ever read it*—Mr. Ramsay Macdonald could use the following words when replying to Mr. Balfour in the debate on the Address:

> To say that the Canadian Pacific Railway was built east and west instead of north and south in order that Canadian grain might come into our markets was a bad blunder in Canadian history and altogether a mistake in the well-ascertained facts of Canadian policy.

It seems quite clear that neither Mr. Ramsay Macdonald nor the writer in the *Westminster Gazette*, quoted above, had ever read the Conference Blue-book—a fact that illustrates in a remarkable manner the complaint of Mr. Deakin, the Commonwealth Premier, about the way in which the arguments of our Colonial statesmen, and the replies of British Ministers to them, had been suppressed and lost by the methods adopted in the matter of reporting. In his speech on the 'Needs of Empire,' delivered at the Baltic on the 15th of May, 1907, the Australian Prime Minister said:

> We base our policy on facts, or, when they are interpreted, on figures. But facts and figures alike are not to be used as missiles at the heads of your opponents. . . . When that verbatim report of the Conference does appear, if it ever does appear—that is to say, if it appears in time to be used and criticised—even if it appears flung at you with its many different subjects mingled with each other in a gigantic Blue-book calculated to appal the stoutest heart—we hope that you will take the pains to criticise our arguments and the replies which have been made to them, for we shall be happy to be confuted by better experience, and to be guided by superior light . . .
>
> . . . Remember, gentlemen, that at the Conference we made an offer. The offer was respectfully declined. We asked that you should name your terms; again that was respectfully declined. Those who so declined I have no desire in the least to impeach. But I state the facts. They mark a stage in the history of these Conferences. For if these Conferences are to fulfil their purpose they will require to approach somewhat more closely both in procedure and in character to the debates which take place each day at Westminster. It will not suffice to wait for procrastinating Blue-books to learn long after what has been said or proposed. In the next Conference—a Conference without banquets, a Conference not in a Parliamentary Session, meeting at a business time of the year for business purposes—let the eyes of the people of the United Kingdom be upon the representatives from over seas—and incidentally upon their own representatives. Let the consideration of means and their adaptation to ends be laid before you as they arise. Let no curtain interpose between the propositions before that Conference, the decision upon them, and the people who are or ought to be looking on. Let us hold them in the light of day. Who are those who escape the light of day? Is this evasion by immutable law?

It is clear, from the expressions of opinion on the action of the Canadian Government to which I have referred, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech at the Imperial Conference of 1907 has never been

understood in this country, and it seems very doubtful whether it has ever been widely read in the Blue-books in which alone it was adequately reported. Nor can this be a matter for surprise. The two Blue-books that contain the only full report of the proceedings of the Conference that was permitted by the Government were not published till long after the Premiers had returned to their respective Colonies, and the proceedings of the Conference had become ancient history—they contained 1214 pages of printed matter, foolscap size, they weighed seven pounds, and their published price was 9*s*. 9*d*.! Well might Mr. Deakin speak of a 'curtain' being interposed between 'the propositions before that Conference, the decision upon them, and the people, who are, *or ought to be*, looking on!' Well might he declare that these Imperial Conferences cannot fulfil their proper purpose, if they are to be concealed by such a curtain as this! If the speeches of the Colonial Premiers had been reported day by day in the public Press, so that the British public both at home and in the Colonies could have followed these memorable discussions, their general effect on public opinion would have been something very different.

I am aware that the excuse that is always offered by the Government for the gross scandal of this virtual suppression of the Imperial Conference debates—it has been repeated in Parliament since the Canadian debate, with reference to the coming Conference of 1911—is, that the question was remitted to the Premiers themselves to decide in what way they wished their speeches to be reported. Now, the Premiers were the guests of the Government. The expense and trouble involved by any full and prompt method of reporting, properly guarding against inaccuracies and misunderstandings, would obviously be enormous, though not one penny more than any ordinary host of delicate feelings would have cheerfully incurred without saying a word to his guests about it. The Colonial Premiers are not like some 'statesmen on the make,' who go about with a retinue of photographers, and are always craving for capital headlines and displayed advertisements. I may be wrong, for there is no disputing about matters of taste and good feeling, but I must say that the action of the Government, in imposing on the Premiers the invidious task of saying how much expense and trouble they expected the Government to take in reporting and publishing their speeches, was in my opinion in execrable taste. Of course, there could be no doubt of what the reply would be—simply to accept virtually any suggestion that the Government might make. Mr. Deakin's speech at the Baltic Rooms showed—of course with all politeness—what one member at least of the Conference thought of the whole proceeding. It is to be hoped that the delicacy of feeling of our national guests will not again be imposed upon in this way.

But however this may be, there can be no doubt about the success that has for the moment attended the obscurantist tactics of the Government after 'banging the door' in 1907. This is what Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., himself a distinguished Canadian, and a Trinity College (Toronto) man, says of the present situation:

Mr. Taft and Washington may speak ever so softly and use Homer's honeyed words, but their ultimate purpose is clear. It is to have under the domination of the United States the whole vast continent stretching from the North Pole to Yucatan. Canada is being cajoled, but the object is the same as when something more than delicate persuasion is used towards Mexico. The political, as well as the commercial, possibilities are simply stupendous. We are now getting a glimpse of what Mr. Churchill's locking, bolting, and barring the door, for rhetorical and party effect, means in the actualities of the Empire. In 1907 we at home had our great opportunity to bind Canada to us. Mr. Churchill and his colleagues, for party purposes, refused the opportunity. Nevertheless, Canada allowed it to exist until the end of last year, and still we ignored it. If our Radical Ministers on this side had thought more of the British Empire than of Radical shibboleths, there would now be no arrangement such as this, which threatens to be so deadly in its ultimate purpose.

But, unhappily, the 'deadly purpose' of which Sir Gilbert Parker speaks has been dear to the heart of Radicals from the time of the Cobden agitation down to the present day.

Mr. Cobden, in his famous letter to Mr. Ashworth of the 12th of April 1842, made this plain declaration of the Colonial policy of the Free Trade party:

The Colonial system, with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people, can never be got rid of, except by the indirect process of Free Trade, which will *gradually and imperceptibly* loose the bands which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest.

And we get a lurid illustration of the working of this 'gradual and imperceptible' action of Free Trade in the direction of Imperial disintegration from a remarkable letter, addressed to Mr. Cobden in 1849 by his intimate friend and comrade Bastiat. M. Bastiat wrote:

I remember having rashly insinuated to you in times past the advice that you should direct your attack against the Colonial *régime* with which 'Free Trade' is incompatible. You replied that national pride is a plant which grows in all countries, and particularly in your own (Britain), that it would not do to attempt to extirpate it roughly, and that Free Trade would little by little devour its roots.

In 1847, Bastiat had put before Cobden, in very frank language, the views of French Free Traders as to the benefits they expected to obtain from British Free Trade. He demanded that England should no longer entertain suspicions of France about her 'unlucky Algerian conquest.' He said:

England ought seriously to disarm, spontaneously to drop her underground opposition to the unlucky Algerian conquest, and spontaneously to put an end to the dangers that grow out of the Right of Search.

Bastiat further protested that:

In adopting Free Trade England has not adopted the policy that flows logicall from Free Trade. Will she do so now? If you energetically disarm you diplomacy, if you succeed in reducing your Naval forces, we (French Free Traders shall be strong. If not, what kind of figure shall we cut before our public?

That is exactly the sort of appeal from the gentle foreigner that goe straight to the heart of the British Free Trader.

Lord Grey in 1853 published an account of the Colonial policy Lord John Russell's Administration from 1846 to 1853, which in cidentally teaches us much about the operation of Free Trade in th Colonies. For instance, when the New Brunswick Legislature passe an Act for giving a bounty to the production of hemp, Lord Grey, Colonial Secretary, informed the Colony that, although he consente to this as a strictly temporary measure, he insisted that all commerci legislation must be considered as an Imperial, and not a provincia concern—and must therefore conform to one general policy. An that policy he indicated in these peremptory words:

As while we adhered to the policy of Protection we imposed some onero restrictions on the commerce of the Colonies so, now we have abandoned o artificial system, we do not abdicate the power or duty of regulating alike t commercial policy of the whole Empire.

The late Lord Norton, who was Under-Secretary of State for t Colonies under Lord Derby in 1866–7, said of this arrogant dictum Lord Grey: 'One is rather reminded of the King of Babylon consig ing all his nations to perdition, first for worshipping one way, and the if they worshipped the other way, by this demand on the Colonies instantly to turn over from Protection to Free Trade because Cobden agitation in England had succeeded.

In Canada itself, this arrogant action of the successful Free Trade had far more serious results than in New Brunswick. In 1843, Lo Stanley (afterwards the Earl of Derby, Conservative Prime Ministe had passed the Canada Corn Bill, which admitted colonial corn England at a nominal duty of 1*s*., with a preference of 3*s*. over forei corn, on condition that Canada should tax all imports of United Stat corn, whether for consumption or in transit, at the same rate of Three years later came the Cobden revolution which swept away t preference. Canada in vain tried to establish Free Trade with t United States—the circumstances of the States at that time were v different from what they are now—and during the ten years from 18 to 1856 the exports from the United States, consisting largely of whe to England displacing Canadian wheat, rose from 156 million doll to 293 million dollars!

In 1843, Mr. Goulburn, the Conservative Chancellor of the chequer, had given a considerable preference to colonial sugar gro

in the West Indies. On this, Lord Morley tells us with regard to Mr. Cobden:

> Later in the Session, he [Mr. Cobden] made a vigorous attack on the sugar duties, and the policy of giving a preference to the produce of the British Colonies, when the Colonies contributed nothing to the revenue, and burdened us with civil and military expenses. The whole Colonial trade amounted only to 10,000,000*l.* a year, and to maintain this 5,000,000*l.* were spent by the Mother-country.

This huckstering sentiment was brought out still more strongly in a letter addressed by Mr. Cobden to Colonel Cole on the 20th of March, 1865, on the projected Confederation of the North American Colonies. Mr. Cobden wrote:

> The most interesting debate of the Session hitherto has been on Canadian affairs. This is a subject of increasing interest, and the projected confederation of the British North American Colonies will bring it into great prominence this Session. It seems to be generally accepted here as a desirable change, though I fail to discover any immediate interest which the British public have in the matter. There is no proposal to relieve us from the expense and risk of pretending to defend those Colonies from the United States—a task which, by the way, everybody admits to be beyond our power. Then I cannot see what substantial interest the British people have in the connexion to compensate them for guaranteeing three or four millions of North Americans living in Canada, etc., against another community of Americans living in their neighbourhood. We are told indeed of the 'loyalty' of the Canadians; but this is an ironical term to apply to people who neither pay our taxes nor obey our laws, nor hold themselves liable to fight our battles, who would repudiate our right to the sovereignty over an acre of their territory, and who claim the right of imposing their own Customs duties, even to the exclusion of our manufactures. We are two peoples to all intents and purposes, and it is a perilous delusion to both parties to attempt to keep up a sham connexion and dependence which will snap asunder if it should ever be put to the strain of stern reality. It is all very well for our Cockney newspapers to talk of defending Canada at all hazards. It would be just as possible for the United States to sustain Yorkshire in a war with England, as for us to enable Canada to contend against the United States. It is simply an impossibility. Nor must we forget that the only serious danger of a quarrel between those two neighbours arises from the connexion of Canada with this country. In my opinion it is for the interest of both that we should as speedily as possible sever the political thread by which we are as communities connected, and leave the individuals on both sides to cultivate the relations of commerce and friendly intercourse as with other nations . . . There is also, I think, an inherent weakness in the parody of our old English Constitution, which is performed on the miniature scene of the Colonial capitals, with their speeches from the Throne, votes of confidence, appeals to the country, changes of ministry, etc., and all about such trumpery issues that the game at last becomes ridiculous in the eyes of both spectators and actors.

The outburst of narrow-minded and splenetic Little Englandism in the last sentence of this letter reminds one of similar Radical tirades against the proclamation of the Indian Empire, or those in favour of the scuttle from Kandahar and the surrender after Majuba Hill.

When Lord John Russell's Government came into power after the Cobdenite victory of 1846, Lord Elgin was sent out as Governor-General, to look after the interests of Free Trade in Canada, already suffering from the repeal of Lord Stanley's Preference. But Lord Elgin soon found out that Canada would be ruined if the Liberal Government insisted on imposing Free Trade upon her in defiance of the United States Tariff. In 1849 he wrote angry despatches to Lord Grey, the Liberal Colonial Secretary, in one of which he declared:

> If things remain on their present footing . . . there is nothing before us but violent agitation ending in convulsion, or annexation . . . and I very much fear that no measure but the establishment of reciprocal trade between Canada and the United States, or the imposition of a duty on the products of the States when imported into England, will remove it.

Of course England refused to put a duty on the products of the States!—so in 1854 Lord Elgin was at last permitted to conclude a Reciprocity Treaty. But this again was denounced by the United States in 1866. Lord Monck thereupon sent out Commissions to increase the Canadian trade with the West Indies and other countries, and this policy obtained a certain amount of success. But it was not till the final adoption of Protection in the year 1878 by a decisive popular vote that the Act of Confederation was fully justified, and Canada entered on her great career of agricultural, industrial and commercial prosperity.

I have already shown, in Mr. Cobden's letter to Colonel Cole, the jealousy with which the Radicals viewed the Act of Confederation that was to do so much for the national prestige and power of Canada. This view was shared by Mr. Bright, who asked, in the debate in the Imperial Parliament on the 19th of February, 1867:

> Is this new State to be raised up and get everything done for it? Are they to be independent in every respect, except the choice of their Governor, and yet not pay for their own defence? Better throw in the complement of *independence*, and cut this last link of connexion. Everyone knows that the population of Canada is, family for family, in a much better position as regards comforts than the great bulk of the population of this country.

And, further, with a view to the future, Mr. Bright stigmatised as a 'germ of malady' every part of the new Canadian Constitution that differed from that of his beloved Republican model, the United States!

But the cheerfulness with which both Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright viewed the possible disintegration of the Empire by the loss of the Dominion of Canada has a remarkable parallel in a letter addressed by Mr. Gladstone to my old Oxford friend the late Professor Goldwin Smith, who, during many years of residence in America, first as

Professor of the Cornell University, and subsequently at Toronto until his recent lamented death, was well known as an able and consistent advocate of disruption. Professor Goldwin Smith, in his interesting work, *My Memory of Gladstone*,[3] writes as follows:

> With a view probably to the satisfaction of mortified friends of the North in England, he [Mr. Gladstone] wrote to me suggesting that, if the North thought fit to let the South go, it might in time be indemnified by the union of Canada with the Northern States.

The amazing coolness of this suggestion almost takes away one's breath, and I do not know of any indications in Mr. Gladstone's life or speeches that he seriously contemplated this very extreme step. Lord Morley, indeed, in his charming *Life of Gladstone*, tells us that:

> In their views of Colonial policy Mr. Gladstone was in substantial accord with Radicals of the school of Cobden, Hume, and Molesworth.[4]

Now, we have seen what Cobden's views on the point were. And Molesworth's may be gathered from a speech in the House of Commons on the 22nd of December, 1837, when he said:

> That our dominion in North America should now be brought to a conclusion, I for one most sincerely desire, but I desire it should terminate in peace and friendship.

In that debate, at any rate, Mr. Gladstone spoke in an opposite sense. But when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1846, after the Cobden revolution, he took upon himself to write to Canada, what Lord Morley calls—

> an argumentative Despatch on the commercial relations between Canada and the Mother-country, endeavouring to wean the Canadian Assembly from its economic delusions.

The Canadians did not see the 'economic delusions' in the same light!—which evidently surprises Mr. Gladstone's faithful biographer.

Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking at Portsmouth on the 31st of October, 1899, in days before the 'banging and bolting' episode, roundly declared that 'the Radicals (I mean those of Mr. Morley's school) would have no Empire at all.'

That certainly seemed to be the view of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who said, 'He did not much like Imperialism of any kind'—exactly the idea of the *Star* newspaper, quoted above. And Mr. John Burns declared in the House of Commons on the 8th of March, 1905, 'Possibly this country was never so great mentally, morally, or politically, as when it had very few Colonies.'

I think I have shown that this idea, unknown in Great Britain before the advent of Mr. Cobden, has grown with the growth of the

[3] *My Memory of Gladstone*, pp. 43, 44.
[4] *Life of Gladstone*, pp. 361, 362.

Radical party, until it now dominates the Liberal Government. Moderate Liberals like Lord Rosebery, and even Radicals like Sir Charles Dilke, have vainly struggled against its influence in the party. Liberals very generally profess to take their notions of political economy from Adam Smith; and yet he was full of the Imperial idea. In the hope of inducing some Liberals to think Imperially as well as democratically—the two ideas were harmonised by Adam Smith—I will close this paper with a passage from Professor Nicholson's *Project of Empire*, in which he eloquently as well as learnedly summarises Adam Smith's teaching:

In spite of all the difficulties, a Customs union on the lines approved by Adam Smith ought to be possible if only the idea of Imperial Union is once accepted. The outstanding merit of Adam Smith was his breadth of view; he ranged in search of *facts* over every country and every period; and he was not afraid to project his ideas into the future. Many of these projections have been realised; some are in process of being realised; his project of an empire is still a project. The project was outlined when, by the stress of events, the choice seemed inevitable between *disintegration* and *real union*. It is not often, in the history of nations, that such a choice is twice offered to the British people under circumstances that once more convert the project of an empire into a practical proposition. In parting, let us look at the main objects free from detail; Imperial defence—to which every nation or dominion or commonwealth or dependency or possession contributes its share; a system of representation by which every responsible constituent of the empire has a voice in the control of the concerns of the whole; an immense internal market for every part of the produce of all the constituents; a Customs union and a common policy in commercial relations with other countries; a policy adverse to every kind of monopoly, and favourable to everything that increases the revenue and the prosperity of the great body of the people throughout the empire.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

FOR AND AGAINST THE DECLARATION OF LONDON.

(I)

HE question as to whether the international agreement known as the eclaration of London is or is not to be ratified by this country is one such vast importance as to justify the wide publicity which it is ceiving in the public press. It affects the well-being of every man, oman, and child in this country, so the more its provisions are studied id understood the better.

At the same time it is somewhat unfortunate that its discussion by ie greater part of those who have so far taken part in it has been tended by misunderstandings, misconceptions, and I may even say isstatements. It is a problem that cannot well be disposed of by a ain 'yes' or 'no,' but requires serious study from more than one int of view. Party politics have in many instances influenced the itics, and by so much the criticisms lose force. Questions of such agnitude should be lifted clear above all considerations of party, and ır first and paramount consideration should be whether the Declaraon is for the benefit or hindrance of this country when it unfortunately appens to be at war with another Power. The treatment which ssels belonging to our Merchant Service may receive when this untry is a neutral is relatively a much smaller matter.

At first I was inclined to believe, with the majority of those who ve expressed opinions on the subject, that the acceptance of the eclaration was against the interests of this country; but a closer vestigation of the problem has convinced me that it would, if cepted, not handicap our Navy in time of war, nor would it injuriısly affect the conditions of existence for our people; while in the uch more frequent cases in which we would be neutral, it would be great benefit to our merchant shipping, and incidentally to the ation, by minimising such chance of complications or of war as might e out of the present chaotic condition of affairs.

Broadly put there are two points of view to be considered:

(1) As it affects this country when Great Britain is belligerent.

(2) As it affects our Merchant Shipping when Great Britain is a utral.

Briefly, the Declaration of London is the result of a conference which held sittings in London between December 1908 and February 1909, and which was attended by delegates from Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United States.

It contains a series of rules for the guidance of the International Prize Court, established by the Hague Convention, 1907.

In connexion therewith a Naval Prize Bill has been introduced to Parliament, the object of which is 'to consolidate with amendments the enactments relating to Naval Prizes of War.'

It should be here noted that the prize courts of the respective Powers will still continue to adjudicate on all questions of Naval Prizes, but that an appeal to the International Prize Court is provided.

It is obviously impossible in a short article to discuss the clauses of the Convention in detail, and it will suffice to consider the points which have been specially objected to by the Chambers of Commerce, of Shipping, and by the press. Those who wish to study the Declaration in detail, will find all the necessary information in the Blue Books and White Paper mentioned below.[1]

First I would like to emphasise the proposition that if it appears that the Declaration of London puts Great Britain into a less advantageous position to conduct any war with a maritime Power than it would occupy minus those Rules and Regulations, then such a consideration ought to be the chief with this country. The freedom to conduct a maritime war efficiently is infinitely more important to us than the gain when neutral of any material trading advantage.

Now as between belligerents there are, of course, no rights; each belligerent is free to do its worst against the enemy and the enemy's merchant vessels.

With the exception of the Rules of Blockade, where the Declaration makes any difference is as between a belligerent and a neutral.

The London Chamber of Commerce has recently proposed a series of resolutions on the subject. These embody more or less the objections urged in other quarters, and as they are concisely stated, it may be the most convenient method of considering the matter if we discuss them *seriatim*.

(*a*) That the effect of the Declaration is to alter the Law of Nations as hitherto maintained in a manner entirely unprecedented, and to expose to capture or deliberate destruction food supplies borne to any port of Great Britain in neutral vessels.

In the first place, it seems to be one of many misconceptions that there is at the present time any Law of Nations that deserves the name. That only can be termed a Law of Nations which is agreed to be

[1] *Correspondence and Documents, International Naval Conference.* (Cd. 4554.) *Correspondence respecting the Declaration of London.* (Cd. 5418.) *Naval Prize Bill.* (Bill, 201.)

observed by the Great Powers, and, apart from the points settled by the Declaration of Paris in 1856, there is no such agreement. The Declaration of Paris contains only four articles, viz.:

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.

2. The Neutral Flag covers enemies' merchandise with the exception of Contraband of War.

3. Neutral merchandise, with the exception of Contraband of War, is not capturable under the Enemy's Flag.

4. Blockades, in order to be obligatory, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient to really prevent access to the coast of the Enemy.

It was signed by Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey. The United States and Spain were not parties to it. It will be noticed that this Declaration only settled a few, though very important, points of naval law.

In regard to matters not dealt with by this Convention, each nation has hitherto been a law unto itself, has conducted its wars as it chose, declared such goods to be contraband, seized and sunk such neutral vessels as it liked, and generally speaking, made its rules as it went along.

The second part of Resolution (*a*) refers to our food supplies in times of war, which might be carried in neutral vessels. Does the Chamber realise what part the merchant tonnage of other nations takes in carrying our supplies of food at present? Great Britain owns half the merchant tonnage of the world, and the part taken by other nations in the trade from and to the United Kingdom, or to and from our Colonies, is a comparatively small one. The Resolution presupposes that in a time when Great Britain is at war, her own merchant navy is destroyed, or so far destroyed or prevented from trading, that we would have to rely on neutrals for carrying the necessaries of life to our ports. As a matter of fact, there does not exist enough neutral tonnage to carry our food supplies, even without deducting the tonnage of the maritime nation with whom we were at war. And surely it is an axiom that to presuppose our inability to maintain an open seaway for our own merchant vessels is to presuppose that the enemy has succeeded in destroying our Navy. If such a catastrophe happened, immunity of food supply in neutral bottoms would not save us, the war would be over. Besides, authorities are against the view that our food supplies are ever likely to be in serious jeopardy in time of war. The Commission on 'Supply of Food and Raw Material in time of War,'[2] which sat in 1903 and reported in 1905, says:

Part IV. par. 250: We think that the effect of the naval and shipping evidence is conclusive as to the point, that while there will be some interference

[2] Cd. 2643.

with trade, and some captures, not only is there no risk of a total cessation of our supplies, but no reasonable probability of serious interference with them, and that, even during a maritime war, there will be no material diminution in their volume, unless such a disaster takes place as is referred to in paragraph 116.

(Paragraph 116 distinguishes between a naval reverse and a disaster that would cost us the command of the sea.)

Part II. par. 252: We believe it to be beyond the power of any naval force which would be at the disposal of any possible combination against us, altogether to prevent the importation of our supplies.

Mr. T. Gibson Bowles, who is a very strong objector to the acceptance of the Declaration of London, is equally emphatic on this point. He says in *Sea Law and Sea Power* (page 75) 'that in any case our supplies of food or raw material would be seriously interfered with by any war whatever, much less by war with Germany alone, is improbable. Nature protects us' ; also on the same page, 'even, therefore, had we no Navy to protect it, the access to our ports is such as all the navies of the world could not completely stop. But with a British Fleet of preponderating strength on the sea . . . even so much as any serious interruption of sea-borne supplies is, in the war supposed, almost unthinkable.' So long as our Navy exists, or, allowing for losses in a war, so long as it remains proportionately superior to the enemy's navy, our food supplies will continue to be carried by our own vessels, but if our Navy is no longer able to afford them protection, then the time has come, not for reliance on neutral carriers, but for the capitulation of Great Britain.

(*b*) That the absence of any provision in the Declaration for preventing the conversion of merchant vessels into commerce destroyers on the high sea constitutes a valid reason for praying His Majesty's Government to decline to ratify the Declaration, or to proceed with the Naval Prize Bill.

No one will deny that it is a matter of regret that we could not obtain such provision. The use of privateers is prohibited by the Declaration of Paris, and although it would not be correct to call such conversion on the high seas privateering, still the objections to this method of warfare are much the same. As no agreement on this point was possible, it was left out of the Declaration of London. I do, however, share the opinion that has been expressed to me by many, that our Government did not make a sufficiently sturdy stand on this point.

I believe it is open to the British Government to declare that it will not recognise such vessels, but will serve out drastic treatment to them, and if our Government will say that that is the course they are prepared to take, everyone would hail the announcement with satisfaction. It is erroneous to suggest, as Mr. Gibson Bowles did in an interview reported in the *Westminster Gazette* on the 25th of January, that our Government by ratifying the No. 7 Hague Convention of

1907 has already agreed to the conversion of merchant vessels into warships on the high seas. It is not generally understood that a right to convert any vessel into a cruiser appertains to every Power without question. The objection always held by Great Britain is as to the *place of conversion*—that is to say, she objects to any merchant vessel suddenly changing her character *at sea*, preying upon commerce, and as suddenly subsiding into her peaceful character again. The Hague Convention above mentioned contains the following preamble:

Whereas however the Contracting Powers have been unable to come to an agreement on the question whether the conversion of merchant ships may take place upon the high seas, it is understood that the place where such conversion is effected remains outside the scope of this agreement, and is in no way affected by the following Rules.

The conversion of merchant vessels on the high seas is a point of which too much importance can easily be made. They must be fast vessels of the speedier class of liners, they cannot have a large range of action, as they must remain near a port to which they can easily return for coal. I think in these days of wireless telegraphy our cruisers would give a good account of any such vessels, and if nothing that our Government can do will avoid our putting up with such conditions of warfare, I do not consider that this alone should induce us to refuse to ratify the Convention. The main objection to conversion on the high seas is that privateering was ruled out by the Declaration of Paris, and that the *institution of this method tends to give the impression that it is* a mere shuffling out of an obligation already incurred. The Chamber considers that here is sufficient reason for refusing to ratify the Convention as a whole, but it would seem to be more reasonable to decide this point on the larger question as to whether the advantages of obtaining an agreement on other points of International Naval Law are or are not worth having.

(c) That the admission of the principle of destruction of neutral prizes would be in the highest degree prejudicial to the interests of this country.

This deals with a time of war when Great Britain occupies the position of neutral. Our country has always contended that naval prizes should not be destroyed, but conveyed to the nearest port belonging to the capturing Power, there to await adjudication by its prize court. If it is not in a position to do this, we have always held that such prizes must be set at liberty. But in this respect Great Britain has been a voice crying in the wilderness, and it has never yet been able to enforce its views on other nations.

By the Declaration, the power of destruction is largely restricted, and, moreover, if the prize court sustains the capture or the destruction, there is an appeal provided to the International Court. It is perhaps advisable to quote the actual clauses of the Declaration which deal with this question.

Art. 48. A neutral vessel which has been captured may not be destroyed by the captor; she must be taken into such port as is proper for the determination there of all questions concerning the validity of the prize.

Art. 49. As an exception, a neutral vessel which has been captured by a belligerent warship, and which would be liable to condemnation, may be destroyed if the observance of Article 48 would involve danger to the safety of the warship or to the success of the operations in which she is engaged at the time.

Art. 50. Before the vessel is destroyed all persons on board must be placed in safety, and all the ship's papers and other documents which the parties interested consider relevant for the purpose of deciding on the validity of the capture must be taken on board the warship.

Art. 51. A captor who has destroyed a neutral vessel must, prior to any decision respecting the validity of the prize, establish that he only acted in the face of an exceptional necessity, of the nature contemplated in Article 49. If he fails to do this, he must compensate the parties interested, and no exmaination shall be made of the question whether the capture was valid or not.

Art. 52. If the capture of a neutral vessel is subsequently held to be invalid, though the act of destruction has been held to have been justifiable, the captor must pay compensation to the parties interested, in place of the restitution to which they would have been entitled.

It will be seen that the right to sink neutrals is hedged about with many safeguards. The articles quoted represent a very great advance in the direction of the views always advocated by Great Britain, and moreover, as the capture of neutrals carrying contraband for the enemy is perfectly within the rights of any belligerent, more often than otherwise it would be found that the capturing Power was merely sinking its own property. Critics say this is equivalent to hanging a man and judging him afterwards, but after all the number of our merchant vessels engaged in carrying contraband for a belligerent, and which are captured, is not usually a large proportion of our merchant navy, and the main point is that our shipowners or underwriters shall be able to obtain redress. Far too much seems to be made of this objection, and it is quite overlooked that a refusal to ratify the Declaration means that foreign Powers will continue to exercise the custom of capture and sinking neutrals without any of these many safeguards, and that our shipowners will, as heretofore, be left to the tender mercies of a foreign prize court, without the modification of their prize laws which the Declaration provides. No shipowner prefers this.

At present all prize cases are decided by the courts of the Powers making the captures, and they decide them by their own rules. Surely it must be an immense advance to have these cases in future settled in accordance with an agreed international law, with an appeal to an International Tribunal.

Some opponents of the Declaration affect to believe that no justice can be expected from this Tribunal.

I do not think that such a view can hold. There are judges among foreign nations who are quite as capable of deciding matters of law as are our own judges, and if it hereafter appeared that honest judg-

ments were not given, there would be a very short life for this Tribunal. All the Powers have assisted in setting it up, and it would seem a proper and reasonable view to take that its decisions would be such as to command general respect.

There are two points to be considered which are not covered by the London Chamber of Commerce Resolutions, but which have been raised in other quarters as objections. The first relates to blockades, and the second to the unfairness of an arrangement whereby Continental Powers at war with us can obtain food supplies *via* neutral ports, while all the ports in Great Britain would be considered enemy ports.

In regard to blockade, the new regulations seem to me to be simply a further approximation to the rules of blockade hitherto strongly insisted upon by Great Britain, viz. that for an operation of this nature to be legal it must be effective. Articles 1 to 21 of the Declaration deal with this question. They are too lengthy to quote, but a careful study of them shows that they do not in any wise hamper our Navy in the prosecution of such an operation. As a matter of fact these new rules were proposed by Great Britain.

As to the alleged disadvantage to this country that neutrals can convey supplies to the enemy through neutral ports, while all such supplies to British and Irish ports would, according to Article 34, be held to be consigned to a 'fortified place belonging to the enemy or other place serving as a base for the armed forces of the enemy.' At first sight there would appear to be some weight in this objection, but a little clear thinking shows that the apparent disadvantage arises purely from a want of appreciation of the geographical position. Great Britain and Ireland enjoy an overwhelming advantage in time of war owing to their being islands. According to the authority quoted (*i.e.* the Food Supply Commission) it is almost impossible to conceive a situation whereby food supplies by our own vessels can be prevented from reaching our ports. On the other hand, European nations have some advantage from their living on a continent, but the balance lies heavily in our favour.

If the many avenues which give easy access to our islands are free to our own vessels, they will be equally free to neutrals. If, as I have said before, by a great naval catastrophe they are ever closed to our own vessels, then we would be starved into submission, neutrals or no neutrals.

Although an enemy may procure supplies through neighbouring neutral ports, no one will deny that this would mean a large rise in the cost of food, which would have a very important bearing on the conduct of any war. Again, in a war with a Continental Power, almost the first thing our Navy would attempt to do would be to blockade the enemy ports, and her trade would be entirely ruined for the time. In these days of keen commercial competition it is certain

that no Continental Power could continue to hold its trade if its only outlet was through neutral ports.

The refusal to ratify the Declaration would not alter these natural conditions. If we so refuse we are not a bit better off, and if we accept we are in no worse position. I have no doubt that an enemy would make the fullest possible use of Article 34 in regard to British and Irish ports, but the inference is that an island Power like ours should always attach overwhelming importance to the absolute necessity of its being the greatest naval Power in the world.

I would like here to refer to the position of Mr. T. Gibson Bowles, M.P., who has taken, and is taking, a large share in an agitation against the Declaration. In effect he says: 'Great Britain is by far the strongest naval Power; let us away with all conventions; let us carry on our wars as we like; let us worry and harass the enemy in any way we can; let us treat neutrals as we please; let us stop, search, and capture them as long as they are going to enemy ports, or we think that they are, whether carrying contraband, conditional contraband, or free goods'; and I suppose even he would add, the only consideration restricting us being our power to enforce acquiescence in our proceedings on the part of the Powers who happen to be at the time neutrals.

This, as he says, involves denouncing the Declaration of Paris, which he would like us to do, but I fear that he does not count the cost. Were we to start on such a racket in our next fight, we might find that instead of being at war with one Power we should speedily have to face the rest of Europe. And further, if we did start on such a course, in the next war that came along, in which we might be neutrals, does he not know that the then belligerent Powers would also refuse to be bound by any rules, and that the capture and sinking of our merchant vessels that carried goods for one of the combatants would be more ruthless than ever before, that our redress would be to the belligerent prize court, and that owning half the merchant tonnage of the world we should suffer more in this respect than any other nation? Would not such a course involve us in serious complications with one or even both of these belligerents in our attempt to protect our own shipping? We have faced Europe before, and I do not suppose that we would flinch from it again if it were absolutely necessary, but it is an entirely different thing to adopt as a policy now one that would inevitably tend in the direction of our being forced into such a position, whether we liked it or not. No, I do not think that Mr. Bowles will convince many that his course is the right one for this country to pursue.

Now let us see whether, after weighing all considerations, it is to the advantage or hindrance of our country to accept the Declaration of London. We have seen that the Declaration does not, as alleged, alter what has been called the Law of Nations, rather it codifies what

has hitherto been nebulous, and makes the same rules for all. It is an advance—not the whole way—but a very long way in the direction of British ideals. The supply of food to our shores by neutrals has been shown to be of no importance to us. The conversion of merchant vessels on the high seas is not assented to by Great Britain, and our Government can deal with that question in a very drastic manner if it chooses. The sinking of neutral prizes is hedged round by so many restrictions, that we can obtain redress for illegal treatment where little or no redress has been possible before. The rules of blockade are largely in favour of a Power that can provide sufficient means for making them effective; and lastly, the alleged disadvantage whereby neutrals can supply the enemy through neutral ports, and whereby neutrals may be prevented from trading with British or Irish ports, has been shown to be of little value to the enemy in the first case, and no disadvantage to us whatever in the second.

The distinct advantage of the Declaration is that henceforth we shall know how we stand; instead of chaos there will be law. Before, there was no agreement as to contraband. During the late Russo-Japanese War, Russia declared cotton to be contraband, and no one stopped her so doing. Now we have an agreed list of contraband, another of conditional contraband, another of free goods, and the same prize law all over the world. Some say the free goods list is so small as not to be worth consideration, but, as Sir Edward Grey pointed out to the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce (Letter 4, November 26, 1910), it amounts to about 33 per cent. of our annual exports and imports. Neutral vessels carrying such goods, even to an enemy port, are free of capture, and our trade stands to gain more than any other nation's by this. It is an immense advantage to our merchant navy; it need not engage in contraband trading unless it likes, and should it do so, it knows what is contraband and what is not. Before, everything was uncertain. In addition, we shall have an International Prize Court to settle ultimately all questions arising out of prize law. Can anyone deny that this is a condition of things that is worth having? I cannot take the view that this court will fail to justify its existence, nor that it will fail to render justice even to Britons. Should it unfortunately do so, as I have said before, a speedy end will be made of it, and not only of it, but of the whole paraphernalia of the Hague Conference. In such a case we will revert to the position Mr. T. Gibson Bowles so urgently desires, denounce the Declaration of Paris, and be free to conduct our wars as we choose.

The paramount consideration for us when belligerent is to be able successfully to defeat the enemy and to protect our food supply; and for that we require a Navy which is powerful enough to meet any combination that we may reasonably expect to meet. Some argue that food supplies should be put upon the free list, and urge

the rejection of the Declaration because of such omission. Personally, I consider that Free Food would be the most unfortunate thing that could happen to this country. Given our Navy, our food supplies are certain; given food supplies in the free list, how long would it be before an agitation arose for reduction of our Navy because we had then no cause to protect our merchant vessels? There is, or I should say there once was, a small party in this country who thought the money devoted to our Navy could be better devoted to other objects. That party never did, nor does it now, hold much weight in our councils, and not the least blessing conferred by the wide publicity and the ample discussion of the provisions contained in this same Declaration of London is, that it is bringing home to every one of us, as no discussion on Naval Estimates has ever done in the life of this generation, the overwhelming necessity at any cost of maintaining a Navy equal to the heavy responsibilities which our insular position, our trade, and our commerce impose upon us. Give us our Navy and we need fear nothing.

J. WILSON POTTER.

Postscript.—Since the above was written, the annual meeting of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom has been held. At this meeting the following resolution was passed:

That in the opinion of this Chamber, it is not desirable that the Declaration should be ratified unless it is first modified.

This Chamber is fully alive to the importance of establishing an International court for determining appeals from prize courts, and to other advantages to neutral commerce which would follow from the adoption of the Declaration. But it believes that these are far outweighed by the disadvantageous position in which it would leave this nation in regard to the vital question of the importation of food in the event of our being one of the belligerents. If we should be at war with a Continental nation, foodstuffs coming to our shores in neutral vessels would be liable to interference and possible destruction, while our enemy would be at liberty to import foodstuffs even for the express purpose of supporting his army, by the simple device of having them transported in neutral ships to neutral ports and then importing them overland.

Until the Declaration can be modified by the removal of the unfair disadvantage to which reference has been made, or until foodstuffs can be placed on the list of articles which cannot be declared contraband, it is, in the opinion of this Chamber, preferable to leave matters as they are rather than ratify the Declaration.

While the resolution approves the establishment of an International Court, and other advantages derivable by neutrals from the Declaration, it in effect condemns the whole convention because neutrals may be prevented from carrying food to our ports, or until food is placed on the free list, the latter an impossible as well as undesirable consummation if Sea Power is to remain effective. Incidentally it may be remarked that while the proposer of the resolution, in conformity with its terms, expressed keen appreciation of an International Court,

the seconder derided it and stated that he would infinitely prefer the tender mercies of the captor's prize court—a preference which, of course he could always give effect to by abstaining from appeal.

The Chamber of Shipping consists of thirty-one affiliated societies hailing from the seaports around our coasts, eighteen of them being Shipowners' Societies, and thirteen being Mutual Protection and Insurance Associations. The annual meeting is open to any shipowner or other person belonging to an affiliated society, but no one except a delegate from one of those bodies is allowed to propose resolutions, amendments, or to vote. Neither has anyone but a delegate the right to address the meeting except by courtesy.

The General Shipowners' Society of London, owing to a division of opinion among its members, did not give its delegates any instructions as to how they should vote; apparently nearly all the other affiliated societies instructed their delegates to vote in favour of the resolution.

At the meeting a strong appeal was made by Sir Kenneth Anderson, K.C.M.G. (Orient Steam Navigation Company), for either a postponement of the resolution pending further consideration of the Declaration, or for the appointment of a committee to report on the whole question. He was supported by Mr. Molteno, M.P. (Union Castle Line), and by Mr. Thos. L. Devitt (Chairman of the Shipping Federation). Other London shipowners were present ready to add their voices to counsels of moderation, but they did not obtain an opportunity of speaking.

Those who have followed the discussions on this question, will remember that the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association some time ago passed resolutions in favour of the Declaration. This is by far the more important of the two Shipowning Societies in Liverpool, and is not affiliated with the Chamber of Shipping. It represents about four million tons of steam shipping. I think it may be accepted that many of the leading London shipowners are also in favour of accepting the Declaration; so the situation to-day is, that they and the leading shipowners of Liverpool are in favour of the Declaration, while the rest of the shipping community of the United Kingdom accept it, save practically on one point, *i.e.* their fear that under Articles 33 and 34 neutrals will be unduly restricted in the carriage of food supplies to our ports in war time. Such a view cannot be held by any fair reading of the Declaration, but in the above notes I have conceded this point to the opponents of the Convention. If neutrals were treated unfairly by our enemies in war time, the Power owning these neutrals may be trusted to take the strongest possible means to ensure that its innocent traders' rights were respected. Of course, it might or might not be in a sufficiently powerful position to accomplish this. But let us suppose that the Chamber has its way and the Convention is so modified that neutrals would be allowed without question to carry supplies of food to this country in a time of war. Suppose

our own merchant vessels were prevented from running (and it is only on this supposition that the question of neutral carriers possesses any interest for us), can it for one moment be considered feasible that Great Britain, deprived of its immense carrying trade in its own vessels, could continue any war, or could even exist, nurtured by neutrals alone? Directly our Navy is unable to protect our carrying trade, at that moment the war is over as far as Great Britain is concerned. If we can protect our own merchant vessels, the neutrals trading to our ports will be equally protected by us.

The want of clear thinking that has been responsible for so many of the resolutions passed by Chambers of Commerce throughout the country on this subject has evidently infected the Chamber of Shipping. Its resolution cannot be sustained by any sane argument.

J. Wilson Potter.

FOR AND AGAINST THE DECLARATION OF LONDON

(II.)

I AM afraid that there are few in the land able to realise the tender mercies that were vouchsafed when it was decided to drop the Naval Prize Bill, for the time being, in order that the Declaration of London should be thoroughly discussed at the coming Colonial Conference.

Writing as a naval officer who commenced his career in the early fifties of last century, I view with positive dread some of the clauses in this proposed treaty, as they will affect our interests as a belligerent. The rise and growth of great navies have entirely changed the conditions and order of things, and this treaty in some instances falls far short of safeguarding our interests proportionately with our requirements. Unfortunately, by far the greater majority in the land cannot picture to themselves the probabilities and possibilities that will accrue under the stress of a great naval war. History teaches us little: Nelson's days are our last historical reminiscences, and that great man's sole competitor in the race for supremacy was the navy of France. In those days our naval prize courts were of our own making: now we have thrown up the sponge, and relegated our interests on the sea to the tender mercies of foreign influences that will sit in conclave at the Hague; at once a surrender of all our maritime rights. So I ask, What has brought about this change? Who laid these propositions before us? Who is answerable for accepting them? The whole subject, I say distinctly, is a national question, and of supreme importance to us, as a naval Power, in any future warfare.

I will not weary my readers by entering into some of the clauses of this treaty—they are far too many and complicated for any layman to understand—but when its ratification comes before Parliament under the guise of a Naval Prize Bill, I can only hope that it will not merge into a party question in the ordinary sense. We have to bear in mind that although an international agreement of this description may conduce to the interest of foreign Powers, it does not follow that it benefits this country, considering the totally different conditions under which we are placed; and that from the fact of our being insular, and consequently isolated, we are denied the enormous advantages that other Powers possess in having access to neutral ports, and the still

greater blessings of bordering on friendly States, for the supply of every conceivable requisite in the time of war.

Yet there are two important clauses I must refer to: the first is connected with our conditions of food supply, and the second that there is no safeguard against privateering.

The Foreign Office officials announce to the world, in one sentence, that under this Declaration of London food supply is no longer absolute contraband of war, and in the second sentence they have to qualify these blessings in announcing that it still may be considered *conditional* contraband. Now let us mark this very important word *conditional*, and see its effects. It is all very simple and easily understood, but I will illustrate it so as to make it perfectly clear to those who are not in the habit of 'going down to the sea in ships.'

Let us picture to ourselves England at war, and the enemy's cruiser in chase of a neutral merchant steamer running a cargo of raw material and foodstuffs, destined to a port (it matters not which) of the British Islands. The cruiser, after several hours of chase, and having burnt tons and tons of coal she can ill afford to waste, comes up with the steamer, boards her, and examines her papers. Now comes in the *conditional* part of the play. The captain of the captured vessel declares that his cargo is consigned to an agent at Southampton, and that he is sure the foodstuffs are destined to Norwich for the use of the agricultural community of Norfolk, and not to Aldershot for feeding the Territorial force mobilising for war. In the former case, and as it bears on this *conditional* contraband situation, the cruiser must let the steamer proceed on her way rejoicing; in the latter, the capture is legal. Now, can it be supposed, in the first instance, that there will not be perhaps many of these captures taking place over our lines or the enemy's lines of communication weekly?—consequently, how utterly futile it is to imagine that *conditional* contraband will be respected in the slightest degree, when all the ravages of war are devastating the ocean's highways! The food-laden steamer destined for England will have the greatest attraction for our enemies, and to harass our trade and cut off our food supply will concern them much more than the bursting of shells on the sides of our ironclads. Sentiment has no place in war: the most that can be expected are the obligations that fall on civilised nations in the cause of humanity.

Ah! Treaties, indeed! We know something in this generation of how they can be torn to shreds, even in the halcyon days of peace, when great interests between great nations are involved. Do not let us run away with the idea that the far-distant judicial ceremonies that may take place at the Hague will operate on the nerves of the fighting captain, before he scuttles the merchant steamer laden with foodstuffs when the stars are shining their brightest.

We are living in days when sentiment seems to pervade the age. That benevolent institution at the Hague was born with the sole

object of averting wars, whilst endeavouring to bring nations together to reason before the fatal shot is fired. It was never intended to frame rules to guide nations during warfare. If my memory serves me rightly, Japan did not take much notice of its overtures before that nation fired its first shot on a Russian squadron. There is a warning note in this that we shall do well to consider. And before I close, why, may I ask, do we rush this treaty, wherein no provision is made to prevent an ordinary trading vessel from hoisting his armament out of his hold and breaking out his pendant the moment he has discharged his cargo, where and when it suits his convenience? For purposes of argument, it may be claimed that we have equal rights. Yes, the rights may exist, but let me tell the man in the street that none but the largest and most powerful steamers belonging to belligerent nations will attempt to keep the sea in future warfare. Ours will be employed in procuring us our daily supply of food, but this necessity does not touch our possible enemy; his largest steamers will be employed on our trade routes and lines of communication, destroying all he can lay his hands on. Therein lies the difference, and I say that we shall suffer in consequence for our neglect in not insisting on a clause being inserted in the Declaration of London condemning privateering.

It is stated, as a solemn warning emanating from the Foreign Office, that if the Declaration of London falls through, we alone would be held responsible for thwarting the interests of foreign Powers: there is plenty of time left to make use of the smoothing influences of diplomacy. Reading between the lines of this statement it would appear as if we were already aware of some of its shortcomings. But whatever happens, our concerns rest entirely on framing clauses, or agreeing to clauses, in a treaty that will meet our interests on the sea in time of war.

As I pen these lines, an official of the Admiralty informs us that over nineteen milloins' worth of foodstuffs was imported into this country during the month of January. It is almost incredible to conceive that so much supply is necessary to keep the inhabitants of these isles alive for one month; and when it is considered we are no longer self-supporting for more than two months, what a situation has to be faced! When our lines of communication are open to attack in warfare of long or short duration, where comes in the benevolence of this Declaration? It starts in surrendering our ancient maritime rights to the tender care of the foreigner; it will not operate in the slightest degree to safeguard food supply to any nation in the cause of humanity, because the provision as to *conditional* contraband will not be worth the paper it is written on, when countries are at each other's throats, and further, it has let loose the scourge of privateering, illegal capture, uncivilised methods of warfare, that the Treaty of Paris internationally agreed to denounce in 1856.

V. A. MONTAGU (*Rear-Admiral*).

YOUNG TURKEY AFTER TWO YEARS

THOSE who desire to see a better state of things in the Turkish Empire have from the first had but one question to ask themselves: Is there a better alternative to the continuance of the Turkish Government? Until the revolution of July 1908 the answer was on the whole a clear one. The government of Abdul Hamid was so intolerable and so incapable of reform, that any effort was worth making which might lead to the introduction of another authority, at least in the European provinces; and for English people it was an obvious duty to support the policy of intervention by the Great Powers in concert, if only for the reason that, failing such an intervention, an attack upon Turkey by the Bulgarian Government, driven to desperation by the incursion of refugees from Macedonia and the sympathy of Bulgarians with their compatriots across the frontier, was inevitable.

At the moment of the revolution it was a supreme question for the Bulgarian Government whether to seize such a favourable moment for attack, and there were members of that Government who strongly urged it. But in Turkey itself the spirit of fraternity was in the ascendant; and relief from an intolerable anarchy and internal strife was so welcome, that the idea of war was put aside, and the Bulgarian Government chose the course of peace.

For sympathetic observers in Europe there was, therefore, no course open but that of supporting the Young Turks. No one supposed that the lion would for long lie down with the lamb, or that really constitutional government was conceivable in Turkey. But such was the personality of the Young Turks, and so great the immediate happiness following on their spirited achievement, that it was permissible to hope that public order might at least be provided. The Turks would, doubtless, remain in authority, but their despotism might become bearable. A parallel might be drawn from the liberation of Hungary, where a dominant minority, though virtually despotic, had at least provided personal, if not political, justice to the subject races.

English opinion in regard to this question has rightly followed opportunist lines, and its apparent change of front indicated no change of principle.

The Young Turks have now had time to indicate the stuff they are made of, and there are some observers both in England and France who are inclined to the conclusion that after all the leopard has not changed his spots. It is time to reconsider the policy of two years ago. Criticism has been withheld in the desire to give the reformers every chance, and not to shake their prestige. The English people would be only too glad to leave the inhabitants of other countries to manage their own affairs. But voices are again heard denouncing Turkish rule. The Balkan Committee has by a careful collection of information, and by the personal visits of several of its members, endeavoured to arrive at a conclusion. If the Young Turks are no better than the old, and if Turkey cannot be revived as a self-respecting State and a permanent factor in the comity of nations, the sooner its prestige is destroyed, and an intolerable situation relieved, the better. That is the conclusion which the Christian subject of the Ottoman Empire may be excused for arriving at.

But the onlooker who considers as a whole what the Young Turks have effected, what are the possibilities of political change, and how great are the interests of international peace, will certainly conclude that the time has not yet come for a change of front on the part of the Western Powers. It is rather a new method of action that is required. If the new policy of supporting the Turkish reformers is to continue, the practical task has changed from one of public agitation to that of diplomatic influence; in place of definite condemnation of a government, we have the more difficult obligation of allotting praise and blame.

I

What, then, can be put to the credit side of the account?

The Christian elements in European Turkey are unwilling to admit that improvements have taken place, but allowances must be made for their mentality, which is very different from ours. The Powers, and England in particular, have concerned themselves, not for the political rights of Turkish subjects, but for their personal security; and rightly so from our point of view. Yet that which bulks largest in the outlook of almost every Christian in the East is the general interest of his religious community, with which is identified, in the case of Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians, the nationality to which that community belongs.

We must make allowance, therefore, for the disinclination of Ottoman subjects to judge impartially of that aspect of things with which we are most concerned. The Young Turks have never pretended to be "home rulers." They were avowed Unionists from the first. The policy of decentralisation advocated at the revolution by the Turkish prince, Sabaeddin, was so intolerable to Young Turkish feeling that within three months of the first revolution the prince had virtually abandoned it. What the Young Turks did profess was civilisation on

European lines—regard for personal security and for the economic progress which follows it. By their successes in this sphere the Young Turks will stand or fall. This is the condition, and the only condition, on which English friends have given them their support. It was for this matter of personal security that Lord Lansdowne and Sir Edward Grey worked in recent years, and so long as the Berlin Treaty and its history is remembered, the British Government has not only the right but the duty to demand it.

What we have, therefore, to look for, is above all the security of the peasant from outrage and equality of treatment in courts of law. In other words, we must judge the Turks by their efforts to reform the police, adequately to remunerate the judges, and regularly to pay the soldiers.

Judged by this standard there is much to say for what the new *régime* has done. Freedom of travel is immensely enlarged. Whereas formerly no one might leave his district without permission, he is now at liberty to travel where he likes, and the railways are crowded with passengers. This is not only a relief from personal restraint, but an immense advantage to commerce. Every European who does business with native traders has occasion to observe the effects of this freedom; for instance, the merchant who had borrowed money to enlarge his trade was formerly unable to collect his debts, or renew orders, from his clients, from the mere inability to go and see them; all this is now changed, and the result is a benefit not to be depreciated.

Little indications of what this means are immediately apparent even to the tourist. Travelling down from Servia to Salonika, he sees at once the proofs of increased passenger traffic; it now pays the station restaurant at Uskup to provide luncheon when the train stops; notices hang on the station walls advertising conveniences for pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and on arriving at Salonika you find a new hotel, with which even the modernised tourist can find no fault. The passage of the frontier into Turkey was formerly a definite transition from Europe to Asia; the sensation is no longer one of passing out of Europe. It may be more fitly compared with the change of atmosphere which the traveller experiences on entering Bosnia. His luggage is not now strewn upon the floor by the Customs authorities, and the great increase of railway receipts proves that it is not Europeans alone who experience the improved conditions.

As in the case of freedom of travel, the cessation of vexatious interference has produced a marked improvement in another matter, viz.—freedom of speech. Formerly, the traveller who had any regard for the welfare of the people refrained from holding any communication with them as he travelled through the villages or towns, because he rendered them liable to suspicion and persecution; he will now find that little fear on this score is felt by the peasants, and none in the towns. Before the Revolution every conversation between two or

more Ottoman subjects might bring disaster upon them, and a general atmosphere of anxiety destroyed social life. It is a magnificent contrast for the Turk as well as the Christian to-day that he is free to meet his friends, and even to enjoy public meetings and club life.

The peasant in European Turkey, however, has gained most of all, from another feature of the new *régime*, which is not the direct work of the Government, but incidental to it. I allude to the internecine feud which led in the latter years of the Hamidian epoch to a death roll of 200 per month, according to the statistics collected by the British consular agents alone. It is greatly to the credit of the Young Turks that they have not attempted to continue the noxious method of setting one section of the people against another, employed by Abdul Hamid. By encouraging the national hopes of the Greeks (and giving them *carte blanche* to murder) the late Sultan succeeded in decimating the adherents of the Bulgarian Church—the element most dangerous to him. I myself, for instance, in 1906, visited a large village, which had been a few days before attacked by a Greek and Turkish band, and found the wounded, men, women, and children, lying untended some days after the attack. Thirteen of the villagers, including children, had been killed.

To such abominations the following episode of village life to-day forms an agreeable contrast.

Near Strumitsa, the Bulgarian population had been terrorised by a Greek band, and had accepted a Greek schoolmaster, who was attempting to teach the children a language hitherto unknown to them. Immediately after the Revolution these people reverted openly to their own church, and recalled their Bulgarian priest. Thereupon, Greek emissaries set fire to the church and destroyed it. But this time they reckoned without their host. The Turkish police were sent to arrest the incendiaries; some were flogged and others sentenced to long imprisonment.

The situation in this case was complicated by the presence of some Protestants—the fruits of the well-known American missionary propaganda. These men had refused, even in the worst times, to declare themselves Greek, and such has been the prestige resulting from their courage that within the last few months, a large part of the village, having first returned to worship in its own tongue, has taken a step further, and joined the Protestant Church.

All this may be accounted among the solid fruits of the Revolution, for the attempt to maintain ascendancy by encouraging internecine strife must be strongly tempting to the Turks; and the fact that they have refrained from it indicates a genuine measure of civilised feeling.

The cessation of the Turco-Bulgarian feud has not merely produced a diminished death roll. It has gone with positive results also. The vexed question of the churches, it was thought by many Europeans, would be found impossible to settle without further bloodshed; and,

indeed, before the Revolution, it was common for Europeans to express doubt whether under any European Government, even our own, the murder habit could be eradicated. But the revulsion from hatred to common sense has been most rapid. The Turkish Parliament adopted a law by which the Churches should be allotted to that party which held a certain proportion of support in the village. Such, however, was the improved feeling between the Greeks and the Bulgarians, that they forestalled the ignominious resort to a Turkish arbitrator; they appointed a joint Commission, and have actually settled by mutual consent a question which in the last five years of the old *régime* produced not only quarrels but several thousand deaths.

The necessity of common defence has doubtless operated to bring about this result. But the Turks also must have credit for having abstained from fomenting strife.

Again, all travellers are struck with the great amount of rebuilding proceeding, not only in Salonika and other towns, but in countless villages also—an index of confidence not adequately reflected in the views of British residents and commercial men.

There is, moreover, a very considerable increase of trade. The enormous rise in the Customs receipts is not entirely due to the cessation of bribery, or to the improved methods instituted by Mr. Crawford, the admirable official lent by the British Government, whose work the Turks themselves are never tired of praising. English firms are behind those of Germany and Austria, for reasons which are partly natural, but in spite of the advantages which these countries possess, and their more adaptable methods, English imports are increasing. It is notable that English agricultural machines, for instance, are now on view in a showroom at Salonika, and are widely sold.

Among other incidental benefits, the poorer classes are not now so wholly as of old beyond the reach of medical aid. I have formerly seen even sufferers from ghastly and mortal wounds lying untended in rough cottages, because to enter the Turkish hospital would probably have meant a worse fate, and their own community was not allowed to build a hospital of its own. At Salonika the Bulgarians were occasionally rash enough to enter the hospital, but their experience was not encouraging to others; one man is known to have feigned madness in order to get himself ejected from the hospital because of the ill-treatment received there. To-day, at the same hospital, of which the well-known Dr. Nazim Bey is the active president, Bulgarians may be seen in large numbers, enjoying the comforts contributed by a society of Turkish ladies.

Among improvements incidental to the Revolution we must not omit the new freedom of public discussion, which is now widely enjoyed. At the English Quaker mission at Stamboul, many Turks now attend the open debates held upon religious and speculative subjects. There is a keen spirit of inquiry displayed, and even

Mohammedan Hojas may be found discussing the merits of Christianity with Armenians and Greeks. So long as the Koran is not mentioned, the Bible is eagerly examined. These conferences, in which men of such diverse views take part, are becoming so popular that a larger hall is needed, and indeed no object of happier omen for the Ottoman state could be found. A common platform is not easily devised for people who have for so long lived at enmity. Well-wishers of the people of the Near East may find here the most perfect object for their charity, for the new hall, if funds are forthcoming, will definitely serve to appease the ingrained hatreds of the past.

But the benefits resulting from a mere relaxation of interference are of less importance in the long run than the positive action of the Government. It is more important to inquire what steps the reformers are taking to lay the foundations of future well-being. The Young Turks are free to admit that in visible works of utility they have not progressed far. But possibly in regard to railway, irrigation, and road schemes, the Turkish habit of elaborate inquiry by leisurely commissions is not out of place. A little 'Yavash' is better than the old-time practice of hastily beginning a road and leaving it without bridges. No time, indeed, was lost in setting on foot the investigations of Sir William Willcocks in Mesopotamia, and French engineers have been busy in the Vardar valley and other suitable fields for irrigation. Contracts have been signed for the improvement of roads and new railways. Foreign concessionnaires are apt to complain of vexatious delays; but the backwardness of British firms is not entirely due to this cause, as the progress made by the firm of Sir John Jackson serves to indicate.

The one field of progress for which the Turks claim credit is that of army reform. This, they say, is rightly the first sphere for the establishment of equality. It is to create a patriotic feeling, to turn the eyes of the Christians from Athens or Sofia to Constantinople, to increase the sense of imperial unity and strength, and to indicate the Turkish idea of equal justice.

I was taken through a series of newly-built barrack-rooms, and a considerable number of Christians in the ranks were brought forward. It may indeed be doubted whether the privilege of bearing arms will bring any material increase of happiness to the Christians or the Jews. It is said that the menial tasks are allotted to them, and that equality in this case only means the privilege of dying from cholera on the Arabian sands. In Salonika such was the anxiety among the great Jewish colony to avoid service that the question of birth certificates became a burning one, and it appeared that in a certain year from which the recruiting age was to date, no births had occurred at all! But the theory of Ottoman unity must clearly be expressed in the armed embodiment of the empire; and the Turks have made a start with vigour. European residents scoffed at the promise to enrol

Christians in the ranks. To-day Christian officers are being trained. But success will demand a fairer proportion of the various races. The insignificant influence of the Christian element in one barrack which I saw was markedly indicated when the Mohammedans, in their khaki uniforms, fell upon their knees for the sunset prayer. There must be no sense of subordination for the non-Moslem. It is, however, a boast eagerly made by the Turkish officers that the parents of Christian recruits write to tell them how their sons wish their term of service with the regiment to be extended.

Many turbulent elements, also, are being enlisted for the first time. Travellers who in former days have witnessed the lawlessness of Albania or Armenia will not readily condemn the policy of the Turks in breaking down the authority of those Albanian or Kurdish chiefs, who have flourished on the impoverishment and enslavement of their Christian neighbours. I saw few more hopeful signs than a company of recruits from Novi Bazar, whose familiar aspect of savagery was but slightly concealed by their grey military hoods. For them a term of discipline appeared to me a very proper exchange for the liberty to refuse taxes and bully their neighbours, which I witnessed a few years ago in the district known as Old Servia.

Opinions among those Europeans who accompanied the Turkish army in Albania last year differ widely as to the degree of efficiency as yet attained, but there can be no question that as a fighting forc the army is improved, and that in regard to its political aspect the military forces of Turkey have been assimilated greatly to those of, let us say, the Austrians in Bosnia.

It can at all events be put to the credit of the Turks that not only the common soldier but the gendarmerie and the policemen receive their pay with tolerable regularity.

The efficiency of the gendarmerie is the crucial test by which the new *régime* should be judged ; and it might be wished that the Turks took more advantage of European aid in organising it. But national pride must be allowed for ; and if progress is slow, it is not yet proved that the security of the roads is not already greatly increased, even though the Turks do not yet profess to have completed the reorganisation. Special frontier battalions are being trained.

We might despair of reforms of every kind if the question of finance were not being tackled also. But here, at the very root of all efficiency, it cannot be denied that Turkey has done even more than was expected of her. A man of immense assiduity, combined with great brilliance, has been found in Djavid Bey. For the first time Turkey has had a real Budget, and a Parliamentary control exercised by an active Finance Committee in the Parliament House ; and the Government has also invited the aid of the Great Powers and freely adopts the advice of their representatives on the Finance Commission. The revenue has greatly increased, and though Djavid

Bey has been compelled to allot an undue proportion to warlike expense, Turkey may well be congratulated upon this young teacher from a Salonika school, whose exposition of Turkish financial prospects and political aims made such an impression upon a large number of English parliamentarians at the House of Commons last summer.

Though it is doubtless disappointing to observe that militarism has eaten up what was required for public works and education, there is progress in these respects also. Ministers have shown great interest in educational reforms, and have not been above co-operating with Europeans to this end. They have lectured at the American College and the Turkish Ladies' Club, which meets at the American Mission house. They have paid for students to be trained as teachers at the Scutari College, and greatly improved their own normal schools. It is true that the sum allotted to education in the Budget is not greatly increased, but it would be useless to build schools for teachers who do not yet exist.

Failing adequate governmental action, certain branches of education have been virtually undertaken by the 'Committee of Union and Progress,' among whose members it is a rule that each shall contribute one per cent. of his income to the funds of the Committee. It is now laid down that no branch of the Committee shall be formed unless it maintains a school. A visit to the Committee's school at Salonika is a most happy experience. Among the boys are sons of Turkish functionaries and leading members of the Committee, and a very considerable number of Christians and Jews. The only language employed, besides Turkish, is French, and pupils who undertake to be teachers in after life are received free. It is said that 600 Turkish towns can now boast a Committee school, and though the teachers may not be of the highest efficiency, the scheme does represent an attempt to provide for the future exactly in the way that political wisdom dictates.

There is another class of school which the Committee has established and which has been received with great enthusiasm. This is the night school for giving free elementary teaching to that vast number of men who, under the old *régime*, had learnt neither to read nor write. I have visited these schools in Stamboul and found gathered together there at 8 o'clock in the evening, soldiers, policemen, clerks in clean collars, black Arabs, and dark-faced Kurdish porters with their irregular turbans, learning, in friendly proximity, their A B C.

Among positive reforms effected by the Government, the Turks claim to have done much in the appointment of non-Turks to official posts. But perhaps the most effective recognition of the idea of inter-religious equality has been the Parliament itself. Though 'constitutional' is hardly the word to apply, yet we must remember that methods for securing the preponderance of the dominant race are very familiar in Europe, and particularly in a monarchy so near to

Turkey as Hungary; and where the feeling of religious and racial ascendancy has been so intense it is no small achievement that Christian deputies should be allowed not only to sit but to make the most scathing attacks upon the conduct of the Government.

The press is not so free, it appears, as the Members of Parliament. But criticisms of the Government appearing in foreign newspapers are at *least* reproduced in the Turkish journals, and *it would be* unfair in this or any other respect to apply a standard more lofty than we should demand of certain European states with whom we are on friendly terms and whose methods we seldom criticise.

II

It should, however, be remembered that of all the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, few indeed would be found to concur in the praises which we have allotted in the above survey. No improvement has occurred which inclines the Christian population, at least of European Turkey, to make the best of the situation. The enmities and the hatreds of the past have been too deep to disappear in less than a decade, or perhaps in many generations. The European observer may be pardoned for thinking that he is able to take a juster view, and to accord his sympathy to the attempt of the Turks to revive the Ottoman Empire. He is concerned to see the possibility of civilised life accorded to the population at large. He is not concerned to gratify the political sympathies of one section or another. He therefore judges the success of the Turks, as Lord Lansdowne and Lord Crewe indicated recently in the House of Lords, by the standard of public order. He may condone the policy of repression which led to barbarities in Albania and Macedonia, but he cannot condone the irregular and widespread cruelties which accompanied that repression. It is clear, even to the traveller, that, whatever the cause may be, security has not been provided, and that therefore the support of Europe to Young Turkey cannot yet be regarded as a permanent factor.

It is not denied, even by the Turks themselves, that the troops employed in collecting arms behaved no better than in Abdul Hamid's time. Many thousands of villagers were mercilessly flogged, and great numbers were permanently disabled. Though outrages on women of the old kind do not seem to have been recorded, many were beaten; while a certain number of peasants died under maltreatment and some disappeared. What is perhaps worse than the above (which may have been incidental to a situation which will not occur again), isolated crimes have not been suppressed, while numbers of peasants have been attacked and murdered on suspicion of sympathising with sedition, in spite of the amnesty proclaimed. By these means the *Turks* have blundered *into* provoking a policy of

reprisal, which has made their task harder than before, and which may bring them back to the situation in which Europe was compelled to interfere. They may plead inexperience and the fanaticism of the Turkish population, but Europe must take them as they are. It is to be feared that the leaders have yielded too readily to the demand for a policy of brow-beating and racial domination.

The external indications of trouble include, for instance, the numerous pickets which still guard the railway bridges, the presence of armed bands, and the crowded state of the prisons. It is pleaded on the part of the policy of disarmament that, having taken arms from the Albanians, it was impossible to leave them to the tender mercies of their armed Bulgarian neighbours. But there are leading Young Turks who express regret that even so the policy was not abandoned. It would have been better sternly to punish those who carried arms and to labour at taking away the grievances of the peasant; for so long as these grievances remain, the villager can be induced to support the armed bands which former insurgents are only too ready to keep in existence; while once the bands have taken to the hills, the Turks, in turn, can hardly be expected to do other than avenge the reprisals which these bands commit.

The Band leaders argue that reform in Turkey is inconceivable; that intervention of the Powers must be obtained even at the cost of suffering and death for the villagers; and again that the outrages on Christians are less numerous if a measure of fear is instilled into the hearts of the Turks. A noted leader, Apostol, has threatened with punishment any Bulgarian who should take office under the Turks, and peasants have been punished for giving up their arms. But it is not denied that the visit of this leader to Yenidje last autumn brought upon the district a series of brutalities of an appalling character, and that the murder of six non-combatant Turks at Ishtib has been the sole cause of the imprisonment of scores of peasants. An ominous feature of this has been that the late Minister of the Interior, Talaat Bey, was apparently unable to put a stop to the atrocious methods which prevailed last summer. It is to be feared that the troops, including many of their officers, have been only too ready to respond to the Chauvinistic feeling of the Young Turkish Committees at Monastir and Uskub, and that the Minister has lacked the authority to control the troops. The operations had of necessity to be conducted by the army, the new gendarmerie not being yet organised; and it may be hoped that the special occasion for barbarity will not recur.

No one acquainted with Talaat Bey could doubt his anxiety to confine the troops to civilised methods, and, indeed, some lack of firmness may be excused in a Minister who was but lately a clerk in the Post Office Department, and was suddenly called on to solve one of the most difficult problems of internal government in the world. But

barbarous methods must cease, or the days of Young Turkey are numbered.

The Christian complains that nothing has been done to ingratiate the new *régime* in the eyes of the peasants. He sees no new railways, roads, or improvement works. His school is upset by ignorant Turkish inspectors, and by the withdrawal of many of the teachers on the ground that they were not Turkish subjects. This has occurred even in the case of teachers trained under Protestant auspices, who are now teaching in American schools. The dispute over the schools is one of the troubles which would arise whether the authority were Turkish, Austrian, or any other. The Greek and Bulgarian schools have hitherto enjoyed a liberty which no European empire would recognise, and the Young Turks cannot be blamed for insisting upon some measure of inspection, though the enforcement of the Turkish language would be extremely unwise. But the ecclesiastical authorities decline to admit the inspectors and refer them to the metropolitan officials of the Church. The Turks would have been wiser to deal with the matter less harshly than they have. They would do well to remember the age-long injury which the subject populations have suffered from Turkey as it was. But this is more than we expect from governing races—even those whose civilisation should make them more conscious of the point of view of others. The Turks can see nothing but exaggeration in the complaints of cruelty, nothing but danger and insurrection in the presence of seditious bands, nothing but warlike ambition in the claims of the Greek and Bulgarian schools, where maps are found indicating that the scholars are taught to covet large sections of the Turkish Empire.

European residents have many complaints to make of the Young Turks, some of which are hardly reasonable. From their point of view it is natural to deplore the diminished influence of the consuls, the sometimes truculent attitude of officials, and in general, the assumption of the right of Turkey to be treated as a European State, for instance in regard to the relations of the Foreign Minister with European ambassadors. The immense influence of the chief dragomans of embassies, which was the feature of political life in Constantinople as most men have known it, was naturally offensive to a governing class whose pride demands an equal place with that of European peoples, and Rifat Pasha recently announced that he would in future deal with ambassadors alone.

Some of the proposals of the Young Turks for bringing themselves into line with Europe are doubtless crude. A section has displayed great anxiety, for instance, to destroy the walls of Constantinople, and it is to be feared that the unique architectural relic represented by the ancient defences of Salonika, is not yet out of danger. Europeans are tempted to ridicule the anxiety of mere Turks to place themselves on a footing with Paris and Vienna by pulling down these archi-

tectural treasures. It is to be hoped that this timely enthusiasm of Christian residents for archæology will take a practical shape. Valuable influence is lost in the unwillingness of educated Greeks to cultivate Turkish acquaintances.

One hears much also of Turkish obstruction to foreign capitalists. For instance, the Standard Oil Company, which applied for permission to establish a factory near Constantinople, has found itself without the necessary permission to take up the land allotted six months after the agreement was nominally concluded.

III

It is very easy to argue that a governing class which possesses less cultivation and business capacity than the subject peoples is incapable of building an empire. If this were the view upon which England or the Concert had generally based its policy, every kind of criticism might reasonably be heaped upon Young Turkey. But this is not the nature of the situation. Great Britain is not only in line with other powers in determination to give the Turks a chance, but took a prominent lead in aiding them at the first. While this policy stands it would certainly appear to be the business of Englishmen, whether official or unofficial, to base their action on a desire to see the Turks succeed. From this point of view it is reasonable to make allowance for Turkish mistakes. However great the civilising enthusiasm of the Turkish Cabinet, it would be bound to take into account the limitations imposed by circumstances. A certain conformity to Mohammedan practice is clearly desirable, and to scoff at European Turks because they practise observances with which they can hardly sympathise in reality, is out of place. Still less is it proper to find fault with them for conforming too much and at the same time for rashly offending old-fashioned opinion.

The Young Reformers are confronted with a most difficult task. Neither Hungarians, Japanese, nor Chinese have undertaken the regeneration of an empire with so many inherent difficulties arising from the governing race itself. To take an example. There is a great desire to break up the feudal Turkish estates or "chifliks" in European Turkey and settle peasant owners upon the land; but Turkish opinion will not tolerate a policy which avowedly confers the soil of Turkey upon Christian peasants. This is a certain excuse for the dangerous importation of Bosnian settlers, because incidentally to their establishment on the land, the Greek or Bulgarian peasants who formerly lived as hired servants of the landlord, are now presented with land, under cover of a scheme which appears Mohammedan in principle.

In European Turkey the ambitions of the neighbouring states and the refusal of the Christian populations to accept a Turkish domination, somewhat justify the policy of centralisation and even of

repression. An inexperienced government is confronted with a great secret organisation disposing of armed bands, which often forbid the peasants to give up their arms, and have been known to threaten with death any who take office under the Turks.

Whatever may be the ultimate fate of European Turkey, the action of these armed bands cannot now be too deeply deplored, for the suffering which they inevitably bring upon peasants whose only ambition is to make a living in peace cannot now be weighed against any conceivable gain to the population as a whole, as might reasonably be hoped in the days when Europe was engaged in imposing its authority upon the Turkish Government.

The difficulties which hamper the real reformers from governing as they wished to do are freely stated by them. They are four—the want of men, the want of money, fanaticism, and ignorance.

The Hamidian system of suppressing every intelligent man as a source of danger has reduced to a minimum in recent years the amount of experience available to educate useful officials. The most civilised are the most untried. The immense number of posts of importance in a vast empire obliges the Government to make experiment after experiment; in some provinces no less than twelve governors or sub-governors have tried their hands in two years. Even in the Government itself it has been a matter of putting individuals on trial, and, as a leading member of the Committee remarked to me, every unsuccessful experiment means a retrograde movement, or at best a waste of time.

The want of money will, let us hope, be remedied by the pursuance of a more conciliatory policy, both in Albania and Arabia, for the present Budget would provide amply for education and public works if naval and military expenses were reduced to a reasonable level. Turkey's diplomatic position has been extraordinarily good, and she has no need to throw away the benefits of her Revolution on a policy of war.

The prevailing ignorance is such that the public is very easily misled by interested mischief-makers, and this may to some extent excuse the stringent censorship of the press.

Fanaticism is so great that the cry 'Religion in danger' counts for much more than an appeal for the constitution. We must be sparing of blame when the Turks on occasion appear to side unjustly with their own people. To lead the Turkish world toward European standards is a delicate task. There are good authorities who condemn the Turks in connexion with the Adana massacres of 1909, not because they punished too little, but because they committed an error of tactics in punishing too much. An officer, who presided over one of the courts-martial in Macedonia, received a significant warning that a reaction might be provoked; the morning after he had acquitted some Christian peasants charged with sedition, a coffin suitably inscribed was found placed at his door. But let us not despair too soon. There are white

men's countries, where to execute a white man for the murder of a black is held to be dangerous, even from the point of view of the blacks, because the outraged pride of the governing race would take the law into its own hands.

Were the Turks never so experienced and wise, they would still have before them a task of unparalleled difficulty. They have to deal with hatreds toward themselves, and of one section towards another, which have lasted for centuries, and to allay which would pass the wit of any European Colonial Office. Whether they should move fast or slow; whether they should attempt a centralised system giving equality after the French model, or seek to turn the attention of the people by conferring powers of local autonomy; whether they should unite the people in one kind of school, or permit local differences to find expression in a variety of schools, hospitals and clubs; whether education should be brought under Government or left for separate communities to provide; whether the rivalry of various sects can be diverted to competition of trade and of charitable works—all these are problems which have presented themselves, for instance, to the Austrian Government in Bosnia, and have not on the whole been decided theoretically in a different direction from that selected by the Turks. Many of the charges brought by the Christians, and even by Europeans, against the Government are charges which would inevitably fall to the lot of Austria or any other European imperial government.

To do them justice, the Turks do not claim to have settled the questions of education or trade. Their one subject of boast is the army. If they can induce the Christians and the Jews to take a pride in bearing arms for the State, the idea of producing a sense of unity as it were by force will be amply justified. But it would be of better omen if the national energy had first of all been turned to the machinery of public order in general and the reorganisation of the gendarmerie in particular. The vital necessity in the eyes of Europe is the punishment of ordinary crime and the establishment of justice in the courts. Though the Turks may point to very incomplete success—in the suppression of crime—on the part of the English in Egypt, and of the autonomous government in Crete, they have not yet so guaranteed the safety of village life that they can ask the unqualified sympathy of Europe in protesting against the armed bands (whose excuse is that they defend the villages) till they have set their own house in order.

IV

For the Christians there are problems of action equally vital to the future happiness of the country. With the intense hatreds of the past and the ingrained sectional nationalism which prevails, it is natural that they should despair of working with the Turks. But their effort is vainly spent in debating the question, Will the Turkish Govern-

ment remain? If it is to remain, practical people will set themselves to make the best of it. Sentiment, however, prevails over a calculating sense of personal advantage. The hard-headed Bulgarian might be expected to make the best of the situation, and indeed the revolutionary leader, Sandanski, little as his personality may be admired, has brought a better state of things to his district than is possessed by any other. The villagers are living there at peace, and their schools have received considerable help from the Government.

In the case of the Greeks, their leading men, with all the advantages of wealth and education, might have obtained, by frankly working with the Turks, a far better position both for themselves and their poorer classes, and would, to take only one instance, have avoided the boycotting which has ruined so many. They will not admit that the Turkish mind is capable of putting on a European character, though in the next sentence they will remark that there are no Turks at all—all of them are of mixed blood. It has been from the first a vital question both for the Greeks and Bulgarians whether to join the 'Committee of Union and Progress.' It was no doubt galling to accept an inferior position from a race they aspire to despise, but in the end the humiliation of accepting the Turks as their masters would perhaps prove less painful than a régime of unavoidable suppression. The leading Greeks have taken no pains to be on personal terms with leading Turks, and indeed any movement of theirs towards conciliation is condemned by their followers. Yet the Armenians (who wisely adopted the other policy) have entered the Turkish Committee in large numbers, with undeniably happy results for all classes of their people.

The most hopeful attempts at producing harmony appear to be those promoted by the agency of Protestant bodies. Mutual enmity could hardly decay within a period of years, and it may be expected that the patient work of the American missionaries, not to speak of many others, will discover in the end common grounds, whether of education or of philanthropic work, upon which all religions and races will work together.

V

For the European onlooker, it is indeed a question of vast interest whether the Turks in sufficient numbers will develop a political sense equal to governing a variety of populations and large civilised communities. For the English, it is a still more cogent question whether their obligation to promote security for the European provinces, which arises from their intervention in the past, and their special treaty obligations, is now satisfied by the degree of reform obtained.

It might be argued that Bulgaria, or an autonomous Macedonia, would provide a happier fate for the peoples concerned, or avoid the European danger which arises from the continuance of discontent. But since, rightly or wrongly, Europe has accepted the right of Young

Turkey to a friendly trial, there can be no question of our duty in practice. It is to pursue such a policy as will give to reformed Turkey the utmost help, and that not only by abstaining from hostility, but by an actively friendly policy such as was represented in a measure by the great ambassador Stratford Canning. This is not to say that mistakes and barbarities should be overlooked. Rather the position of a sincere and energetic supporter would entitle us to represent the humane as well as the material interests of Great Britain, and would add weight to our protests. Failing some influence which will keep the Turkish policy upon lines of conciliation at home and abroad, the continuance of Turkey itself is uncertain, for she must in that case maintain a great army, while a great army, if efficiently maintained, will inevitably drag her into bankruptcy; and at the same time she must repress progressive and Christian elements; yet these very elements are necessary to her if the wealth of the country is to be developed sufficiently to make a civilised State. British influence, in labouring actively for the development of Turkey, would be not only maintaining her tradition as the friend of national aspirations, but would be serving the cause of international peace.

NOEL BUXTON.

THE POSITION OF THE LAITY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

It has long been felt by many of those who are interested in the Church of England that the autocratic position of the parochial clergy is an anachronism, and some would say a scandal. By theory, if not in practice, the incumbent, as long as he conforms to the Prayer-Book, obeys Church law, and leads a decent life, can order to his own liking the method of conducting the services of his parish church, the hours of service, and the 'ornaments,' including the decorations of the church and the vestures of the clergy who serve it. He is supreme in the churchyard as well as in the church, except for certain enactments giving access to ministers of other religions; he can make what arrangements he pleases for funerals and epitaphs, for christenings, churchings, and weddings. He is subject to ecclesiastical law, but is practically irremovable and therefore inaccessible, because ecclesiastical law aims at correction, not prevention, and bishops are unable or unwilling to prosecute. If Churchmen feel this state of things to be a grievance, much more is it a cause of offence to Nonconformists, and one of the strongest planks in the Liberationist platform. The difficulty is accentuated by the growth of the High Church party. The clergy of that way of thinking, from their zeal in good works, the attractiveness of their services, and the power of a definite theology, have gained a strong position, at any rate in the towns, won from the Evangelical and moderate parties within the Church. They claim, not without reason, to content their congregations, who supply money for all the expenses which an ornate ritual involves: in any case they have no mind to obey their flocks, though willing to serve them.

When Gladstone in 1868 told the House of Commons that there was a crisis in the affairs of Ireland, he was answered by Disraeli that the crisis had gone on for seven hundred years. And if it were said now that the affairs of the Church of England were approaching a crisis, a similar answer might be made. Some politicians see a crisis in every event; others deny it till it comes, and then it may be too late.

Since the year 1905 three General Elections have taken place, and the Liberal party has obtained a majority in all three. The Education Bills of 1906 and 1907 pointed to a crisis in Church affairs. They threatened the predominance of the Church of England in education; and though these Bills did not become law, the Nonconformist and Secularist sections of the Liberal party have not forgotten the history of those years, and will try the issue again when a favourable opportunity offers. The debates of 1906 and 1907 showed once more the political strength of the Nonconformist bodies, secured the lay control of education, and pointed the way to further encroachment upon privilege; and turned the thoughts of not a few to wish for a free Church of England—free from State control and the bondage of Protestant formularies, free also from the worldliness which is inseparable from dignity and wealth, free to elect its bishops and organise its polity without the interference of lay tribunals and the paralysing shadow of Parliament in the background. The crisis of which I speak is that which is likely to come whenever the question of disestablishment becomes a question of practical politics.

The third Parliament, though it has not had time to show its temper, is not likely to ignore ecclesiastical politics. The three *corps d'armée* (to use Gladstone's expression) of Nonconformists, Nationalists, and secularists of various colours, are not likely to leave unattacked such a stronghold of Conservatism as the Church of England, and whatever action takes place will be in the direction of disestablishment. It is because I believe in a State establishment, Crown nomination, lay tribunals, Protestant tradition, and Parliamentary control at the back of it all, and think that disestablishment and disendowment are evils, not blessings in disguise, that I wish to draw attention to the position of the laity in the Church of England, and to indicate the outlines of a policy which might be found of use to the Church, whether established or disestablished.

The Roman Church, as all the world knows, is built upon a monarchical foundation, and from the establishment of the Roman Empire to the fifteenth century almost all States were monarchical. Kings and Popes, though they often disagreed among themselves, agreed in suppressing free thought. Protestantism is in one of its most important aspects the outcome of the popular demand for free thought. The individual right to read and interpret the Bible without the sanction of clerical authority, a right asserted and assumed by the nations which renounced the Roman obedience, contained within it the principle of individual liberty, and the right of disobedience to any authority whatever that cannot make its claims good. But in the early history of Protestantism, a large monarchical element is also present. No one had yet questioned the necessity of some final authority in religion, whether that authority resided in the Pope, the

Bible, or the congregation; and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries monarchy was reaching its highest level in the history of the world, and 'the prince' was the natural imposer and exponent of authority. The maxim '*Cujus regio ejus religio*' was no strange doctrine in those days. Kings and Popes had triumphed uncontradicted over rebellion and heresy, till Luther turned the world upside down by enlisting the kings on the side of the rebels. Whether we like or dislike Luther and Henry the Eighth we cannot get rid of them. Assertors of authority, they led the way to the denial of authority. They made the world we live in what it is, and the course of our thought cannot escape their destructive influence. In one word, we are and must be democratic. All new institutions are framed on democratic lines; all old institutions have to adapt themselves to democratic standards. There is no escape.

The Church of England carried on from the Roman Church the theory of authority, divided between Church and Bible, under the shadow of royal power, submission to the Tudor or Stuart King, submission under the King to the hierarchy who interpret the law of God. The spirit of liberty is found, strangely mixed with autocratic elements, in the Thirty-nine Articles, the Protestant part of the Prayer-Book; and outside the Prayer-Book the habit of religious liberty, as all our history shows, prevailed over the habit of obedience both in secular and in religious affairs. But the nation is more Protestant than the Prayer-Book: we think for ourselves, not as we are told to think. With this freedom comes a responsibility, a call to be cautious, prudent, and humble; but not even those who put the claims of authority at the highest are going to give up the habit of thinking for themselves, or the habit, which goes with it, of deferring not to a Pope or a King or a hierarchy, but to the general sense of the Church, and ultimately of the community, for guidance, in action if not in thought.

This line of argument may seem to suggest that the shaping of theological formulas ought to fall to the laity. Mediæval Church history does not favour this view. Popes and Councils defined dogma; the disputes of those times did not touch dogma, but were carried on upon the borderland between Church and State, the precedence of Pope or Emperor, the right of investiture, the interference of the clergy in secular life, and the limits of spiritual and civil jurisdiction. Dogmatic disputes were settled by the secular arm, always ready to put down heresy. But usurping princes profited by the disruption of the Church at the Reformation, and Tudor and Stuart Parliaments and Secretaries of State did not scruple to meddle with controversy. Though the forms were preserved, the Churchmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from conviction or from fear, submitted, however unwillingly, to have theology formulated by Parliament, as the Churchmen of the nineteenth century submitted, however un-

willingly, to have theology formulated by the judges of the Privy Council. The question before the clergy of the Church of England at the present moment is whether they will stand stiff in a resolution to rule the Church by their own methods, or accept secular control, which may come in the form of Parliament law, or judicial decisions, or parochial interference, or all three. To accept the first alternative is to accept disestablishment; the second choice is to democratise the Church.

There is a feeling in the Church that reform is wanted. The decay of discipline, for instance, is so notorious that a Royal Commission was appointed to deal with it in 1895, and Convocation applied for and obtained Letters of Business to deal with it. Some people are so sanguine as to believe or hope that a scheme of reform proposed by Convocation might be passed by Parliament *en bloc* without discussion. To such people the phrase of Thucydides might be applied: 'we think them happy in their inexperience of evil, but not in the conclusions which they draw from it.' Such a thing might be possible, or even probable, if, as was the case a hundred or even fifty years ago, the common religious conviction of the country were the same as that of the predominant party among the clergy; if, in other words, it were felt that Convocation, and especially the Lower House of Convocation, could be trusted to make moderate proposals—proposals which would be accepted by liberal Churchmen and Evangelicals, not by High Churchmen only. But is it not clear, from the report itself of the Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, that canons framed upon that report would, whilst checking the extremest developments of Ritualism, legalise much that is entirely opposed to the *bonum communem modum* accepted by the Church almost universally forty years ago? In 1867 Lord Shaftesbury brought in a bill to make Canon 58 the law of the Church—*i.e.* to admit no vestment except surplice, stole or scarf, and hood. In 1868 the Ritual Commission recommended the restraint of 'all variations in respect of vesture for that which had long been the established usage,' though they were not prepared to suggest means of restraint. But in 1906 the Ecclesiastical Discipline Commissioners appear to have given up the idea of 'established usage' altogether, and to be reaching out in the direction of that very diversity of use which is condemned in the Introduction to the Prayer-Book. I take the instance of the use of vestments, because it is notorious; does anyone suppose that if Convocation were to frame and pass a canon making eucharistic vestments legal at the wish of the incumbent, such a canon would be enacted *sub silentio* by either Lords or Commons? Is it not clear, on the contrary, that it would cause long and acrimonious debate, and if passed at all would be passed with amendments which would be very distasteful to its framers? And so with regard to other develop-

ments or innovations. It may be said that Parliament is not an assembly of Churchmen or even Christians, that it ought not to discuss religious questions, and that its decisions cannot bind the Church. That is an argument in favour of disestablishment; for as long as the Church is established it must be bound by Parliament in all things except the definition of doctrine, which is reserved by Act of Parliament to the decision of the spiritualty, however the reservation may be traversed by Privy Council decisions, which have the force of law; for ecclesiastical penalties are obsolete, and if you take away the sanctions of a law, you take away the law. You cannot have the advantages of establishment—and how great they are, the hostility of the Nonconformists bears evidence—without the disadvantages, if disadvantages they are, of Parliamentary and judicial control. If that control is little felt at the present moment, it may be for two reasons: first, because Parliament prefers ignoring the Church to attempting interference, having disestablishment in reserve; secondly, because the exercise of the episcopal veto has put an end to all attempt at enforcing discipline in matters of ritual; and the experience of ecclesiastical tribunals, as well as their expense, makes the bishops unwilling to take action against any doctrine, however extreme. But Parliament is there, and if the clergy would have reform without disestablishment they must make such proposals as Parliament will accept. We are not, it would seem, very far removed from the precedents of Edward the Sixth and Elizabeth.

I have no wish to exaggerate the growth of democratic opinion or democratic sentiment, nor to make capital out of the Liberal majority now affirmed by three elections. The next election may reverse these judgments. But an election like that which brought in the Liberals in 1906 affects future Governments. It has *sequelæ*: things are not the same as they were before it; and when the Conservatives come in again, they will find that they have been carried along with public opinion, and that they must accept developments which they had no hand in creating. For instance, in the contest over the Education Bill of 1906, the questions of local control and religious tests were settled by the surrender of the Conservative party. Those positions were surrendered, and it is not likely that they will be reconquered. In the same way it may be safely predicted that in any serious restoration or reconstruction of Church government it will be necessary to accept a larger measure of lay control, to grant to the laity, that is, a substantial share in Church government as of right, not as of grace; not a mere consultative voice, but a voting power.

The Church of England does not hold so strong a position in the country as it held a century or even half a century ago. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Dissenters were, compared with Churchpeople, as one to three. Now, the number of Nonconformists

exceeds that of Churchpeople. What is the reason? To answer that question would lead to a long historical argument, every step of which would be controversial. But whatever the reason, it may fairly be said that the change of opinion which has taken place in the course of two generations has been in the direction of indifference rather than hostility. External hostility has been affected by political causes; internal indifference may be put down to a divergence of religious feeling, as regards doctrine and ritual, between the clergy and the rank and file of the laity. Fifty or forty years ago everybody 'went to church': now it is not so. A large proportion of the laity, especially the younger generation, is drifting away from the Church, not into Nonconformity, but into Secularism. On the other hand there is greater unanimity and more zeal among the High Church laity. How far this divergence is created by causes operating throughout the world, and notoriously in France, how far it depends upon domestic influences, it is difficult to judge.

Again I am approaching a controversial subject which has a long history, and I will not attempt to prove, what nevertheless I believe to be true—that the want of sympathy which exists between clergy and laity had its rise in the Oxford Movement, which was founded upon the sacerdotal idea. That movement was anti-Protestant, the people of England as a whole was Protestant. Since then, the un-English words 'clerical' and 'anti-clerical' have been imported, and it has been said—and though it may be exaggerated there is truth in the saying—that the clergy and the laity do not hold the same faith. The mass of the laity will not become Tractarian; therefore the Church of England, if it is to be the Church of the nation and maintained by public establishment, must be a Protestant Church—a Church, that is, which is not ashamed of its history, which does not try to set up again doctrines, ceremonies, and usages deliberately discarded at the Reformation, which prefers English customs to Roman customs, and looks to England, not to Rome, for the rule of doctrine and practice.

I shall be told that this is old-fashioned and out of date. But is it not rather true that the Romanising movement of the last seventy years is out of date—an anachronism, entirely dissociated from the course of modern thought, and only explicable and defensible on the lines of that august anachronism, the Church of Rome? If the laity in general, and the parishes in particular, were asked their opinion on this question, the answer would on the whole be in favour of a Protestant solution: no innovations in ritual, no extreme sacramental doctrine, no preaching of confession, no use of ceremonies and services beyond the Prayer-Book, such as are discountenanced but not forbidden by bishops. I am aware that in many town districts and some country parishes, where High Church clergymen have the confidence of their flock, the answer would be in the opposite sense; that some

of these questions are obviously not proper for laymen to handle; and that what is here written does not touch those of the clergy who observe the *bonum communem modum*; but there ought to be some constitutional check upon the minority who do not. The evidence given before the Ritual Commission of 1868 and the Ecclesiastical Discipline Commission of 1905 shows a wide divergence—too wide a divergence—of ritual. The existing authorities cannot deal with it; legislation has hitherto proved ineffectual; and what is wanted is not correction, but prevention; the pressure of public opinion to restrain, not to punish, those of the clergy who set up their own standard of ritual and support it by their own notions of ecclesiastical law; and who are supported, as they were not supported in former times, by a strong Press, a strong party organisation, and a considerable apparatus of Church history and ecclesiology.

It appears to me that the simplest method of applying the pressure of public opinion is in detail, not from headquarters; and the plan outlined in these pages is no invention of my own, but one which was recommended by men of high standing in the Church in the middle of the last century, and which is to a certain extent actually put in practice at the present day—a plan of parochial and diocesan Church Councils, legally constituted and with legal powers.

It will not be denied that the want of parochial organisation has long been felt to be a grievance by many Churchmen, especially in country districts, where the control of Church affairs is, for the most part, in the hands of the parson and the squire, or of a small clique of ladies and charitable people who, because they take a practical interest in the working of the parish, do not wish to be interfered with by others who are not interested in the same way. Such a grievance may be felt where it is not expressed; its expression is often exaggerated. The existence of a grievance is admitted by bishops and clergy in Convocation and by Parliament. Yet in all these years nothing has been done, and 'the parson's freehold' remains untouched with all its incidents, including the absolute control of all Church of England services performed within the bounds of his parish, and the mass of legal obstacles which often make it impossible for the bishops to remove incumbents who from age, infirmity, idleness, scandalous life, or other disqualifications do not do their duty.

It may well be that in most parishes priest and people live in harmony. But cases must occur in which a clergyman, in other respects well qualified for his place, may fail to satisfy his flock, because he is not in touch with them and does not know how his own actions affect them. Such matters as hours of service, frequency and length of services, ritual, education, management of parochial funds, vestry business, may be worked so as to give universal satisfaction, or so as to give no satisfaction at all. In the latter case there is no remedy, and a new-comer can, if he chooses, of his own authority upset all

the arrangements of his predecessor. What is needed is some measure of parochial self-government; the creation of parish councils which should be both a guide and a check to the incumbent, but not infringe upon his due liberty and authority. Such councils exist in some parishes, and it would be well if they existed in all.

Forty years ago, when the emancipation movement of the Reform Bill era was still working, when the hopes of Liberals were high, and Mr. Gladstone was entering upon a period of effective legislation, certain clerical and lay members of the Church of England began a movement in favour of Church Reform. The Church Reform Union was founded in 1870 by the Rev. W. R. Fremantle, now Dean of Ripon, and among those who supported the movement may be mentioned Mr. Cowper-Temple, Dean Stanley, Bishops Ryle of Liverpool and Barry, Thomas Hughes and Professor Seeley; and Dr. Butler, the Master of Trinity, Mr. Llewelyn Davies, Dr. Abbott, and Sir George Young, who still survive.

The objects of the Union, as set forth by its responsible authors, were to promote (1) acceptance of liturgical changes such as those recommended by the Ritual Commission of 1868 and brought forward in Convocation by Archbishop Tait; (2) optional disuse of the Athanasian Creed in the services of the Church; (3) acceptance of the principles of Lord Sandon's Parochial Councils Bill.

The following remarks will be confined to the third of these heads.

The proposal of Canon Fremantle was that it should be enacted by Parliament 'that in all matters not actually prescribed by statute, any course should be allowed on which the parishioners and the incumbent could agree and which the bishop might sanction; that each one of these three parties should have a veto upon any proposed change, and that any one of them might take the initiative in proposing it.'

This definition, it will be seen, technically excludes questions of ritual, since they are prescribed by law, however that law may be interpreted in practice. But it was open to the proposer of a Bill in Parliament to include such subjects.

Lord Sandon brought in his first Parochial Councils Bill in June 1870. The purport of the Bill was to establish parochial councils in all parishes in England and Wales, with the object of restoring to the Church the affections of the people of England, by altering the position of almost entire independence of their parishioners in which the clergy were placed by the law, a position 'dangerous for any person to occupy.' The Bill provided for the election of 'sidesmen' by the whole parish, without respect of denominations; but the sidesmen were to declare themselves members of the Church of England. The council, consisting of incumbent, churchwardens, and sidesmen, was to have power over the manner and times of conducting

the services, the decorations and fittings of the church, and the vesture of the minister; but no change was to be made without due notice, and power of appeal to the bishop was given. The Bill was received with general favour, and Mr. Gladstone gave it the support of the Government; but it was not proceeded with.

In the following year (March 29, 1871), Lord Sandon, in moving the second reading of a new Bill, claimed the approval by many of his hearers, both Churchmen and Nonconformists, of the principle of the Bill—viz. the right of the laity to a larger share in the management of their own parish churches. The object of the Bill, he said, was to strengthen both the parishioners and the clergy. He reminded them that since the administration of poor law relief had been transferred from the vestry to the guardians, the vestry had ceased to be a common meeting of the parishioners; the clergy met the laity of the parish less frequently, and so were less able to work harmoniously with them. The incumbent was directed to apply to the bishop for resolution of doubts and definition of rights; but when it came to a practical question, it appeared that no one had any rights except the incumbent, and he had no doubts to resolve. The whole government of the parish was in the parson's hands; such things as the conduct of the service, the choice of hymn-books, the choir, the decoration of the church and the vesture of the minister and the choir, and the disposal of money collected in church, were all under his control. By strict law nothing can be done without a faculty, but to apply for a faculty for every trifle is impossible.

The point at issue, since all agreed that some organisation was necessary, was, said Lord Sandon, whether it was better to trust to voluntary association of the laity at the bidding of the clergy, or to give a legal position to the parishioners in council.

The Bill of 1871 omitted some of the provisions of the last year's Bill, and restored to the incumbent the control of services and church ornaments of all kinds; but it applied the principle of local self-government to such things as church collections, Sunday schools, choirs, church societies, and parish missions. The Bill was made permissive, not compulsory, as that of 1870. It also provided that the sidesmen should be communicants, and that one-fourth of the council should be nominated by the clergyman.

Ten years later, in 1881, the Church Boards Bill was brought forward by the Hon. Albert Grey (now Earl Grey), in no hostile spirit to the clergy, as its author explained, but to strengthen the hands of the clergy and increase their influence by diminishing their autocracy. Especial mention was made of arbitrary changes in Church ritual, thrust upon an unwilling parish. It was noted that at the Church Congress held at Sheffield in 1878 a majority had affirmed the principle of legalised parish councils. The Bill provided that a majority of the parishioners of any parish meeting in vestry at any time might resolve

to form a Church Board, such board to be elected by the members of the vestry, and to consist of the incumbent and churchwardens, and of a certain number of elected members, not less than four nor more than twelve, according to the population of the parish. The board was to have power to make changes in the manner of conducting services, to arrange for the seating, the ornaments and other decorations of the church, to distribute money collected, and 'to undertake the management of any matter of an ecclesiastical nature affecting the general interest of the parish which had heretofore been managed by the incumbent, or by the incumbent and the churchwardens'; the board was also to have a negative voice in the case of changes being proposed by the incumbent; subject in all cases to an appeal from the incumbent to the bishop, whose judgment should be final.

The limits of this Bill, it will be seen, were wider than those of Lord Sandon's Bill; indeed, there is hardly any ecclesiastical matter, except the definition of doctrine, which might not come within its scope. No *test of Church membership was imposed for electors or elected*: all members were to be elected, none nominated by the incumbent.

Mr. Grey's Bill, like Lord Sandon's, passed the second reading, but went no further; and the years which have elapsed since then have greatly changed the position of affairs. The activity of the clergy and those who work under the direction of the clergy has been greatly and beneficently developed; but at the same time, in consequence of the complete disuse of coercive measures, practices disapproved by the Ritual Commission of 1868 have largely increased, as is amply proved by the evidence given before the Clergy Discipline Commission and the Report of that Commission, in which is to be found a full historical account of the rise of Ritualism.

No Parliamentary action has taken place since 1881; but five years after the introduction of the Church Boards Bill an agitation was begun, one result of which was that two memorials in favour of the principle of legalised parish councils were presented to the archbishops, one from Cambridge, signed by many of the leading professors and other learned men in the University; the other from the clergy generally, to which were appended more than four thousand names. The latter memorial especially mentioned parochial councils with 'well-defined statutory powers.'

The question of lay control was also considered in Convocation, and in February 1886 the bishops, in considering a report of their own committee on Church Reform, state that they 'give full weight to the desire that has been expressed for the admission of the faithful laity . . . to a substantial share in the control of Church affairs.' They recommend the formation of voluntary parochial boards or councils, but not of boards or councils with defined statutory powers, 'as at present advised, till the principles on which they are to be

founded shall have been considered and approved by the Synods of the Church.'

Three months later, in May 1886, the same question was debated in the Lower House of Convocation, and a report was approved to the effect that the House could not recommend the establishment of parochial councils with statutory powers, but that voluntary parochial councils, summoned by the clergy, and composed of the faithful laity of all classes, might, in many parishes, be established with advantage, such councils being subject in all matters to the authority of the bishop. Any statutory powers were regarded as 'dangerous' to the Church. In the debate which arose on this occasion a memorable speech was delivered by Dr. Butler, the present Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was at that time Dean of Gloucester, to which, as a masterly exposition of the subject, nothing can be added. After alluding to the memorials recently laid before the archbishops, he commented severely on the uncompromising words of the committee's report: 'The committee earnestly deprecated the creation of statutory parochial councils'; he protested against the tendency to regard parish councils as a check rather than an encouragement to the incumbent, noted their precarious position if they were to be summoned or not at the will of the clergy, and eloquently pleaded for the recognition of the layman's right in the Church.

Speaking of Convocation, he said:

It is because we have, by constitutional right, a part in the ecclesiastical constitution of this Church and realm, that we value the privilege of meeting here in council, and discussing what is best for the interests of the Church. I wish, Sir—I speak humbly but with feeling—I wish to see extended that same constitutional right far and wide throughout the Church of England. . . .

After speaking of the doubt whether the Church fully retained the sympathy of her congregations, Dr. Butler concluded as follows:

My belief is, that if, during the last two centuries, we had had Church life based upon local attachment of the kind for which I am now pleading, and finding expression in parochial councils, carefully limited by wise and not impossible conditions, the misgivings which have been expressed during the last few months would have been seen to be absolutely idle, and that the Church would have been found to be under God's blessing 'broad-based upon her people's will,' and receiving the unconquerable love and attachment of the humblest of her members.

Dr. Butler did not carry his amendment, nor is it likely that it would be carried if brought forward at the present moment.

The subject of Lay Representation in Church Councils and statutory Parochial Councils was brought up at the Church Congress held at Manchester in October 1888; and, in debating it, Lord Egerton of Tatton expressed a doubt whether public feeling was ripe for legisla-

tion like that proposed by Bishop Jackson of London, under which Convocation was to submit to Parliament schemes of legislation which should pass into law, subject to an Order in Council and the veto of Parliament. He admitted that lay co-operation and control was generally thought desirable in the management and decoration of churches, arrangement of services, parochial organisations, and disposal of church funds. But he feared the division of parishes into parties, if all ratepayers with no further qualification were admitted to elect and be elected to parish councils; and he argued that the existing hierarchy of incumbent, rural dean, chancellor (he might have added archdeacon), and bishop was enough to provide all the lay control that was desirable; and quoted Bishop Harold Browne of Ely in 1871 as recommending the establishment of parochial councils in all parishes, but denying them for the present any independent power. This is the *quieta non movere* policy, which leads nowhere. It is clear that a high-handed incumbent would not be likely to appoint such a council *proprio motu*. His notion of consulting his parishioners would be to tell them what he was going to do; and if they do not like it they have no remedy so long as he does not break the law.

At the same Congress Canon Fremantle pointed out the fact that in 1886 an address signed by 4300 clergymen had been presented to the archbishops, praying that parochial councils 'with well-defined statutory powers' should be formed 'as tending in the most effectual way to increase the local interest of the laity in Church affairs, and to stimulate and maintain in them a feeling that the National Church is theirs, and that they have a responsible share in its life.'

Canon Fremantle asked pertinently why such a pronouncement from nearly a quarter of the working clergy had produced no result in two and a-half years. The question may be asked with more force after twenty-four years; and it is not an easy question to answer. The working clergy may be as ready to address the archbishops as they were in 1886. If they are not of the same mind to-day, this may partly be due to the growth among them of the sacerdotal spirit and the wish to keep Uzzah's hands from the ark; or to the closer organisation of voluntary parochial aid, which in many large towns brings the laity into Church work without friction; or to the tendency of the well-to-do laity to pay their annual tribute of money, but not go to church: the indifference which is the chief danger of the Church in these days, because the natural defenders of the Church establishment are apathetic. It is in any case to be observed that, the parish being, *as it is*, autocratic, the more thoroughly the parish is worked the greater becomes the parson's power; and this causes a sharper line to be drawn between those Churchmen who support the system existing for the moment, and those who do not. The number of churchgoers is smaller; but the Ritualist laity, who will go all lengths, are more numerous, and are loud in proclaiming their own nullity.

Since 1888, parish councils have been debated in several Church Congresses, but with no great zeal or conviction: at Shrewsbury in 1890, at Bradford in 1898, when Dr. Jessopp lamented that the wall set up between clergy and laity was continually growing higher, and Chancellor Sir Lewis Dibdin pleaded for the Parliamentary appointment of a proper vestry, and declared that human beings would not do work without the power which attends responsibility; at London, in 1899, when the present Bishop of Birmingham advocated the constitution of voluntary councils on a diocesan basis, which might in time acquire statutory rights; at Northampton, in 1902, when Dr. Barlow urged the example of the Churches of Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, and the colonial Churches, as well as the Episcopal Church of America; and again, in 1903, at Bristol. But on the whole the subject, as a practical question, has attracted little attention.

I should not be surprised to learn that the clerical or autocratic view has become stronger in the last quarter of a century; but the example of Ireland and the colonial Churches favours the inclusion of the laity. It does more: it goes far to show that if the Church of England were disestablished the parson's monopoly of direction would disappear with his 'freehold.'

Without going into details or presuming to frame a constitution, I would suggest that there should be in every parish, besides the incumbent, the churchwardens, and other officials, a council or select vestry, consisting of a certain number of laymen elected either by the vestry or by all parishioners who declare themselves *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England. The board or select vestry so elected should hold frequent meetings, and be consulted by the incumbent on all matters of parochial interest, including the ornaments of the church and the mode of conducting the services. They should administer parish funds of all kinds, and have the power of appointing and dismissing parish officers, and the incumbent should not be able to force his own wishes upon them. He would thus accept the position of a constitutional monarch and head of the executive, not of an autocrat. If the clergyman and the council were at variance, the council would appeal to the archdeacon in his province or to the bishop in his.

I am not speaking at random. In the Church of Ireland, by the constitution settled in 1870, a select vestry is annually appointed in every parish, which has the control and charge of all parochial charity and church funds, and is charged with providing for the services of the church and keeping the church and other buildings in repair. It has the appointment and control of all church and parish officers and servants, and no alteration can be made in the fabric or ornaments of the church without its sanction. I do not find that the select vestries have any power of dealing with matters of doctrine or ritual; and

any such power, if granted at all, should be carefully guarded, and would probably amount to no more than a recognised right of appeal to the bishop, or at the furthest a negative voice. In most parishes—in all parishes where the parson was content to be the servant of his people—the select vestry would be his most valuable assistant. It is found to be so in school affairs: the clergy have not lost influence by being associated with councils of school managers; why not in church affairs too?

The parish church council would lead naturally to lay representation in the diocesan synod and in Convocation. That exists already, but in an imperfect form. If the lay members of the Church were in *church membership*, as the term is understood, or as the reality is practised, in nonconformist Churches or in the Roman Church, it would be an object of ambition to belong to the parish board or select vestry, the diocesan council, the house of representatives. The day of election would be known to everyone, the announcement of a poll would be keenly expected. As it is, the diocesan councils and the Houses of Laymen have little weight in the dioceses and the country, because their election is not made a matter of public interest, and they have only a consultative voice; they are voluntary bodies, and have no legal existence. The diocesan assemblies have too clerical a complexion, and a larger addition of the lay element would bring them more into touch with county action, into which so much healthy vitality has been infused by the County Councils Act, the Education Acts, and so forth. As for the Houses of Laymen and the Representative Council, they are more clerical than Convocation. Convocation has done good work since its revival in 1852; but it has never reformed its own constitution, it is not representative even of the clergy; the Houses of Laymen are nominated by carefully sifted electors, and when elected have no powers.

Here again the Irish Church might set a useful example to the English. The change in the general constitution of the Church of Ireland was nothing less than a revolution, the conversion of a hierarchy into a democracy. Briefly, the constitution enacted in 1870 provides a General Synod consisting of three orders sitting in two Houses—the House of Bishops and the House of Representatives containing 624 members publicly elected—208 clergy and 416 laity—being Churchmen and communicants. All legislation must pass both Houses; and thus either House has in all cases an ultimate veto.

It is easy to frame constitutions; the question is, whether they will work. This constitution does work. The same may be said of the Church constitutions set up in the various branches of the Church of England in the British Colonies and in the United States. In all, the democratic principle is accepted, and clergy and laity work harmoniously side by side in greater matters as well as lesser.

I have touched on a small corner of a large subject—Church Reform—because the question of parochial councils has been debated in Parliament, and because the establishment of parochial councils offers an opportunity for experiment on a small scale without the application of heroic remedies.

I would say in conclusion that the issue of Letters of Business to Convocation, in connexion with the appearance of the Report of the Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, raises a practical question which cannot be ignored, and which necessarily involves the right of the laity to be heard in Church matters; and I may add that the attitude of the present Government and House of Commons to the Church—which again I should describe as an attitude of indifference rather than hostility—may be taken as a warning to the Church (to repeat words used in a political sense many years ago, but not forgotten) to 'set her house in order.' If the Church does not undertake to reform herself, no friend of hers would answer for the consequences of reform from outside. Some such constitution might prove to be the safest preservative against disestablishment; it would bring back many Dissenters to the Church, would put an end to the scandals created by self-willed clergy, and revive the interest of laymen in Church affairs. The danger to the Church is, I repeat, one of indifference rather than hostility. If the clergy will make the laity feel that the Church is their Church, by giving them a share in its management, there need be no fear of disappointment.

F. W. Cornish.

FINANCE AND DEFENCE

In this banking centre of the world it is somewhat remarkable that no steps are taken by the Government to find out the reason why our banking reserve of gold never increases in any kind of proportion to the increase of domestic and foreign liabilities on demand, and it is scarcely necessary to say that this exiguity of our reserve is no new feature. More than forty years ago—when foreign balances were a much more negligible quantity—it occupied the attention of Mr. Bagehot, the most eminent economist of our time, and in later years many other economists have dealt with the question, not to mention Chancellors of the Exchequer and bankers who are not necessarily trained economists.

Since the year 1899 it has fallen to my own lot to contribute a good many articles to this Review calling attention to the frenzied expansion of credit all over the world, with the consequent insufficiency of our gold supply in London. And with especial reference to the possibility, at any time, of sudden war with a European Power, I have in these articles frequently suggested the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole condition of our financial structure and the strengthening the Committee of Imperial Defence by the addition of competent financial advisers. Will anything ever be undertaken in this direction by Governmental authorities, considering that our finance is our first line of defence? The recent attempt (reported by *The Times* Vienna correspondent) of the German Government to establish by treaty between the German Imperial Bank and the Austro-Hungarian State Bank such a relationship as to enable either institution to dispose of the other's gold reserve in case of need, ought to make us think. Such an arrangement would give to Germany the control of 100*l*. millions of gold instantly available, whereas on the bare threat of hostilities the withdrawal of foreign deposits from London might leave the coffers of the Bank of England most dangerously depleted. In such a contingency we should learn a bitter lesson as to the difference between the difficulty in selling foreign securities for gold as compared with the facility in buying them. That, however, is a risk of the future.

Meantime, if we look back over these ten or twelve years since 1899, there has fortunately been no trouble serious enough to imperil our financial position, and so we are now content to jog along, much pleased with the record figures of our imports and exports, taking no thought for the morrow, while all the time it is to be feared that there is real danger of our financial power being gradually sapped and weakened owing to our extravagance—in the fuller French sense of the word as well as in the English sense—and a curious kind of heedlessness, where money matters are concerned, which has gradually grown on our people. By 'extravagance' the French imply a certain general want of intellectual and moral balance, a lack of perspective and proportion, the kind of spirit that characterises Mr. Lloyd George's Limehouse and Mile End speeches on the one hand, or the old music-hall Jingoism on the other hand—'We've got the ships, we've got the men, and we've got the money too.' There is too much talk of our 18,000*l.* millions of national capital and our 1800*l.* millions national income, as if these figures were really to be relied on as solid stuff permitting every kind of recklessness in expenditure and every kind of want of provision against emergencies. But such estimates of capital and income belong much more to the region of metaphysics than to the region of statistics. They are like the 'insubstantial pageant' and would fade away in case our fleet were ever to meet with even a temporary reverse, leaving chiefly wreck behind.

However, none of us believe that our fleet *will* meet with a temporary reverse, and in this hopeful spring-time of the year, when the peoples in various parts of the world are cheering one another with prophecies of a booming trade in 1911, we English ought to acknowledge thankfully that so far we have been a very *lucky* people.

While congratulating ourselves on our relative progress in trade and wealth (which some people attribute chiefly to Free Trade), we do not always bear in mind that the other nations, our competitors in business, have all had to fight for their very existence at one time or another during the last fifty years—the United States, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Spain, Russia, Japan—and, looking round on them to-day, they all seem to have come through the ordeal wonderfully well. It has been a strenuous discipline. We alone have encountered no danger affecting us vitally, and it might therefore be conjectured—and it is too often assumed—that our financial position, relatively to our neighbours', must be stronger and more assured than ever before. But there is good reason for believing that it is not so. And the problem before us is to try to ascertain some of the causes which are operating to our disadvantage.

It is true that London holds its own as the banking centre and clearing house of the world. The change that has taken place and that is taking place day by day, is in the *relative* financial *power* of London, and the inelasticity of our gold reserve is the index that points to this loss of power.

For, after all, the chief function of a reserve is to act as an index. No mere mechanical banking contrivance can prevent the consequences which must necessarily follow when a whole people has become too extravagant. The first essential for us is to find out where we really stand, and to trace the course of the change that has taken place during the last few years.

Let us turn to the figures, for instance, only so far back as 1898, and we shall find that the Bank of England's average holding of gold for the three years 1898-1900 was 33*l.* millions, whilst for the last three years—1908-10—the average has been 37¼*l.* millions, an increase of only 4¼*l.* millions. But the total British banking deposits (including the Savings Banks) increased during the same twelve years by nearly 250*l.* millions, so that if 33*l.* millions of gold was too little in 1899, certainly 37¼*l.* millions is too little to-day merely in view of the enormous increase in the deposit liabilities.

And that is only the domestic side of the situation. We shall presently come to the international side, with its more serious bearing on the question of defence.

Curiously enough there is no controversy in regard to our gold reserve. No financial authority considers it sufficient. City Editors, whether Tories or Radicals, Free Traders or Tariff Reformers, all preach the desirability—or the necessity—of an increase. And nearly five years ago, on the 9th of May 1906, the present Prime Minister, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, said at a bankers' dinner in London that the question of the reserve was '*a matter of grave and increasing importance and it was at that moment engaging his most serious attention*;' while at another bankers' dinner later in the same year, on the 11th July, the late Lord Goschen said: '*Here we were with enormous liabilities and with a smaller stock of gold than any other country held. He was inclined to believe that they were unanimous that that was not a satisfactory situation.*' Now it is inconceivable that two English Chancellors of the Exchequer should have spoken to that effect, and in that tone, to an audience of bankers representing deposits of nearly 900*l.* millions unless there were some exceedingly good reason for it. Mr. Asquith might be looked on as the representative of the Imperial Defence Committee, and also as the representative of British Savings Bank deposits, on demand, amounting to over 200*l.* millions, while Lord Goschen, with his practical experience as a man of business in one of the largest financial houses and as an expert on the question

of foreign exchanges, might be said to have represented the international-financial point of view. The bankers who formed the audience were unanimously with the speakers. There was no word of dissent. Yet after five years we have now to ask the question, Is the reserve of gold more satisfactory at the beginning of 1911 than it was in 1906, considering that the deposit liabilities have increased by 100*l.* millions in the interval? The answer, I am afraid, is that the position to-day is more unsatisfactory rather than less unsatisfactory. If there was reason for misgiving in 1906 there is perhaps more reason for misgiving in 1911.

It is true that the average amount of gold in the Bank of England in 1910 was 1¼*l.* million more than in 1905, and it is also true that in these five years the imports of gold into Great Britain have been by far the largest on record; yet they have exceeded the exports by less than 4*l.* millions a year on average, and that is just about the amount at which may be reckoned the annual consumption of gold in arts and manufactures in this country, plus the annual amounts always dribbling away in the pockets of emigrants and tourists over and above the small amount of gold brought in by immigrants. I endeavoured to deal with this gold question in August 1906,[1] and I then made a conjectural estimate of 3½*l.* millions a year for the needs of arts and manufactures, emigrants and tourists, but at that time I gave reasons for thinking that my estimate was a good deal too low and my impression is that an estimate of 4*l.* millions a year now would be rather under the mark than over the mark. It would therefore be very difficult to prove that there has been any increase whatever in the available gold coin and bullion in Great Britain during these five years. No doubt the American crisis of 1907 caused an unusual export of gold, in that year and in 1908; but a noteworthy point is that the exports of gold last year were the greatest in our whole history, and there was no crisis anywhere in 1910. The same causes that operated last year may operate again this year or next year and, as will be presently shown, there is a prospect that we may again see an unusual amount of gold shipped across the Atlantic.

Then we come to the more serious consideration, viz.—How much of the 37¼*l.* millions gold in the Bank of England is subject to drafts on demand by foreign banking institutions with branches in London such, for instance, as the Crédit Lyonnais, the Comptoir d'Escompte, and the Société Générale with their 141*l.* millions deposits in France. We know that during the last ten years the rate of interest has always, on average, been a good deal higher in London than in Paris, so that these French institutions have had every inducement to keep very large balances here. It is true that in the single year 1908 the shipments of

[1] *The Nineteenth Century*, 'Malaise of the Money Market.' August 1906.

gold from England to France amounted to 26*l*. millions, while for the remaining nine years of the decennial period 1899-1909 they amounted to only 24*l*. millions. Taking the ten years together we sent to France 50*l*. millions gold on balance (*i.e.*, after deducting the gold we received from France), or at the rate of 5*l*. millions per annum. Speaking generally, we may say that France is a creditor country with us, and therefore French balances in London demand particular watchfulness, as they are in the nature of cash deposits, while some other nations use the London branches of their banks mainly for borrowing purposes.

Few people in this country recognise the immensely growing power of these foreign banking institutions; none of us know the amount of money they have at call in London, nor the amount of sterling bills in their portfolios, but we do know that they are constantly increasing. In 1898 there were twenty-three of them having offices in London, with 192 branches and 78*l*. millions [2] deposits (*i.e.* branches and deposits in the countries they represent), and in 1910 there were twenty-eight of them with 1427 branches and 430*l*. millions deposits—an increase in twelve years of 352*l*. millions deposits. During the same period the colonial banks with branches in London have increased their deposits by 150*l*. millions —making together an increase of 500*l*. millions of these foreign and colonial deposits, while the British bank deposits were increasing by 250*l*. millions. But if these foreign and colonial banks with branches in London are to-day dealing with 750*l*. millions deposits (*i.e.*, foreign branches 430*l*. millions and Colonial 320*l*. millions), what amount of deposits must *all* the banks and financial institutions in the countries they represent be dealing with? What must the increases have been in the last ten years, and what is the amount of cash that they can now control in Lombard Street?

Then the banks of the United States have, of course, much larger deposits than the banks of any other country; these have increased (exclusive of the Trust Companies' but including the Savings Banks' deposits) 1020*l*. millions in 1898 to 2400*l*. millions in 1910; that is, an increase of 1380*l*. millions in twelve years, or over 110*l*. millions per annum, and this *increase* is more than the total British banking deposits of to-day, including the Savings Banks. Put in other words, the banks of the United States have amassed more deposits in twelve years than the banks of Great Britain have amassed in all their existence, and of course this means a corresponding increase in loans, for it is scarcely necessary to say that the bulk of the deposits are simply book entries with the banks, as deposits on one side of the ledgers and as

[2] It will be understood that these figures refer to deposits abroad in the countries represented by their financial institutions. The figures are taken from the *Economist Newspaper's* Banking Supplement of October 22, 1910, and they are to be found for years back in the *Statesman's Year Book*.

loans on the other side. It will therefore be apparent that from the international-financial standpoint we are confronted with a position of bank deposits and loans to-day in every civilised country absolutely unprecedented in the history of the world, and this is what has been so often dwelt on in these pages since 1899 as a 'frenzied expansion of credit.' It is a disease that requires constant careful watching, because the growth has been abnormally rapid in these twelve years, and has never had requisite attention given to it in England, considering that it may prove to be a very malignant growth. It may be taken as one of the proofs of the loss by Great Britain of relative power in the financial world.

The peculiar danger to London is that it is the only free market for gold. For instance, if any foreign banking institution should want a million in gold some morning, it can call up its loans to that extent from Lombard Street, draw a cheque on its London bankers, and demand in payment Bank of England notes which the Bank of England is obliged to pay in gold without any questions asked, and this gold can be carted away from the Bank and shipped to Paris, Berlin, New York, Brazil, or Buenos Ayres the same afternoon. Such sudden procedure cannot be effected in Paris, Berlin, New York, or any other market in the world. We have always to bear in mind this uniquely vulnerable position of the London Money Market, especially in view of what has been so much remarked in the last few years, viz. the extraordinary increase in our loans to foreign countries (or in our investments in foreign countries); and this increase is the subject of congratulation with Mr. Asquith and with most of the members of his Government, it being partly a consequence of the tendency of their legislation. But if Mr. Asquith had borne in mind his own statement on the 9th of May 1906 (quoted above), he would have been careful to call attention to the possible consequences to our gold reserves. For in making these loans, or investments abroad, we give to foreign countries additional power of drawing gold from London. Not that this power will often be exercised, because, speaking generally, the proceeds of the loans will be remitted to the borrowing countries in the shape of commodities, so long as financial conditions remain normal all over the world. But we must never forget for one single moment that the power is always there, and the financial conditions are distinctly abnormal everywhere to-day. Exports of securities from a country have precisely the same effect, for the time being, as exports of cotton or grain, and give precisely the same claim for gold, a claim which is certain to be exercised in case any of these borrowing countries are in dire need of gold for strengthening the bases of their own currencies, or for war purposes, or for any other purposes of their own.

Taking this point of view, it will be recognised, from the figures given above, that the United States is now much the most powerful economic factor in the world, and, it may be added, a very unmanageable factor, owing to the marked 'extravagance' (in the most French sense) of American financial methods. The bank clearings in the whole country of 33,000*l.* millions in 1910 (following a like amount in 1909), as compared with 14,000*l.* millions in 1898, indicate veritable megalomania. They may be compared with British bank clearings, which increased in the same years from 8000*l.* millions to 15,000*l.* millions, so that the *increase* has been 19,000*l.* millions in the United States as against an increase of 7000*l.* millions in Great Britain, and it is generally held that *we* have been going too fast.

It might have been expected that the rude experience of the 1907 panic would have been taken to heart, for it must have been exceedingly galling to a proud people, a sensitive people, and really much the richest people in the world, to have all the banks in their country suspend payment for some sixty days; but 'all experience teaches the vanity of experience.' There was a short return to sobriety in 1908, and within the last few months there has been some slowing down; (the Bank clearings for the month of January 1911 for instance show a decrease of 16 per cent. compared with January 1910); but, taking the whole two years 1909-10, the Americans have been 'going the pace' again, and it is the pace that tells. The recorded exports for 1910 are not nearly sufficient to pay for the recorded imports plus the freight on the imports, the interest due abroad, and the expenses of travellers. Consequently, it is sometimes inferred that the United States as a debtor nation will not be in a position to draw gold. This would be true enough on these limited data, but no one can tell the amount of the 'invisible exports' of securities. We know that there has been a large amount of new French investment in American securities during the last two or three years, so that after all it is quite possible that the United States may be a creditor nation to-day, as their borrowings abroad for the year 1910 are conservatively estimated at 30*l.* millions, and there is a good deal of talk just now about considerable amounts of sterling bills being held by New York Banks. Then the value of the output of agricultural produce and manufactures combined was greater in 1910 than ever before, and it is this unparalleled production that enables, and has always enabled, the country to become richer and richer, by leaps and bounds, comparing any ten-year period with any previous ten-year period, notwithstanding the various crises that have taken place. For instance, the produce of five cereal crops in 1910 amounted to 640 million quarters (as compared with about 30 million quarters of cereals in

Great Britain), and the cotton crop amounted to nearly 12 million bales in 1910 selling at more than double the price of 1899. These fruits of the earth which renew themselves every year are the most solid foundation of real wealth, and it is satisfactory to find that they go on increasing in proportion with the increase of population. Comparing these figures of 1910 with the figures of a third of a century ago, we find that since 1878 the production of the five cereal crops and of the cotton crop has doubled in these thirty-three years, while the population of the United States has also doubled —from 45 to over 90 million people.

Besides, as is well known, the production of coal, iron, steel, copper, oil, etc., has increased much more rapidly in the United States than anywhere else, and it is this gigantic output which is always the strong point in their economical position.

The weak points are: (1) The 'extravagance' of the people, which is so exceedingly manifest in all directions that it is not necessary to dilate on it; and (2) the unsatisfactory condition of the currency, which every one talks of vaguely and which no one in this country, so far as I know, has analysed. Here are the facts:

The amount of money in circulation totals 640*l.* millions as against 380*l.* millions in 1898, an increase of 260*l.* millions in twelve years. Most observers thought that the circulation in 1898 was excessive, and this subsequent inflation has been, I think, a considerable factor in the increased price of commodities so much complained of recently in the United States and which is generally attributed *wholly* to protective duties by our Free Traders. Why the people of any country should require 7*l.* per head of money in circulation to-day when less than 5*l.* per head was considered more than sufficient twelve years ago is a difficult puzzle. There is only one explanation, 'extravagance,' which explains many things. Eighty or ninety million people are anxious to get rich too fast and so they borrow too much.

In December last the circulation consisted of:

290*l.* millions of gold coin and gold certificates.
140*l.* millions of silver and silver certificates.
140*l.* millions of National Bank Notes (not legal tender).
70*l.* millions of Greenbacks and Treasury Notes (legal tender).

640*l.* millions.

The gold of course is good everywhere, all over the world, as international money; but it will be observed that there is, besides, 350*l.* millions of silver and paper in circulation, as against 240*l.* millions of the same inferior currency in 1898—an increase of 110*l.* millions. No doubt the declared policy of the United States is to keep the value of this silver and paper currency always equal to the value of gold, and it is true that the amount of gold in the country

has more than doubled in these twelve years that we are considering. But, as we have seen above, the bank deposits have also more than doubled during the same period, so that to-day the gold in circulation, *in proportion* to the bank deposits and the inferior currency combined, remains just about the same as in 1898. Looking to the future there is some danger that Europe may be called on to furnish further gold in order to strengthen the basis of the United States credit superstructure, if the National Bank notes as well as the silver issues go on increasing. In such an event London may be the market to feel the pull, because, if it is inconvenient to the Bank of France to part with gold, the deposits with the French Credit branch-institutions in London can be withdrawn in gold from the Bank of England. It ought to be remembered that we had to ship 32*l.* millions of gold to New York from London in the two years 1906-7, of which only about 7*l.* millions came back in 1909 and last year. Viewing the whole transactions of the last forty years, we have received no gold on balance from the United States, although during that period there have been exceedingly large amounts spent by American travellers in Europe, outside of England, for a very considerable portion of which London is liable to find the gold, as the travellers' requirements have been remitted here in the shape of commodities or securities.

There would seem to be two possible tendencies at work in the United States so far as gold shipments are concerned: (1) The inferior currency (*i.e.* the silver and bank notes which have only a local use as circulation) is being increased all the time, and this increase points to the danger of the gold (which has international use as circulation) being driven out of the country, according to the Gresham law; but on the other hand, (2) the country is in such good credit and so manifestly increasing in real wealth that it may use its borrowing powers abroad for the purpose of importing more gold (or for checking the export of gold) in order to strengthen the basis of its whole circulation. That is what happened in 1907, and it may happen again. The situation wants close watching, and the rate for sterling exchange in New York is the index, which will point out to us the tendency that is in the ascendant, whether it be No. 1 or No. 2. In the former case the sterling rate will rise; in the latter case it will fall.

A great deal in the immediate future may depend on that index, for the United States is not the only part of the American continent that has been 'going the pace' and that wants close watching. Canada has more than trebled her banking deposits since 1898, whilst the value of her Bond issues in the single year 1910 reached a total of nearly 50*l.* millions, and her trade returns for the nine months ending January 31 last show an excess of Imports of 24*l.* millions, whereas there ought to be a large excess of Exports,

looking to the charges for interest, etc., due in Europe. Also the new Reciprocity agreement if consummated with the United States will enormously quicken trade development, although, maybe, subject to temporary dislocation owing to change of direction. This arrangement between Canada and the United States ought to have been generally foreseen, as it was apparent to an ordinary observer twenty years ago that it was almost certain to come.[3]

Then, too, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Uruguay and Chili are all going ahead too fast. These four South American countries together have taken *55l.* millions of gold from London since 1898, and they have always their paper-currency difficulties. The National Bank of the Argentine now holds *37l.* millions in gold—as much as the Bank of England holds—and Brazil has accumulated *20l.* millions and is said to look forward to accumulating *40l.* millions more, while the Federal foreign debt of Brazil increased from *37l.* millions in 1898 to *89l.* millions in 1910. Bolivia too has just established a National Bank with a capital of two millions sterling. All of these South American countries naturally wish to arrive at specie payments as quickly as possible; they are all profusely extravagant in the expenditure of their borrowed money, as witness the increase of 43 per cent. in the budget expenditure of the Province of Buenos Ayres in 1911 compared with 1910; and we must therefore be prepared for further demands for gold.

It is difficult to realise how great a power this whole American continent has become of late years and how much our British prosperity is dependent on it. If any trouble were to arise in that quarter the prophesied boom in the trade of the world might easily be converted into a slump. In the financial game the borrowing nation is rather in the position of playing 'heads I win—tails you lose' with the lending nation. The borrowers get the property and the lenders get the paper, so that we need not be over-anxious about the prosperity, in the long future, of the American continent, although we may be reasonably anxious about the possible effects on the London Money Market.

The Editor of the *Statist* newspaper, who is, no doubt, a competent statistician, has lately estimated the amount of British money invested in all the countries of the American continent at *1600l.* millions—more than double the amount of our National Debt. And one of the great difficulties for a lending country (as for any Banker) is to *cease* lending to a customer who is very greatly in its debt for fear of the customer's collapse owing to the withdrawal of accommodation. A sensible Banker will never

[3] *The Nineteenth Century*, March 1891. 'The New World.'

waste his breath in blaming the customer for borrowing too freely although he may blame himself for lending too freely. The moral is that to help in maintaining the credit of American borrowers is for us the next most essential thing after providing for our own security. The importance to us of their trade may be gathered from the fact that, in 1909, 320*l.* millions of our imports and exports combined were transacted with these countries, and that is between one-third and one-fourth of our total trade. Naturally our trade with the whole European continent is still greater, amounting to 446*l.* millions; but, comparing the figures of 1898 and 1909, the *growth* of trade with the American continent is 50 per cent., against 33 per cent. *growth* with the European continent. Nowadays, we must learn to think 'continentally,' or in terms of continents. A consideration of these figures may lead us to comprehend the stupendous extent to which our imports and exports must be affected by the influence of credit. Just as they have increased very rapidly with expansion, so they may decrease very rapidly with any future contraction of credit.

There have been loud pæans sung over the British Board of Trade returns for 1910. They are certainly extraordinarily big. But we have not yet devoted sufficient attention to the examination of their soundness as well as their bigness. If the increased size is in great part arrived at owing to our extravagance in lending, and the consequent weakening of our financial power, then these 'record figures' ought perhaps rather to be regarded as a danger signal. The lesson of the United States panic of 1907 ought never to be lost sight of, and that lesson is that mere record increases of imports, exports, clearing returns, incomes, savings, etc., etc., are very far from being of any practical value in providing exemption from crisis—in fact they always prelude crisis when the credit machine is badly overstrained. In this country we ought now to consider whether *our* credit machine is being overstrained, and my contention is that our banking reserve of gold is the index that for some years past has been pointing in that direction. The ingenuity of our modern financial methods is so infinitely refined through the system of cheques and clearing, and the interdependence of all the money markets in the world so completely organised by means of bills of exchange and transfers, that we are always in danger of overlooking the formidable reality that may some day challenge the abstraction which we term 'Credit.' The reality is that all our English contracts are to pay in golden sovereigns—and this reality may sooner or later come into collision with the abstraction—unless we have a care.

Therefore this little paper may end as it began, with the suggestion that this constant gradual weakening of the proportional

reserve of gold decidedly claims the attention of the Government, and a period of transient boom like the present, when there is no threatening political cloud apparent on the horizon, and when too there is a seasonal lull in the demand for gold from the Bank of England, is the best time for thoroughly investigating the position. Let me quote again Mr. Bagehot's words: 'A good banker will have accumulated in ordinary times the reserve that he is to make use of in extraordinary times.' The events of 1890 left no room for doubt that in the last resort a British Government, whether it likes it or not, is obliged to become the Banker of the Bankers in this Banking centre of the world, and thereby a very weighty responsibility is entailed—a national responsibility. We must make provision betimes that we may never be taken unawares.

There was an important debate in the Reichstag on the 11th of February last which showed that ours is not the only Government to which an appeal may be made to take action financially. The Germans have become keenly alive to the danger of lending too much abroad, recognising the instability of the present international financial position to which their own extravagance has very materially contributed, and they are now trying to get their Government to put a curb on Foreign Loans. Apparently they are not afraid of plain speaking in the Reichstag—and indeed there are times when it may be more politic to speak out than to be silent even on the delicate question of Finance—for to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

J. W. Cross.

THE CENSOR—AND OTHER TALES

I

. . . *Ceterum censeo censorem esse delendum.*

Every one of the honourable men who were asked for their opinions about the vital question of dramatic censorship had this saying in his mind if he did not actually say it. It was the Alpha and the Omega of their wisdom. The Censor is the root of all evil; the Censor is the bad fairy to our Cinderella, the stage; the Censor mars the progress of our British theatre; the Censor makes us ridiculous in the eyes of the civilised world by prohibiting standard works of dramatic literature; the Censor plays the part of zany, and we are decried as barbarians. If we want to regain our good name, the Censor must be abolished. The sooner the better.

My knowledge of the matter, I am bound to admit, is rather incomplete as far as the events of the immediate past are concerned. I am not a constant reader of the London papers. Only once a week I get an *olla podrida*: pickles and fruit salad pell-mell; and with the same interest I devour the reports on a strike in Wales, a railway accident in Scotland, a fashionable wedding in Mayfair, a foolhardy burglary in Houndsditch, a new novel as fashionable as foolhardy. But does it really matter? Completeness is said to be the backbone of science, and may be absolutely necessary for politicians, social reformers, statistical inquirers. In questions of art an abundance of backbone is often merely an excuse for a lack of brain.

Don't reproach me, therefore, with incompleteness. It's far too easy to be complete. Don't rail at the badly-informed foreigner and appeal to the better-informed native. If he is only this, he is nothing. Facts are as plentiful as blackberries and as cheap as dirt—the aspects of a thing decide.

II

To make matters more pleasant we'll leave the living out of the question. A living author who fights for his play forbidden by

the Censor may re-echo with Othello a hundred times: 'It is the cause'—he talks to the winds. The ill-meaning and the apathetic bystanders will always be ready to attribute his pathetic zeal rather to his injured pocket than to an injured cause; and if not to his injured pocket, then to his injured vanity.

Besides, I am not sure whether it is worth while putting on a coat of mail and going to war for a cause which may not be victorious from an artistic point of view. When everything were said and written and done in such a case, it would be an irritating waste of time and space and energy. For, with the exception of *Waste*, Mr. Granville Barker's audacious drama, I doubt whether the other plays (as far as I know them) which were lucky enough to attract the Censor's dislike, deserved all the attention given them on account of the Lord Chamberlain's veto. Even *réclame* ought to have a foundation. . . .

This may seem an exaggerated artistic view. But in art there should only be artistic considerations, and if they are pushed aside by other, more temporary, momentarily stronger powers, in the end they will triumph. It is simply a question of time, who is the greatest anarchist without being a terrorist.

I do not want to hurt the feelings of the English playwrights. Let me, therefore, refer to a foreign drama: the *Monna Vanna* of Maurice Maeterlinck. What would have happened if the Censor did not exist or if the existing Censor had not (Heaven only knows why) refused his imprimatur? The Stage Society—ever active under its intelligent president, Mr. Frederick Whelen—would probably have produced *Monna Vanna*, as it actually did when the play had won a bad reputation—thanks to the Censor's insinuations. Not a single member of this illustrious society, presenting the only English theatrical audience which is not composed of grown-up children, would have found the slightest speck on the cloak of the lady. Had anybody objected to her for moral reasons, he would have shown by such a narrow-minded protest that his mental capacities did not entitle him to membership of a serious dramatic institution. To such a person, with paternal leniency, one would have said: 'You had better join a Kindergarten.' Probably more than one actress would have taken a liking to *Monna Vanna* because she discovered the title-rôle suited her like a glove, and because she saw a great chance in it for herself. She would have engaged an exceedingly good-looking, maudlin, lackadaisical young actor for the part of Prinzivalle, unless her husband, who was cast for the husband, insisted on playing the captain himself. She would have saved no expense in scenery, dresses, and supers; would have had a remarkable success at the first night; would have been extolled by nearly all the papers (the *Referee*, of course, with its usual

British or Brixton prudery, as my friend George Moore calls it, would have girded at the ungentlemanly behaviour of the *condottiere*); and after a fortnight—well, say three weeks—the play would have noiselessly disappeared because a country girl, or a runaway girl, or a girl in the train seemed more attractive to London audiences than the chaste Monna Vanna. So she would have come to an unjust and premature end, whilst now she is leading a sort of unjust sham existence on the *Index Expurgatorius*.

I suggest what might have happened because I honestly think that the bulk of English, or, at least, London, playgoers are not interested or no longer interested in, and are not ripe or no longer ripe for serious drama. We sometimes hear there are not enough serious plays given in London; but the real trouble is that the population does not sufficiently care for serious plays. Life is too sad for these sinister spectacles.

III

The serious drama they get is melodrama, and they like it immensely. But you cannot at the same time be an admirer of melodrama and the serious artistic drama.

Why in the sphere of dramatic art should there be special conditions?

A musician whose daily bread is Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms will never be able to enjoy the light, ear-tingling stuff provided by the music-halls. A dance or a ditty may be excellent music, but, unfortunately, in nine cases out of ten they are artistically indifferent, often an insult to the ear of the skilled composer. Certainly, we all appreciate a good valse quite as much as a good sonata; we, naturally, prefer a sparkling valse to a dull sonata. But the ordinary music-hall song and the vile noises of modern operette have seldom anything to do with art. He who loves or admires them cannot be susceptible to the higher beauties of music.

In painting, things are similar. He who understands anything of it, who has learned how to discriminate between art and mere pictures, cannot look with eyes 'rolling in a fine frenzy' on the sentimental trash which is to decorate the walls of the drawing-room, or on the gaudy pages of the illustrated Christmas papers. In no art is it more difficult to differentiate between the good and the bad.

Why should, of all the arts, the drama be the only exception? It is no exception, though most people think they can judge a dramatic work; and yet, the same people 'in ihres Nichts durchbohrendem Gefühl' would never pretend to speak as professional critics on painting or architecture or sculpture.

What I want to show is this: as long as the British public indulges in the crudities of melodrama, the position of the serious drama (I carefully avoid the word 'intellectual,' now become a bogey for the unintellectual) is—if not hopeless—at least exceedingly embarrassing. Public taste is not likely to change in a day. An elaborate process of development will be necessary, and any considerable improvement can only be gained by systematic education. This may sound very pedantic, but there is hardly any other remedy.

The taste of the theatre-going public must be trained, just as the taste of the reading public can be developed. For this purpose August Scherl, the German Lord Northcliffe, has recently founded a popular circulating library. He started his meritorious enterprise with a view of appealing not to the cultivated classes, but to the uncultivated masses. His initial experiment was an easily understood average novel. By publishing one every month he is gradually rising from the commonplace to the level of more classical writers. I do not know whether his magnanimous experiment has had any effect yet; its pedagogical value must not be underrated. Would that by such an enterprise in England people might learn how to differentiate between the penny dreadful (which often costs four and sixpence) and literature. The English reading public is as greedy for heart-breaking rubbish as a child for lollipops. Who is to give them substantial, wholesome mental nourishment before their brains have been incurably sapped and their tastes hopelessly vitiated?

For the theatre-going public part of this noble task would fall to the lot of the English National Theatre. But we are advancing at too quick a pace; let us return to our stepping-stone, the Censor.

IV

The three great refusals which endear him to the hearts of contemporaries and won for him eternal glory are *King Oedipus*, *Ghosts*, and *Salomé*. Two of his vetoes concerned at the time living poets who are now no longer among us; the other hit Sophocles, who happily was always out of the Censor's range.

As to *Oedipus*, I hope the Lord Chamberlain has perceived, since he checked the play, that he committed one of those errors which must not be pursued in anger, but can only be answered by a sardonic smile. Let us forgive him, friends, for he does not know what he does. Or I'll rather quote an English authority: General Talbot, whom Schiller, in his *Maid of Orleans*, makes say: 'Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens.' Stupidity is neither a sin nor a vice nor a crime, but simply a

human attribute like tallness or obesity; stupidity becomes a sin when it is combined with pigheadedness. That cannot possibly be the honourable Censor's case. He must have heard once, though he did not remember it at the time, that Sophocles' *King Oedipus* is one of the great achievements of mankind, as imperishable as the Bible or Beethoven's symphonies or Rembrandt's pictures; that in all civilised countries schoolboys of sixteen or seventeen years read the play and are taught how to appreciate its everlasting beauties; that students and scholars—even in England—bathe with sheer delight in this wonderful well-spring; that humanity considers the Greek tragedy a '*κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί*.' But the Censor evidently thought of the suburban subject of the British Empire not 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,' who lives on mutton, cricket, drawing-room chat, and the *Daily Mail*; to whom Sophocles is a book with seven seals and Hall Caine a classical author.

What would John Bull feel if he were going to see *King Oedipus* for the first time in one of the West End theatres, where his enthusiasm is raised by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's sportive dramas or he is ravished with *The Scarlet Pimpernel?* Would he not be struck by the most unnatural incidents? A man killing his own father and marrying his own mother: by Jove, that's more than the unsuspecting English innocent can bear! Would his morality not be shocked by the cursed crime of incest, of incest in its worst form? In fact, it is so bad that it has lost all its terrors for a rational modern mind. For whereas a union between brother and sister, as occurs in Wagner's *Valkyrie*, as is to be found in Byron's as well as in Shelley's poetry, can be easily imagined, the modern mind will have difficulties in conceiving how a son is to marry his mother, and will look out for a symbolical meaning of such an abnormal matrimony.

(I cannot abstain from informing the Censor that the performances of *King Oedipus* recently given in Berlin at the Circus Schumann, under the auspices of Professor Max Reinhardt, the manager of the Deutsches Theater, had an overwhelming success, both artistically and financially, and will be repeated all over Germany. Originally, only a limited number of performances (five or six) was planned; but the influx of the public was so enormous that the play has now to be given twice a week, and each time there is not an empty seat in the Circus, holding about five thousand people, and still the curiosity is growing. More than 100,000 people have seen *King Oedipus* during the last weeks; but the Berlin police reports have not mentioned a single case of immorality as a consequence of the Greek tragedy, and the Registrar not a single case of a marriage between mother and son. Furthermore, it is worth while to remark that pupils of the higher

schools were allowed to assist in the chorus, and that several hundred tickets were each time distributed among schoolboys and schoolgirls at reduced prices. And yet not a single instance of any harm being done to their little souls has hitherto transpired.)

By prohibiting *King Oedipus* the English Censor has been exposing himself and his nation to the universal laughter of the world. I should not wonder a bit if he cast his anathema against *King Lear* one of these days. Why not? Is the degeneracy of the cruel daughters torturing their good old father not quite so wicked? Or does he make an exception here because the play is of English origin? Well, let me remind him of what Friedrich Hebbel (has he ever heard the name before?) once said: 'One should talk as little of the Englishman Shakespeare as one talks of the Jew Christ.'

V

When all is said against the Censor's barbarity, I must say this: he seems to know his English wards, seems to know them more thoroughly than many a jeering journalist. If he did not, how could he dare to treat them as though they were still at an infantile stage? After all, a nation has the Censor it deserves. However, has not the Censor as well the nation he deserves? That's the question.

Let me relate a little incident I witnessed some years ago in London. Mr. Martin Harvey produced a Biblical play—its title was, if I am not mistaken, *Great Possessions*—translated from the German of Karl Rössler's *Der reiche Jüngling*. It is based on the well-known legend of the rich youth whom Christ asks to get rid of his wealth and give to the poor. There is a scene in which the rich youth, after the teaching of Christ has made a deep impression upon his mind, is tempted by the widow of his brother. No one expects her to say: 'My dear chap, why don't you build a People's Palace in the East End of Jerusalem?' She rather seems to think that charity begins at home; finds her heaven *on* earth, not after this earthly pilgrimage; and tries, in words of sensuous splendour, to convince her brother-in-law that there are still pleasures waiting for him he has not tasted yet. This scene is the indispensable balance to the dramatic action which has to rouse a conflict in the soul of the rich youth. It is perfectly harmless—or the Censor would not have allowed it.

What happened? In front of me, in the pit of the Adelphi (I think it was the Adelphi), sat two lads and a girl of about twenty who had so far behaved quite decently. As soon as the alluring widow tried to capture the rich youth, Tommy and Freddy began to giggle, thumped their female companion, jumped up with joy, drew out their handkerchiefs to pinch their

noses because they were choking with laughter. It was the behaviour of naughty children at the dangerous age when they scent something sordid in a quite innocent allusion. There are boors and babes everywhere; but I do not remember having ever seen such an unworthy lack of self-restraint in any theatre of any country.

VI

Even for these creatures it was unnecessary to forbid Ibsen's *Ghosts*. Tommy and Freddy would not have understood the play. They would have simply found it a bore. No society people; no well-dressed aristocrats, with charming manners; no splendid scenery; no action—nothing but 'words, words, words,' and *la parole donnée à l'homme pour déguiser sa pensée*. The intellectuals need not rely on the stage presentation of a play; they have the book at their disposal and can read either the original or a foreign translation, if the circulation of the book in an English form should be stopped. The uneducated, on the other hand, need not be protected by their guardian-angel the Censor, because there is no abyss threatening to engulf them; here is no likelihood of their burning their fingers or their brains, already surrounded by the threefold asbestos of ignorance. Why, then, rouse their suspicion? 'They have ears, but they hear not.'

In the Fatherland, too, the Censor considered it his duty to interpose when *Ghosts* was first announced for presentation about twenty years ago. The Freie Bühne, corresponding to the Stage Society in London, took up the play. But our Censor, who whenever he errs is not pigheaded, was soon convinced how preposterous it would be to strangle a drama of such profound morality, preaching, almost with the ardour of an old prophet, the doctrine of revengeful nature. Since then *Ghosts* is performed everywhere in Germany. The Kammerspielhaus of the Deutsches Theater was inaugurated with *Ghosts*, as if it were a 'Bühnenweihfestspiel,' and the Schiller-Theater in Berlin, a speciality of which is the enlightenment of the people, was obliged to add this encomium of maternal love to its repertory.

Of course, I do not advocate a universal code for the European Stage, which has still more facets than the cosmopolitan life in first-class hotels. As every country has its special amenities of existence, its idiosyncrasies, its autochthonous population, with languages, manners, and mannerisms of their own, so nearly every theatre has its particular public, which must be treated as a unity *sui generis*. But it seems a fatal mistake when the dramatic Censor of a country tolerates the lewd in light comedy and prohibits masterpieces of serious drama because he personally can see only the prurient in them. Must the whole nation pay for his private shortcomings?

VII

So far I have dealt with foreign plays; let us now turn to an Englishman's masterpiece.

Oscar Wilde's *Salomé*, when it first came out in 1894, was ostracised by the English Censor. In this case he was spared the trouble of detailing his reasons. *Salomé*, belonging to the category of plays in which sacred characters out of the Bible appear, was taboo in 'the land of a hundred sects and one sauce.' *Salomé* was exiled; remained exiled. No public performance has ever taken place in England; only two private productions were shown in London. The Censor's view was not in the least affected by the circumstance that *Salomé* was carried in a triumphal car over the stages of the whole world and won a victory such as was enjoyed by no other serious play from a contemporary English author. The Censor was hardly to blame; the law is stronger than he, and, after all, he is only an official. Sixteen years have passed now, and nothing has changed in the most conservative country of the earth.

(The Variety Theatres, it is true, were permitted to present an American dancer as *Salomé* in a scene which filled Continental audiences with horror and pity; not on account of the motive taken out of Wilde's play, but on account of the meagre talents she displayed.)

In Germany, as I state without pride and prejudice, the State machinery works quicker, much quicker. Our Censor, too, had his religious scruples in the beginning, but they were soon allayed by artistic reasoning. Ten months after the first private performance the little Princess of Judæa could make her public *rentrée*. How she won universal favour and fame at once, how she became the craze of the Continent, is still in everybody's memory. The run of the play was not exhausted when Richard Strauss, who has the finest flair for what is in vogue, took hold of the libretto and wrote his broiling music to it. Then began *Salomé's* second triumph.

England did not stir. She is a world of her own. The storms abroad hardly reach her, and never shake the foundations of the blessed isle. She would not have stirred even if the libretto, itself taboo, had not emanated from an English poet, himself taboo. America, with her unquenchable thirst for sensations, could not let Strauss pass unheeded and made herself ridiculous as usual in questions of art. No one wondered at the morganatic marriage.

At last London relaxed. Mr. Thomas Beecham, who has more courage than all the managers of all the London theatres put together, obtained, after heavy sacrifices, the Censor's permission to produce the opera at Covent Garden. And England, dear old

England, had the satisfaction of hearing an Englishman's work of art in a translation made in Germany. It was not Oscar Wilde's play, but the opera of Richard Strauss the musical critics had to sit in judgment on. They were not expected to criticise the drama. This did not fall under their department. It is quite enough for them to show their astounding faculties whenever they speak on music. Why should they dare to tread on slippery dramatic ground? But here they saw their island of Rhodes; here they wanted to spring. They rose to the importance of the event. Not for a moment did they reflect on the fact that the great work of a great English writer was at stake; the work of a man 'more sinned against than sinning.' Not for a moment did the idea: 'Right or wrong, our countryman,' cross their minds; an idea which England boasts of having revealed to the world, and adopts on every occasion in and out of season. For once they deviated from this patriotic principle, and tried to appear impartial by emptying the cup of their wrath on the drama and praising the music beyond measure.

Every critic must, of course, speak according to his lights. But I have grave doubts whether, in the case of *Salomé*, the simulated impartiality of London musical critics must not be doubted.

Before I enter into this somewhat delicate question, I feel bound to make two personal confessions: (1) My fervent admiration for Richard Strauss's genius extends to *Salomé*; (2) my no less fervent admiration for Oscar Wilde's genius does not prevent me from *not* liking *Salomé*. I admire the work immensely, but it goes a little against my grain. Artistic admiration and personal liking need not necessarily go hand in hand. One can, *e.g.*, highly appreciate the excellent technique of an old painting of a saint, and yet the subject of a Sebastian dotted with arrows may be so painful that one would not want to own the picture, hang it up in one's room and daily look at it. Only the uneducated and children with their uncurtailed instincts are unable to admire what they dislike.

The London musical critics had, of course, the privilege of acknowledging their personal dislike of *Salomé*; but then they were obliged to do full justice to the extraordinary literary qualities of the play. They preferred (for reasons which have nothing to do with art) to hustle the libretto and to hug the music: Wilde's drama was named a monstrosity, refined and ennobled by Strauss's tunes. I wonder whether they call this manœuvre fair play. Oscar Wilde is dead and cannot defend himself any more, whilst Richard Strauss is living and might attack. If they had really been impartial, they would have stated that everywhere where the two works were displayed in equal perfection the impression of the drama was far more powerful than that of the

opera; that Strauss, with all his richness and splendour of orchestration, hardly ever surpasses the wonderful weight of the words; that the extraordinary conciseness of the poet's canvas, representing the languid lustre of the decaying heathen world, is a little tainted by the composer with the burnish of a Christian restoration. Instead of this unvarnished truth, the musical critics emphasised the perversity of the text—an expression every true-born Englishman had a right to expect from them here. Their attitude, for once untroubled by national regards, reminded one of the ass in the fable who cannot help kicking the dead lion though it is only an Irish lion. Don't be angry with him: it is the nature of the animal. . . .

The changes the Censor insisted upon were felt an outrage by all concerned. The public tittered; the singers laughed; the members of the orchestra laughed; the conductor laughed; the composer shouted with laughter; the dead poet would have roared with laughter. Quite an Homeric laughter filled the world. Probably only the Censor's countenance remained unaltered. As long as children are not cognisant of their origin, it may be *pia fraus* telling them the stork has brought them; but once the veil of the secret is lifted, no sensible adult would have the face and the tactlessness to put them off with this fairy-tale any longer. In this case the English public knew all about it.

VIII

I have tried in these pages to attenuate the guilt of the Censor by showing that he is not responsible for everything he is upbraided with. The comparative barrenness of modern English drama is by no means his fault. I think it an erroneous opinion of the playwrights to anticipate a new era of the English stage would begin with the abolishment of the Censor; erroneous, because his absence does not yet guarantee the presence of a public of profound understanding. Suppose all the serious plays of the French and the German stages were imported to England (a thing out of the question for patriotic reasons), do you believe they would find a market there? I am convinced the rich supply would lie fallow by the want of demand. There's the rub. You can remove the Censor in a day; you can create a good play perhaps in a year; but you cannot produce enough consumers in a decade. The most important thing, the thing of vital significance to the future of English drama is: systematically to educate the public taste in order to cultivate intelligent audiences.

This can, under the present conditions, only be accomplished by a National Theatre. It must be a repertory theatre; it must not be governed by an actor-manager. Its strength must lie with a well-knit *ensemble*; it must not rely on the overpaid stars,

a disaster to English acting. It must produce the treasures of the world's dramatic literature without regard to nationality, though plays of British breed may be given the first place; it must not neglect the living. And, in order to vouchsafe its prosperous growth, it must be released from any moral muzzle.

Ceterum censeo censorem esse delendum.

Berlin. MAX MEYERFELD.

THE WILL TO BELIEVE IN THE SUPERNATURAL

"It is a narrow prejudice of mathematicians to suppose that ways of thinking are to be driven out of the field by being reduced to an absurdity. The absurd is taken as excellent juicy thistle by many constitutions."—*Impressions of Theophrastus Such.*

AMONG the indiscreet memories of an uneventful curriculum of seven college generations ago, one survives in fair relief—the study of Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (A.D. 1736). So much of this non-elective study as reached my understanding aroused an aversion to the type of argument primarily, to the matter incidentally. Yet by the light of that benign essay I have again and again appreciated the comfort of sighting the terminus from the starting-point of a logical journey. It seems to be simpler and safer to reason or to travel when the destination is greeted, not with the uncertain scrutiny of a stranger, but with the welcome of a cherished friend.

I do not confuse this experience with the earlier schoolboy discovery of the disappearance of mathematical entanglements by the simple device of looking up the answers in the book. The procedures that were resorted to to bridge the gap of non-comprehension were ingenious but not convincing. The irrelevant Q.E.D. served only to call attention to the absence of any visible harness to join horse and cart in proper relation. The adept argument, whether proceeding by analogy or otherwise, is more circumspect. It knows full well that conclusions do not travel on logical credentials alone; nor is their circulation determined by the quality of their construction. The successful argument presents the manners likely to impress the minds to which it addresses itself; it finds a sympathetic audience and displays its wares with an easy confidence in their acceptability; or if it meets with indifference or doubt, it proceeds to create an atmosphere congenial to its purposes. It uses all the arts of influence, from social prestige and æsthetic charm to flattery, and the backing

of influential patrons. It distracts attention from the logical procedure, and until brought to bay never discloses its methods, never openly seeks a conversion, but insinuates its persuasions so unobtrusively that the mind addressed moves as with its own initiative, and participates in the conclusion as in an original discovery, reflecting an exceptional insight. It is into the mental reactions of the *clientèle*, when thus addressed, that I propose to inquire; and my interest in the theme has been continuous from the days when the drastic encounter with Butler's *Analogy* first revealed the commanding supremacy of conclusions, and the subsidiary function of premises.

For many of the issues which impart to the intellectual life some of the complex and perplexing aspects of a problem play, the function of reason, like that of the play, is not primarily to convince, but to corroborate and to console. Self-esteem and the logical proprieties require that the beliefs which have been admitted to the privileges of hearth and home shall be presented in the prevalent garb of reason. It certainly is prudent to hide their nakedness, if not their actual deformities; and well-behaved visitors are not usually unduly inquisitive. It will readily be conceded that our self-esteem, our social and personal reputation, require that we be rated as logical beings, that our views and conduct alike shall be accepted as substantially the result of pure reason. This rationality is among our choicest assets in every public declaration of our mental possessions. We confess quite as freely to a bad memory as to an illegible handwriting; but we would as soon own to being bad reasoners as to having bad taste. The actual possessor of bad taste enjoys his taste because the taste is his; he is not even ready to admit that 'it is a poor thing,' though he is aware that 'it is his very own,' and many of the ranges of belief bear a suspicious resemblance to matters of taste. What has been said of butter and boys may, with about the same wisdom, be said of arguments or systems of beliefs; there is none so bad but that it is somebody's darling. And if Professor James proposes to increase the happiness of Bostonians as well as of other equally human 'men and women,' by persuading them once for all to 'abandon the notion of keeping up a musical self, and without shame let people hear them call a symphony a nuisance,' 'and thereby reap the same reward that comes with the day when we give up striving to be young or slender,' is not the recipe as applicable to arguments as to symphonies? Are there not as many and equally desirable citizens vainly seeking inspiration and meaning in reasoning and evidence, when their heart's desire is an æsthetic or a dramatic satisfaction, and one that is genuine and effective? And would it not be conducive to happiness for the one to find it in 'rag-

time' or opera bouffe, and the other in spirit-séances and other encouragers of mysticism?

But this consummation is not to be looked for. *Homo sapiens* is too tenacious of his wisdom as embodied in beliefs, and of none more so than of the belief that his own beliefs are rationally reached and logically defensible. Doubt is an unpleasant, unstable, and irritating condition, akin to the hesitation that is fatal. It is a transitory status that must be absorbed and find relief in action or conviction. We need beliefs to guide conduct, to sustain thinking, and to restrain impulses; and we acquire them as best we may, and make them as serviceable as we can. Primitive man was and is as adept in the art as ourselves. His world was decidedly different from ours; his needs less so. It is ever matters of deep and intimate human welfare that attract the belief-habits of mankind; and to primitive man almost all phenomena were eloquent with a personal message. He sought the aid of kindly forces and appeased hostile ones; and his beliefs, like his attitudes, were direct and genuine. Plagues and storms, comets and eclipses, were the heralds of warning or of punishment. But beliefs are yet more illuminating as forestalling the future than as reflecting the past; the prophet and the seer speak, and prove their calling by the exercise of transcendent powers.

Slowly, irregularly and laboriously there encroaches upon this primitive, emotionally sustained system of causality a drastic, objective type of explanation, inconsiderate of the individual. Medicine comes to account for the plague, meteorology for the storms; while the very ability of the astronomer to predict the time of the eclipse, and to trace the path of the comet, robs them of portentous meaning. The history of opinion teaches that before beliefs acquire citizenship in a scientific commonwealth, they develop under the protectorate of an anthropocentric régime, in which hope and fear, desire and consolation are the reigning powers; though the citadel which they occupy comes to be more and more commonly represented as fortified by the armour of logic and by its natural impregnable advantages. Before astronomy came to its own, astrology, shaping celestial 'oppositions' to human ends, flourished as a living belief; until the chemist established his elements and his formulæ, the alchemist found an occupation in ministering to human ambition. So long as the laws of living matter were but vaguely surmised, it was possible for men to believe and seek the elixir of life and the fountain of eternal youth. These beliefs are now dead, the habit of mind that favoured them, for the most part, outgrown. To such extent have medicine and chemistry, astronomy and physics, physiology and hygiene come to regulate the order of our thinking, that any relation claimed by these sciences is at

once relegated to their undisputed sway. We accept the astronomer's predictions, the chemist's analysis, the physicist's experiment, the physician's diagnosis. As laymen we comprehend them so far as we may; yet our attitude is inspired by a like allegiance to the same logic that guides the expert. To such extent, at all events, has the natural trend of our beliefs been scientifically disciplined, and in such measure are our emotional leanings, so far as we still feel them, silenced by an acquired logical outlook.

Yet, for the majority of men, it remains natural that the belief-habits of an older nature, when thus suppressed or expelled, should seek refuge elsewhere—partly in unexplored frontiers and partly by setting up reservations within the ceded territory. The outgrown beliefs which, like the fancies of childhood, have been wholly laid aside, we are willing to call superstitions; but for the beliefs of no very different status that yet glow like fading embers or occasionally burst into flame when a new faggot is placed upon the ashes, we have some lingering fondness. It is difficult to select a belief of intermediate position, that is not in *rigor mortis*, but still shows a flickering vitality; for any selected belief offers but an individual range of appeal, circumstance, and composition. Yet phrenology, as a fairly modern instance, may serve. There is distinct truth in the differentiation of functions in the brain and of their relation to specific areas, some general conformity of brain development to cranial contours; but the anatomy is warped, the physiology crude, and the psychology arbitrary. A resurvey of the field with finer instruments of research under a profoundly altered attitude led the way to a physiological psychology and to cautious but useful application of its teachings. This system secured a following and still survives, not by virtue of the strength of its evidence, nor by the appeal of its principles, but by the underlying interest which it furthers in the ready determination of human traits and as a means of prospecting among human careers. If, then, we ask why anyone is still loyal to phrenology, we may satisfy our curiosity by assuming that some are misled by a faulty estimation of the evidence and in so far display the weakness of their logical powers; yet the majority of its adherents are plainly biassed in its favour by the consolation or insight which an acceptance of its tenets promises. Since the advantages it extends are rather vague and affect only the more sedate, unemotional aspects of human fate, and since its disregard of established knowledge is rather barefaced, and since in competition with other and more striking beliefs it lacks the attractions of excitement and charm, its vitality is rather low. Yet the question, which might well serve to fill a gap in a lagging con-

versation, 'Do you believe in phrenology?' has the precise significance which is germane to the present discussion. Logically, the question should mean, 'Have you examined the data upon which the correlation of mental traits and cranial contours is founded, and do you appreciate the measure of consistency of the phrenological hypothesis with the established findings of science?' Actually it means, 'Do you find the conclusions of phrenology interesting and satisfying, and does it appeal to your quasi-dramatic notions of how things should be, and, incidentally, have you happened to meet with any confirmations of its principles?' Plainly, it is not the force of evidence but the magnetism of conclusions that attracts; and intense conviction, far from making keen-sighted, obscures the vision. Milder inclinations mildly distort the view, yet bring it about that some sort of view is attainable; and the lukewarm leaning towards phrenology is illuminating both in analogy and in contrast to the status of other beliefs that form the background of this survey.

There is no occasion to emphasise unduly the emotional or æsthetic factor in the determination of beliefs. No one supposes that for the larger, and indeed the lesser, concerns of the intellectual life people affect beliefs as they do fashions. No; they proceed rationally, and, according to disposition and training, they infuse into their attitudes and actions the spirit of rationality. Yet this admission, obvious and comprehensive, does not lessen the potency of the will to believe. Beliefs, not unlike fashions, are followed mildly or violently; and the lighter leanings which many confess for palmistry or telepathy are endured, possibly cherished, not embraced. Beliefs of feeble vitality survive so far as they avoid a direct clash with conduct, so far as they do not obscure the mental outlook. In gauging the intellectual calibre of our fellow-men we lay as much stress upon why and how deeply they believe as upon what they believe. Yet we do not hesitate to attach a certain qualified rating to the adherents of this or that 'ology' or 'opathy,' in so far as we regard such adherence to indicate obtuse logical sensibilities. We apply such judgments gingerly, and seek not to offend. No one, however astute or expert, can determine just how homœopathists are made, unless it be that, like poets, they are born. He compares A with B and with C and with D—all homœopathists through diverse combinations of evidence, argument, and circumstance—and looks for some common streak in their mentality. He may or may not find it. He supposes an underlying will to believe, responsive to some such appeal, which by some play of fortune tipped the scale in favour of homœopathy. He does not assume a predilection to believe in homœopathy. With but slight change in the psycho-

logical formula of A, B, C, and D, and with moderately different environments and careers, A might have been an ardent adherent of regular medicine, B a passionate devotee of psychotherapy, C might have gone over wholly to 'absent' treatment, while D alone would continue to feel the call of homœopathy. The most common bias seems to be a tendency to cherish personally consoling and irregular beliefs. Were this not a fairly widespread and, for a considerable group of humanity, a very deep-seated mental trait, it is difficult to understand how the great numbers of these systems thrive and leave a progeny.

Such is the potency of the will to believe. Unacknowledged, though operative, it gives direction and furnishes motive power to conscious beliefs; it gathers argument and evidence, seeks affinities, and makes or mars careers. In the extreme it develops a fanatic or a propagandist; ordinarily it makes alliances with common sense and some measure of scientific training, with the wholesome benefit of experience and with a reasonable regard for evidence and authority. And if this analysis assumes that the spirit of scientific verification is not developed to a commanding dominance, is there any good reason why for the majority of mankind it should be so? Lacking much incentive from within or without to wander from the beaten track, the ordinary devotee of common sense proceeds comfortably, even complacently. He trips occasionally and stubs his toe; but in the give and take of a practical world this is at once part of the discipline and part of the game. Any tendency that he may feel towards financial credulity or an uncritical confidence in human virtue is likely to be checked by costly experience. But there is no recognised clearing-house for his intellectual speculations. His investments, whether moderate or extensive, in the beliefs quoted on the belief exchange, yield their interest in the satisfaction which they bring. He avoids, for the most part, depressed and undesirable views, and affects those which the market of the day records as steady and inclined to rise; and the demands of decent consistency are thus met. Even the academic mind, though withholding its sanction from any such logical compromise, in its confessional moods acknowledges the logical imperative of the *status quo*. And to this add another consideration: every mind is composite, even a mind that has achieved a well-knit unity of personality. There are all sorts and conditions of belief-attitudes within the same mind, as inevitably as there are many minds where there are many men. We admit compatibilities and incompatibilities, sympathies and antagonisms; but these are limited alike in scope and degree. It takes a serious incompatibility of temper or a flagrant violation of logical proprietary to cause a family rupture

in the mental household; and concessions and makeshifts will be freely advanced to maintain a conventional peace.

Many minds are broadly and others but narrowly streaked with rationality, but none are of wholly uniform texture; and the varieties of patterns and their combination which thus result add to the interest of human ideals and management, and on the whole prove adequate to current standards. There is, accordingly, hardly any combination of adherences which cannot find coherence in some minds. If we conduct our search diligently and discreetly we shall somewhere find a John Doe who is at once a Republican, a 'votes-for-men' man, a Presbyterian, a vegetarian, with a leaning towards osteopathy and palmistry; while his friend, Richard Roe, proves to be a Democrat, an equal suffragist, an ex-Episcopalian become a Christian Scientist who yet clings to the material reality of roast beef, and is more than half convinced of the genuineness of telepathy and spirit materialisations, though he pooh-poohs the notion of 'malicious animal magnetism' which forms a tenet of his sect. And the two may have a mutual friend with whom they hold amicable intercourse, despite the fact that he is a Socialist, an ethical culturist, a Fletcherite, and a very stolid individual generally, who yet feels uneasy when seated as one of thirteen at table or when asked to float a venture on Friday, the thirteenth of the month. All these individuals and their near and remote kin are more or less logical, and in plain and familiar situations unaffected by prejudice are likely to reach reasonable positions. They may not always reason correctly or accurately, but they exercise a respectable logical attitude and intent. They may not be expertly critical, may indeed jump at conclusions, or hurdle to them; but these forms of mental agility in no way stamp them as exceptional or condemnable. In the summer of 1909 it would have been natural to find one of the above triumvirate an advocate of Cook, the other of Peary, as the true discoverer of the Pole; while by rare chance the third, through lack of interest or excessive rationality, might have had no opinion at all. The will to believe is aroused by the malaise of uncertainty; and it acquires a positive force and direction by sympathy of temperament, and thus makes converts through a composite rational and emotional appeal.

And for the rest, let us assume that the subjects of our logical survey are high-grade thinkers, loyal to the principles of a consistent interpretation of things as they are; let us assume that from such downward to the common-schooled, bourgeois layman, temperamentally hard-headed or the reverse, there will be found in a natural series diverse shades and grades of rationality and con-

sistency. Within the series, the most significant variable is the wholemindedness of the loyalty to the scientific attitude. This quality testifies to the profound and comprehensive encroachment of a scientific surveillance over the entire range of human activities and belief. Clearly, every thoughtful man of to-day regards a vast range of opinion as wholly withdrawn from the exercise of personal preference and as ruled by formulæ and demonstrations, by statistics, and the laboratory. But the circle of human interests is larger than the syllogism, and cannot be described by the compass of the induction. The complexity and incalculability of our psychology, the breadth and depth of the intellectual and the emotional life, defies the most comprehensive formulæ. Yet nowhere does rationality find its occupation gone. The habit of mind which we bring to our most personal and insoluble problems is profoundly influenced by the trend and the discipline of the same principles, the same conceptions of cause and effect and of the uniformities of nature, which have inspired the contributions of pure and applied science.

I repeat, we concede a sincere logical loyalty and a discernment subject only to the inevitable limitations of endowment and experience. If representatives of this type of mind subscribe to a belief that heavy pieces of furniture, while ordinarily subject to commonplace laws of matter, may occasionally be moved by an occult force emanating from a spiritually empowered medium, or if they believe that premonitions and coincidences are vitally and personally significant, it seems but fair to regard such beliefs as settled upon a reservation set apart from the ordinary habitations of their intellectual world. Possibly such openness of mind may be no more than an evidence of the estimable virtue of tolerance. The open mind is as desirable in science as the open door in commerce. But when examined closely, the mode of reception of these reserved issues suggests a backdoor traffic, which does not mingle with the stream that animates the public highways. It remains significant that the temper of the attitude and the trend of the conclusions which pervade these reserved areas will not square with the everyday regulation of affairs, nor with the underlying conceptions which make possible our theoretical and our practical outlook. It is also significant that these irregular attitudes and conclusions are applied to a limited range of phenomena, which are held together largely by their persistent appeal to the interpretation of laws and events as personally significant.

The tendency to be affected by such aspects of phenomena, the tendency to permit the growth of, or to cultivate, reserved areas in the logical garden remains a temperamental matter; and

since professional men of science, in spite of well-earned reputations and notable achievements, in spite of proved ability to handle the logical tools of their science effectively, are yet not exempt from the influences of their personal composition, there need be no surprise to find men of this stamp among the adherents of the beliefs in question. It must be very definitely understood that men of science (in fair number) may be professionally critical and temperamentally credulous. What most needs emphasis is that the bias which they express grows out of personal traits, not out of the qualities that support their technical acquisitions. The physicist who subscribes to the genuineness of 'spirit-levitation,' and the biologist who records the appearance of 'supernumerary spectral limbs,' are convinced of such phenomena, not because the one is technically conversant with the uniform behaviour of inanimate matter, and the other with the limitations of organic structure, but by virtue of quite other and ordinarily suppressed factors of their psychological composition, which find no exercise in the procedures of the laboratory. The special knowledge of the physicist is hardly necessary to the discovery that auto-motor wardrobes and self-elevating parlour-tables are outlaws in the realm of gravitation; the technique of the biologist is unnecessary to the recognition that the spontaneous generation of hands and arms and their speedy absorption in the natural members is a violation of the laws of organic genesis of the most stupendously amazing proportions. The layman's appreciation of these contradictions is quite as definite as that of the professional scientist; and the predilections of the two for similar views are of a nature all compact. The common-sense specialist and the common-sense layman are in this aspect quite on a par, and stand and fall equally by a like logical virtue and like logical or psychological failings. Nine times out of ten, and oftener, it is not the physicist, but the temperamental man in the investigator that is responsible for the extra-scientific conclusion; and hardly less often does the manner and measure of his conversion reflect far more correctly and intimately his personal psychology than his professional physics. It is, indeed, most natural, if we concede the wide distribution of the 'mental reservation' habit of mind amongst high-grade and loyal thinkers, that such phenomena should be endorsed, such hypotheses favoured, by a small number of men who happen to be physicists, or chemists, or astronomers, or physiologists, or anthropologists; and parenthetically it is worth noting that the chemist does not subscribe to a belief in alchemy, nor does the astronomer go over to astrology, nor does the physiologist guide his estimate of men by phrenological precepts, nor does the

anthropologist resort in perplexing situations to charms and amulets and incantations. Let there be no confusion as to the legitimate and illegitimate bearing of professional prestige upon the status of a belief of this extra-scientific tenor. If John Doe and Richard Roe are inclined to believe in 'materialisations' or telekinesis because they learn that this and that scientific man has examined and been convinced, their inclination is warranted only so far as it bases itself upon an ascription to the men of science of a superior equipment to decide this issue, and upon an equal assurance that the same qualities of mind are used in their professional as in their non-professional research.

I have stated this view brusquely. Without withdrawing from any of its consequences, it should be tempered to fit more elastically the varying conditions. In spite of reserved areas of divergent beliefs, a man's mind remains a unit, though a complex one; and the faculties which he employs in his scientific work do not forsake him when he becomes involved in these personally centred systems; and by the same token, must not an adherence to the law-defying theories of the séance-room reflect upon the soundness of his logic in his rigid specialty? The reply cannot be precise nor decided, though it must not be equivocal. Consider a practical situation. An inhabitant of Wall Street keenly realises the complexity and precariousness of his predictions, and the investments based upon them. He forms conclusions by considering as best he can the state of the market, the condition of the crops, the truth of certain rumours, the remote political situation, and the like; and thus he reasons and guesses and carries on his business. But in exceptional cases, when his confidence forsakes him, he consults a fortune-teller to decide whether to throw his fate with the bulls or the bears. The factors in his nature that take him to the 'medium' are precisely similar to those that bring to the same high priestess the most innocent lamb that ever nibbled at coupons. What the stockbroker discovers, or supposes, concerning the soothsayer's real methods will depend upon various circumstances, of which the chief is the shrewdness of the common-sense individual that keeps house in the same tenement of clay with the stockbroker. And whether his associates on the exchange shake their heads, and whether his clients transfer their business to other brokers, when they learn of his visits to the fortune-teller, will depend likewise upon his good luck and upon the characters of the associates and the clients. And just as these situations vary, so likewise is there a difference between the stockbroker's reliance upon the clairvoyante and the physicist's allegiance to materialisations. All analogies are weak and partial; but the most conspicuous differ-

ence of the two cases is the least important, namely, that the man of Wall Street tries to apply his belief to actual concerns, while the physicist's belief remains theoretical. In both cases we have the employment in one field of attitudes and conceptions which have a very distinct status from those that obtain in the other. In the main, no reconciliation is possible; yet the two manage to make terms by adroitly and tactfully avoiding one another's sensibilities. But all this within limits; if the stockbroker begins to be unduly reckless, and transacts all his affairs by telepathy or premonitions, there is likely to be trouble even before his sanity is questioned. If the physicist contributed to his 'Physical Journal' experiments in which his observations of Hertzian waves or radio-activity were altered to make room in his equations for spirit influence or disturbance, there can be little doubt as to his fate at the hands of his fellow physicists. And likewise, in making allowance for the common temper of the two activities; if a physicist or a biologist or a stockbroker or a layman of any calling were to exhibit in his investigations of spirit manifestations a marked credulity, a clear detachment from the obligations of a critical logic and a prudent common sense, we could not but look askance at this exhibition, and could not but discount the rating of his ability in his special field. We should then decide that these divergent streaks were not superficial and isolated, but ran deep and broad through his mental tissue. Such judgments we cannot avoid; such considerations constantly and legitimately circulate in the arena of opinion, and by them reputations stand and fall.

I have implied that the investigator of the supernatural does and must keep apart his law-defying conclusions in the 'spirit' realm and his law-abiding conclusions in the material realm. I have indicated how far the usage of logical society sanctions such intellectual division, and how far such conduct may render him subject to suspicion. I have also indicated the disaster that awaits him who attempts to put wholly asunder what is yet joined in natural unity. Yet I have done justice to neither aspect, neither to judicial tolerance nor to judicial rigour. Doubtless the largest tolerance would go out toward personal and private beliefs, for which faith and a religious earnestness stood sponsor. If in private life a distinguished physicist were a known believer in the inspired character of Swedenborg's revelations, or if a distinguished astronomer announced himself a literal believer in the views expressed by Brigham Young, we might make what comments we chose upon this combination, but we should in no measure be called upon to examine the value of such beliefs by the same attitude and standards by which we examine the legiti-

many of his physical or astronomical contributions. It is also our privilege to consider the connexion between undogmatic and liberal religious views and the advances of science. We should indeed be utterly blind to the lessons of the past were we not impressed with the direct power of the larger belief-attitudes to make or mar the fortunes of science. We may, if we choose, express surprise that out of this or that intellectual environment so worthy a scientific contribution should come; but it seems obvious that we must hold distinct the belief of Professor A in the necessity of total immersion as a procedure in baptism and his belief in the correctness of a theory of radio-activity. Neither we nor the professor cite his authority as a physicist in favour of the religious ceremony. We feel no tendency to join the Swedenborgians because this or that man of science has joined them, and we observe that the latter does not apply his physics to the questions of his faith. It is hardly necessary to add that these hypothetical cases are recorded wholly objectively and without particular reference; and that very objectivity is as indispensable to the student of belief as it is to the achievement of scientific results in any field.

I have added this illustration mainly to indicate that if the advocates of spontaneous 'elevation' and spirit-made plaster casts and supernumerary spectral limbs were only such as assembled for the good of their souls, and invited to their meetings those to whom such beliefs brought real and reasonable consolation, and held séances to foster and give tangible reinforcement to such beliefs, they would doubtless receive such tolerant appreciation as their behaviour incites. But such is exactly the reverse of the actual situation. They desire nothing more earnestly than the scientific warrant; they desire no other consideration for the reality of spectral limbs than for the verification of six toes on the human foot; they put *x*-rays and telekinetic spirit-guided powers of mediums in the same class; they hold that the communications of spirits shall be received no differently than messages by wireless telegraphy. There is no asking for quarter here, but a direct challenge, or rather a challenge modified by an appeal. The most convinced devotees of the modern supernatural do not maintain that the structure of science is all askew and its foundations tottering. They do not ask that our physical laboratories be dismantled and rearranged in accordance with the extra-physical or super-physical systems which their hypotheses involve. They are not militant, and they sincerely respect the methods and results of scientific research. They wear the same uniform, display the same equipment as do the regulars in the army of science, but the motives that arouse their patriotism and

the foe which they wish to scatter give to their warfare a wholly different, a truly foreign, and often a confusing complexion. They do not challenge, but they do appeal. They ask, Are the boundaries of science so securely marked that there is no break or irregularity in its contours? May there not be conditions of a rare and exceptional nature that do not conflict with the solidarity of the universe for the reason that their primary allegiance is to another order of events? May it not be that interpenetrated with this world, which we know only so far as we have senses responsive to the vibrations of its contained energies, there is yet another to which we are ordinarily insensitive, but which now and then by a happy conflux of conditions suddenly rings out with a convincing resonance by virtue of a higher sympathetic vibration? Concede this to even a slight degree of possibility, and why may not the whole range of mediumistic phenomena, to say nothing of telepathy and premonitions and apparitions and veridical coincidences, all shoot together into a sort of interstitial system that leaves the world of daily contact quite integral and consistent and yet itself holds together?

Now the point of view that entertains this comprehensive query may be squarely met; but this issue involves a very different story, little of which is relevant here. The query is relevant, because it illustrates an important phase of the will to believe in the supernatural—the desire to bring belief into daily harmony, if that may be; to bring to occasional speaking terms, if that alone is possible, the extra scientific realm with the accepted scientific régime, even though the latter must give way to receive the *rapprochement*. Let it be clearly understood that I am not examining the strength of this and the other hypothesis or the value of the evidence in terms of demonstrable facts, but only the source of the tendencies to believe. Evidence is relevant only so far as it is the primary and actually effective source of the belief. In these issues I have committed myself to the opinion that evidence plays a wholly subsidiary *rôle*. The plot for the middle-class and the upper-class mind—fundamentally or incidentally dramatic in their requirements—proceeds upon the basis of quite a different range of motives; and the similarity of the *dénouement* must not be incorrectly interpreted. I must not permit myself at this stage of the presentation to be led into a consideration of facts and evidence; though I am naturally ready to concede the propriety of such consideration and to express my own readiness to participate in it. Let me assume that what is true of the super-physical feats of the mediums may be accepted as sufficiently typical of the whole range of evidence; and in regard to this, it seems to me no unpardonable inaccuracy to say

that the evidence reduced to a single sentence is this: That upon such and such occasions the performances have been satisfactorily accounted for as more or less clever utilisations of plain everyday physical forces (involving fraud on the part of the medium); and that on such and such other occasions the particular observers have been unable to discover how what seemed to them to occur was really accomplished. In one case the detectives found a clue and disclosed the *modus operandi*, let us say, of the murder or the robbery; in another case they failed. Detectives happen to be most wary of concluding that the crime could not have been committed in this way or in that, and they seem curiously disinclined to consider spirit interference and supernumerary spectral limbs; they have a prepossession in favour of theories that involve skeleton keys and 'jimmies' and accomplices. On the other hand, the sitters at the séance are quite sure that 'it' could not have been fraud, that the medium could not know their private affairs, that such and such a manœuvre was out of the question: and hence it must be the work of spirits or super-physical agencies. I am fully aware that this is, and must be, an inaccurate, shorthand transcript of the evidence; and I am equally aware that this barest reference to the evidence exposes me to an avalanche of counter-argument, which most is to be avoided. I repeat: I refer to matters of evidence only to indicate in what way, as I am able to see the situation, evidence does actually affect the belief-attitudes; and I am contending that the step from fact to explanation is taken not as a logical inference but as a psychological inclination, and that, for purposes of such illustration, my summary of the kind of evidence is fair and typical.

All this I have added to make room for the admission that for a very small and select group of adherents of super-physical beliefs, who indeed have carefully examined the whole range of phenomena, who have curbed what prepossessions they may have, for whom the belief in the reality of the phenomena brings little consolation, even some or much distress—for these, the insistence of the 'facts' does seriously affect and determine their conclusions. The group is small, possibly larger than I suppose; but as the terminal group in a series which I have hypothetically constructed it finds a natural place. Such men are not credulous; they are critical. They reject a large part of the evidence; but they find a kernel, which they say is wholly different in significance from the shell. Some make this nucleus a centre of a system; others refrain from speculation, but insist that a common physics and a common psychology do not render a satisfactory account. Here the doctors plainly disagree, and when doctors disagree it is not surprising to learn that they, too, express their

temperamental as well as their professional inclinations. Such men must be less sensitive to the deterrent force of violent logical incompatibilities than are their stubborn colleagues who will not concede that the heavens may occasionally fall. They must be more sensitive to the conviction that grows out of personal experience, to the unpleasant bewilderment of a baffled understanding; they may be a little over-impatient of doubt and the restraint of judgment, a little more likely to give large values to the subjective, and small ones to the objective factors in the formulæ of conviction. And, by such tokens, do they not give evidence to a refined susceptibility to the will to believe?

The public is intolerant of fine distinctions; and my own attempt to be appreciative of all sorts and conditions of belief-attitudes may prove wearisome. Yet because these beliefs are alive they must be handled with the caution of the vivisector. The psychologist must not shrink from the operation, though the nerves which he exposes are those of self-esteem. Ideals determine standards, and standards determine actions. The pride of rationality need suffer no rebuff; but a rational view of our own rationality is itself a worthy ideal. Men need find no more fault with themselves for failing to disclose the procedures of mediums than for a like failure in unravelling the mysteries of the disappearing lady on the conjurer's platform. There is no element of intellectual feebleness involved in guessing how either effect is produced—and in guessing wrongly. The most expert political writers gauge the situation the day before the election and make the most confident predictions; and twenty-four hours later the prophecy proves wholly wrong, but the prophet does not remain without honour in the land. He continues as the accredited correspondent on political events. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished that any remote stigma of logical incapacity that by implication seems to be attached to the inability to divine how such and such phenomena are to be accounted for, shall be speedily removed. We live very comfortably and with no loss of poise under the most imperfect explanations of many of the things with which the world is so puzzlingly full. But last as first, it is not the phenomena, but the personal hold of the theories advanced to account for them that arouses a misproportioned and a misguided interest; and these same theories achieve their commanding place in contemporary interest because of the unacknowledged but recognisable vitality of the will to believe in the supernatural.

A modern psychological theory restates the Aristotelian view of the value of the mental, or, more correctly, the emotional cathartic. It tells sufferers from ingrown psychic trouble, that if only they will dig deep down and bring to the surface the sup-

pressed and ostracised parasite that is preying upon their psychic tissue, the very act of explicit confession will bring peace to their souls. May not the general recognition of the will to believe as a legitimate factor in the tenacity of beliefs bring about a more wholesome attitude towards the phenomena that keep alive the conception of the supernatural?

JOSEPH JASTROW.

CASSANDRA ON 'VOTES FOR WOMEN.'

A WOMAN, whose life was being made a burden to her because she would not even profess to think that other women ought to have votes, chanced to meet a clergyman one day.

'I congratulate you,' he exclaimed; 'you have almost won your case: before the General Election comes round, you ladies will all have votes. And I am very glad,' he added heartily; for he was by nature both courteous and kindly, and he took it for granted that she was a Suffragist.

'But I do not wish ladies to have votes,' she replied tartly.

He looked at her in surprise. 'Not wish them to have votes,' he cried wonderingly. 'Why not?'

'Because I do not wish every curate in the land to have a dozen votes, and every popular rector at least a hundred,' was her answer, For she was an indiscreet woman, one who never by any chance thought until she had really spoken; and she did not know the meaning of the words 'good manners.'

The clergyman, who was himself a popular rector, raised a protest, of course, with an odd little twinkle, though, in his eyes the while; for in his parish men were few and far between, whereas women were as plentiful as blackberries. And he knew—he had a conscience and therefore could not deny the fact when challenged—that most of the women would as soon think of flying as of recording a vote without asking him for whom they should record it. Still, this was only as it should be, he held; for to whom should women turn for advice, if not to the clergy? And as he went on his way he smiled complacently, thinking, perhaps, of the good times that were coming when, a Female Suffrage law being in force, he would be able to play the grand elector and send his own member to Parliament.

Another day this same luckless woman came across a distinguished doctor; and he, too, was lavish with his congratulations because women were, as he was sure, going to have votes. He, too, to her dismay, was jubilant at the prospect, rejoicing openly, unfeignedly. One might have thought, indeed, from the strain in which he talked, that the millennium would begin at once when there were Florences and Betsies on the Parliamentary register, as well as Jonathans and

Franks. Then principle would forthwith become the order of the day in Parliament, he swore; members would no longer dare to laugh and scoff through sheer perversity; and no bill would have any chance of passing unless it made for righteousness.

He was a Radical of Radicals, this doctor; and he seemed to take it for granted that women also were Radicals at heart—born reformers. When once they had votes they would throw themselves heart and soul on the side of progress, he maintained, and come forth as apostles of justice, righters of wrongs. Then the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity would begin: right would take the place of might, and there would be peace and happiness all round. So at least he thought, and he railed against the woman because she ventured to think otherwise.

'But just consider,' he cried, 'when women have votes there will be an end of this wretched party system of ours, this swinging of the pendulum from Liberal to Tory, Tory back to Liberal, with all the waste of time and money it entails. That even you must see.'

'Yes, I see that,' she replied.

'Then do you not realise what a tremendous gain that in itself will be?'

'No,' she answered doggedly.

'Not a gain to have a great solid party in the State, one with the overwhelming majority of the electors in its ranks?'

'I am very doubtful.'

'Doubtful? Think of the stability of the Government in such a case, of the authority with which it would speak, of the rapidity and ease with which it would bring about reforms! Why it might remain in power for twenty years.'

'Might remain in power!' she retorted grimly; 'why it certainly would, unless meanwhile a revolution came. And think of having Lord —— installed as Prime Minister for twenty years.'

'Lord ——?' repeated the doctor, with a look of amazement in his eyes. 'Why on earth should he be Prime Minister?'

'Because, so far as I can judge, he is the only statesman we have who could lead a Clerical party; and if you knew a tithe as much about women as you do about microbes, you would know that, when women have votes, it is the Clerical party that will be the strongest party in the State, the dominant party, the party, therefore, whose leader will be Prime Minister.'

The mere mention of a Clerical party in England set the Radical doctor's nerves all a-jangling. It was an insult to the understanding of the nation, he protested. The woman must have something seriously wrong with her brain, he seemed convinced, for such a thought ever to have entered her head. A Clerical Prime Minister! Did she imagine that the English people were born idiots? And he railed against her more bitterly than ever. So righteously indignant,

indeed, did he wax in his wrath, that she hung her head and went away sorrowful, wondering whether, perhaps, after all, her eyes were not holden; whether her fear of clericalism was not leading her judgment astray. What if the doctor were right, and this Suffrage scheme were, as he held, fraught with weal, not with woe, for the land? What if votes for women meant not, as she feared, the rule of a clerical clique, but, as he argued, the rule of the wisest and best? She tried think that he was right; but, let her try as she would—and she did try very hard—she could not. At length she took to frequenting places where women most do congregate, in the hope of finding there proof that his optimism was well founded. For she was very weary of playing the *rôle* of Cassandra, and would have given the tips of her little fingers gladly to be as sure, as he was, that the passing of a Female Suffrage bill would really spell national prosperity, not disaster.

The first visit she paid was to a seaside health-resort, one where there are many females and very few males, and what males there are are decrepit. A really stalwart male is never by any chance to be seen in the town, no man seemingly, not even a cabdriver or a waiter, ever settling there until he is already a wreck. (This is Cassandra's account of the place.) So far as the classes, as apart from the masses, are concerned, the whole community is made up practically of women and clergymen. the women of course being to the clergymen in the ratio of hundreds to one. Were a Female Suffrage Bill to become law, let it be framed on what lines it might, the Parliamentary register would, for practical purposes, be a list of women's names. The constituency would be essentially a feminine constituency; there, at any rate, votes for women would, to all intents and purposes, mean votes for women alone. For as women are in the overwhelming majority, they would be able to elect whomsoever they chose to be the district M.P., without ever a vote from a man. All political power would therefore be in their hands, so far as this constituency is concerned; and they would have their say with the best in determining vital questions of Imperial policy.

Now the women in this town are of course widows and spinsters for the most part, and they are nearly all of them in straitened circumstances; for the place is much too dull for the wealthy to resort there, excepting as sojourners. The poorer among the residents let apartments, or take in paying guests; while the richer live on what they have; for they are of the sort, many of them, who to work are ashamed, although they do not seem to mind, begging. Life is for most of them, therefore, a somewhat sorry business, a struggle to make both ends meet, and under trying conditions. For they are as completely cut off from what the worldly call pleasures—from everything that interests, excites, exhilarates, or stirs to thought—as if they were in Timbuctoo. They have no good library within reach, no picture

gallery, no theatre worth mentioning; and there are in the course of the year hardly half a dozen concerts or lectures in the town. In summer garden parties, and in winter afternoon teas are the only amusements, beyond novel-reading and district-visiting, that the ladies who live there can count upon. For even the most enterprising of hostesses would never dream of giving either a dance or a dinner, owing to the scarcity of men. And at the garden-parties and teas the scarcity makes itself felt most depressingly. Little wonder the clergy are held in high esteem; for were they not there, the scarcity would be a total lack. And held in high esteem they certainly are! They are the centre around which the whole social life of the town revolves, the source of whatever gives zest to social intercourse. Quite a fair section of those who live there are practically dependent on them for their recreations. For, no matter how meanly women may think of men, they find even teas more cheering when 'mixed than when feminine *pur et simple*.

Nor is it only for their recreations that those who live in this town are dependent on the clergy. Although many women in this our day scoff at men, the average woman still turns more readily to a man than to another woman, when in need of help. For she takes it for granted that, even though he may have no more brains than the other woman, he has more experience in the practical affairs of life, and is therefore able to help more effectually. And the average woman, when a widow or spinster, is as a rule very often in need of help, in need of advice and sympathy, even if of nothing more substantial; especially if she be, as she so often is *alleinstehend*, as the Germans say—alone-standing. She must have some one to whom she can turn when difficulties arise, when her neighbour is trying to encroach on her rights, or her landlord is becoming extortionate, when the shares she holds are going down in value, or some other investment she has made threatens to turn out badly. She might, of course, consult a lawyer, but then she would have to pay for his advice; and the average woman has a rooted objection to paying for what she can obtain gratis. She therefore consults her favourite pastor. In this health resort, indeed, she has no alternative; as there is practically no other man for her to consult, excepting perhaps her doctor, who is as a rule too busy.

Besides, her pastor is her official advice-giver, the one man in the whole world, perhaps, to whom she has a right to appeal. It is his duty as her pastor to give her advice, whenever she chooses to take counsel with him; it is part of his regular business to guide her aright and try to shield her from harm. And the overwhelming majority of the clergy do their duty in this respect quite nobly.

In this health-resort there are undoubtedly many, many women who owe much of their interest in life to the clergy. The day their pastor pays them a visit is their red-letter day, if for nothing but that

he brings with him a waft from the outside world, the masculine world, when he comes. They are very lonely, many of them, very weary, very much bored; and his conversation is at least a change for them, while his kindly sympathy is a real consolation. The mere fact of having a visit from a well-educated man of social standing, one who can tell them of what is going on beyond the end of the road, who knows the latest happenings, and has perhaps read a new book, is in itself an event for them as well as a pleasure. What, then, could be more natural than that they should enjoy a chat with him? What more natural than that, if such be their bent of mind, they should put him on a pedestal, listen to him as to an oracle, and—well—as soon think of flying as of doing anything without appealing to him for advice, or of not accepting his advice when given? It is no fault of his nor yet of theirs that it should be thus, pitiable and regrettable though it may be. And as things are it is a matter of no great importance to anyone but to him and themselves that it is thus. If women had the right to vote, however, it would of course be otherwise; for then his advice would be the all-important factor in deciding how they would vote. In that constituency no candidate whom the clergy opposed would have any chance of being returned to Parliament; any candidate whom they chose to support would forthwith be elected. It is they, and they alone, in fact, who would determine the result of the election.

Cassandra, who had gone there in search of proof that the Radical doctor was right in his contention that it would be well if a Female Suffrage bill were passed, soon shook the dust of this town from off her feet, and went away feeling that in going there at all she had wasted her time. For, so far as the constituency of which it forms a great part is concerned, it would evidently not be well, unless indeed it were well that political power should be in clerical hands. And this she was not prepared to admit. She found comfort, however, in the thought that there could not be many towns where the same state of things prevailed as prevailed there. She therefore decided to continue her search, and betook herself to another seaside health-resort.

This second town is nearer to London than the first, a fact which accounts perhaps for its being so much more worldly. There is no lack of amusements there, for those at least who have the money wherewith to pay for them; and many of those who are there have the money, as the place is a favourite resort of the wealthy. The wealthy, however, go there for the most part only as sojourners, while the somewhat needy make up the bulk of the resident population, the bulk even of the leisured class. And they there, as elsewhere, must think twice before buying theatre tickets, or even books.

This health-resort also is essentially a widow-and-spinster town, although not so exclusively as the other. There are men there, in addition to the clergy, even among the regular inhabitants; and although such of them as are of the leisured class are almost all old,

much too old to play the sympathetic helpful friend, they are by no means all decrepit. Still, although men there are, they are of course quite hopelessly in the minority. There are a good 8000 more females than males in the town, taking the population as a whole; and that would mean at least two female voters to every male under any Female Suffrage law not framed on Universal Suffrage lines—considerably more under a law framed on Shackleton lines. Thus there, too, if women had votes, all political power would be in their hands; as they could, if they would, sweep all before them at a General Election. And there, too, very many of them are alone-standing, more or less dependent on the clergy for their recreations, with no one practically but the clergy to appeal to for guidance or advice. There, however, a wider meaning must be given to the word 'clergy' than in the other health-resort.

In the first health-resort our Cassandra visited, under clergy must be understood only clergymen of the English Church; for it is they alone who, if women had votes, would have to be reckoned with politically, the town being 'churchy' in the extreme. In the second, however, the term, to be accurate, must be held to include also Nonconformist ministers as well, of course, as Catholic priests. When she arrived there, indeed, there was, as it chanced, one Nonconformist minister who wielded more influence than any half-dozen Anglicans put together. And his special hunting-ground lay, it must be noted, among the resident well-to-do, alone-standing women, the women who, under any Female Suffrage law, must necessarily have votes. For he was not only clever and eloquent, but emotional. Ladies of all denominations therefore flocked to hear him gladly. They 'sat under him,' as the saying is: they drank in his words, adopted his views, and pinned all their faith to him. He could make them think just what he would; for he held them in the hollow of his hand, as it seemed, and could sway them as he chose. He could, therefore, of course, have secured their votes for whom he wished, had they had votes. And he was—perhaps he still is—a keen politician, one who held strongly that it was the bounden duty of a pastor to see that his flock voted straight—'straight' meaning for the party to which he belonged.

From this town, too, Cassandra soon departed sorrowfully, for she knew that the proof of which she was in search was not to be found there. 'Why, at a word from him they would vote for the Devil himself,' was the thought in her mind as she went.

As a sort of forlorn hope she then betook herself to a third seaside resort, one that is a large and important town. But even there much the same state of things prevailed, she found, as in the first and second, only on a larger scale. There are some 20,000 more females than males there, and many of the females are alone-standing. Quite

a fair section of them belong, however, to the comfortable class, the class who wear sealskin coats, own their own bath-chairs, and have five-course dinners every day. And these are, naturally enough, not so dependent on the clergy either for companionship or advice as their poorer sisters. Among them, indeed, expounders of Christian Science play an important *rôle* as advice-givers; and so do expounders of theosophy, faith-healing, and spiritualism. It is quite possible, indeed, that Prophet Harris has a few followers there even to-day, and also Brother Prince. Still, there, as elsewhere, the average alone-standing woman looks for guidance to her pastor, her clergyman, priest or minister, as the case may be, when troubled in her mind or perplexed. And it is the average woman, it must be remembered, who under Female Suffrage would turn elections.

When she had said good-bye to this town, Cassandra turned her steps inland, and took to staying in such places as Leamington Spa and Tunbridge Wells. In the first she visited—it was neither Tunbridge Wells nor yet Leamington—there were nearly 9000 more females than males; in the second 6000, and in the third close upon 10,000. Let her go to which of them she would, indeed, she always found, so far as the residents were concerned, the same state of things, always found women as plentiful as swallows in summer, and men as scarce as—— Why, in some towns it seemed to her as if she could almost count them on her fingers and her toes, such of them, at any rate, as were laymen. In every inland health-resort in the kingdom, so far as she could judge, women under a Female Suffrage law would literally swamp the electorate. There, as in every seaside resort, they would be able to return to Parliament whom they chose. And there, too, as by the sea, most of the women are alone-standing, many of them—very many—more or less under clerical influence, prone to adopt as their own the opinions of their spiritual advisers, and do what these advisers tell them to do. So at least Cassandra felt sure after sojourning among them.

She was much impressed by the fact that, in these health-resorts, when flocks change their pastors they not unfrequently change also their views, even in matters political; and from staunch Conservatives become Social Democrats, or from Radicals become Tories. This she professed to regard as proof that to talk about their views on such matters was to talk about a fiction, which is not even founded on a fact. 'In their hearts, even those among them who clamour for votes don't care a whit for politics,' she declared in her haste; 'and they know even less about them than they care. When they sport party colours, it is always colours chosen for them by some man.'

She was, of course, speaking of the average alone-standing woman when she expressed herself in these terms; for she would have held it as absurd to deny that, even in health-resorts, there are women who both know and care about politics, and choose for themselves their party

jealous. According to her, however, the average woman is infinitely more interested in what her neighbours are doing than in what is taking place in Parliament. Imperial affairs are for her the veriest shibboleth; while as for foreign affairs, nothing would induce her by any chance to give them a thought. She does not even read newspapers, unless of the *Daily Mirror* type. Why should she, indeed, when, even where men are scarcest, she can always find a pastor or expounder to tell her what, as he thinks, she ought to know, and make all clear to her. And so long as she has not a vote there is no reason at all why she should read newspapers, unless such be her taste, Cassandra maintains, no reason why she should worry herself about the affairs of the nation. For a woman may be very intelligent, very charming; she may have many virtues and many talents; she may do her duty admirably, be a model daughter, wife, mother, and friend, and yet not have a notion in her head as to whether Canada is, or is not, a British possession. But if such a woman had a vote!

'Think of having on the Parliamentary registers thousands and thousands of these women who do not care a whit for politics,' Cassandra exclaimed, after a long visit to one health-resort. 'Why, votes for women here would just mean votes by the score for the clergy, for ministers and priests as well as clergymen, and votes by twos and threes for charlatans and cranks.'

This she declared not light-heartedly, but in all seriousness, nay, in all sadness; for she honestly wished to be able to turn her coat and become a Suffragist, if she could with a clear conscience. This is why she was really distressed when, as sometimes happened, she heard ladies at afternoon teas confess with a laugh that they did not trouble their heads with public affairs, and never read a book unless it were a novel. This is why she was more distressed still, and alarmed to boot, when—and this also sometimes happened—these same ladies, together with their sisters, cousins, and aunts, began talking as if a single Englishman was worth any dozen foreigners when it came to a struggle; and gravely arguing, on the strength perhaps of something they had once heard in a sermon, that it was sheer waste to build Dreadnoughts, as the age of universal peace was at hand; and positively wicked even to think of forcing men to learn how to fight.

As she listened to them she felt quite appalled sometimes at their heedlessness, at their lack of all sense of responsibility. 'If only the doctor could hear them,' she often thought; 'why, they would make his hair stand straight on end.'

By this time she had almost lost any hope she may ever have had of finding what she had set out to find; still, as a matter of fairness, she felt that she must go on with her quest. She therefore went in turn to two cathedral cities, three country towns, a 'genteel' London suburb, and a West-end district in London town. And in each of these seven

places women were in the overwhelming majority—in the West-end district there were nearly 40,000 more females than males; and the majority of the alone-standing women were, as she soon discovered, more or less clerical, in the wider meaning of the term, were more or less under the influence of some clergyman, minister, or priest, some teacher of theosophy, Christian science, spiritualism, or some other 'ism.' Then her heart failed her, and she brought her search to an end; to go on with it would indeed be waste of time, she held. For what does not exist cannot be found; and she was at length firmly convinced that no proof could exist that the doctor was right—because as a point of fact he was wrong—when he argued that it would be for the benefit of the nation that women should have votes. Any doubts she may ever have had on this subject were gone, thanks to what she had seen and heard while on her travels.

This she told us in forcible terms when, on her return, we—a little company of some half-dozen—met together to hear what her experiences had been.

'It cannot be for the benefit of the nation to have a strong Clerical party,' she declared, as she ended her tale; 'and when women have votes a strong Clerical party there will be. If you do not see that for yourselves, your eyes must indeed be holden.'

She glanced at us each in turn as she spoke, as if challenging us to contradict her. 'It is all very well to talk of our eyes being holden,' one of the half-dozen retorted promptly; 'but if, as you maintain, votes for women mean clerical rule, how is it that so many men who are anti-clerical, bent on keeping the parson out of politics at any cost, are warm supporters of the Shackleton bill, the most dangerous of all bills, according to you? Are their eyes holden?'

'It is strange, I admit, that so many men who really ought to know better should be, as they undoubtedly are, in favour of Female Suffrage' Cassandra replied, rather disconsolately. 'Most of them, though, you will notice, if they are not working men, are "intellectuals" as —— and ——' (she named a distinguished politician and the Radical doctor), 'and the fact is such men do not know the average provincial middle-class widow or spinster. They have no idea how narrow she is—how ignorant of what is going on in the world; how completely she is in the hands of her spiritual adviser. On the contrary, they take it for granted that she is, as their own women-folk often are, well-educated, intelligent, inclined to be critical, mentally independent as well as alert. They hold, therefore, that she ought in fairness to have a vote; as she ought, perhaps, if she really were what they think she is. But they would soon change their minds were they to spend an hour in her company. It is my firm belief that half a dozen tea-parties in any health-resort, cathedral city, or country town in the kingdom would be quite enough to drive the staunchest male supporter of votes for women into the

anti-vote camp; always supposing, of course, that he was not an ardent admirer of Lord —— ——,

She paused for a moment; whereupon the youngest among us asked her sharply, 'Why did you go only to health-resorts and such places, among middle-class women, and not to industrial towns? It was very unfair, it seems to me, not to go also among working women.'

'Why should I go among working women, when there is no chance of their having votes?' Cassandra retorted loftily. 'Industrial towns are the very places where votes might, perhaps, be given to women without danger to the State; for women who spend their days in mills and factories are not clerical, whatever else they may be. But it is only under Universal Suffrage that they would have votes; and when middle-class women are enfranchised, they will see to it that no Universal Suffrage bill is passed. It is primarily for the enfranchisement of well-to-do women that the suffragists are now clamouring, you must remember. Middle-class widows and spinsters are to be the first to have votes. And if they are the first, they will also be the last for many a long year; of that you may be sure. A Clerical party would be under no temptation here to dub itself Christian Socialist, and hoist the all-round equality flag; for its strength would be in the classes, the middle-classes, not the masses. Universal Suffrage is beyond the range of practical politics in this our day; otherwise I should, of course, have gone to Manchester and Leeds.'

We all knew that if we had anything more to say we must say it quickly, for the meeting had already lasted for hours. One of us therefore remarked in all haste, 'I don't quite see what harm a Clerical party would do, even if we had one.'

Cassandra looked positively shocked. She had, as it chanced, seen something of the inner working of a Clerical party in another land, and she related to us what she had seen.

'Yes; but you forget that a Clerical party here would be very different from what it is there,' she was told in reply. 'There the clergy who meddle in politics and turn elections are all of one denomination, whereas here, on your own showing, they would be of many denominations. You club together as clergy—you must, indeed, to make out your case—not only Anglicans and Roman Catholics, but Presbyterians and Congregationalists, Wesleyans and Baptists, men of the most diverse political views. Thus, even if they had votes by the score to give away, these votes would not all go here, as they go there, to strengthen the same political party.'

This she admitted, maintaining, though, the while that the lion's share of women's votes would always go to one party, a party which would be neither Liberal nor Tory, but primarily Clerical, a somewhat mongrel Clerical perhaps. She admitted also, and quite cheerfully, that the typical cleric, whether of church or chapel, is a very different sort of man here from the typical cleric in that other land she knew.

She became quite enthusiastic, indeed, as she spoke of the typical English cleric, of his noble qualities, his patience, kindliness and high sense of duty; and of the splendid work he is doing in the world.

'If he is such a fine fellow as that, the more votes he has the better, surely,' some one interposed.

'You think so, do you? Well, I don't,' she replied emphatically, 'A man may be a very fine fellow and yet a very dangerous political guide, it seems to me. You will none of you deny, I suppose, that, if it is to be well with us as a nation political power must be in the hands of those who are clear-headed and far-sighted, as well as keen-witted; who have judgment, discretion, and sound common-sense, together with wide sympathies; of those who are practical, who can weigh pros and cons and decide a question on its merits, who know, too, what is going on in the world and are in touch with their fellows. Now, honestly, do you believe that the average young clergyman, priest, or minister is more clear-headed and far-sighted than the average layman? Has he a sounder judgment, wider sympathies? Does he know more of the ways of the world, or is he more in touch with his fellows?'

We hung our heads, for not one among us could truthfully answer 'Yes.'

'It is no good your talking about bishops and deans and great theologians,' she continued, in reply to an interruption. 'Even if they are statesmen, every one of them, it has nothing to do with the matter. It is not they who, if women had votes, would wield most political influence; for they have not the time, even if they had the patience, to frequent tea parties, and act as official advisers to the alone-standing. It is the younger men, you may be sure, who would have most votes: the junior minister who is eloquent and perhaps sentimental, not his senior who is solid and learned; the sympathetic curate, or the young vicar who "does" his own visiting, not the elderly archdeacon who toils and moils that his district may be well organised. Just think of the young ministers and clergymen whom you know, the young Catholic priests. Do they impress you as being the sort of men to whom votes by the score might be given safely? Votes by the score in this our day, when the talk is all of One Man One Vote! Do you wish to turn a General Election into a farce?' she demanded indignantly. 'It soon would be a farce, I can tell you, if women had votes; for it is the clergy—the irresponsible section of the clergy, too, the young and emotional—who would turn the balance. There are nearly a million and a quarter more females than males in the land, you must remember. Twenty years hence it may be different; I hope and believe that it will,' she added after a pause; 'but, for the time being, to pass a Female Suffrage bill would be sheer madness. If you don't see that, it is because you won't!'

Cassandra was already at the door, and there was still one question

which I felt strongly ought to be asked. Seizing my courage with both hands, therefore, I called out, 'But what about the women themselves?—the thousands and thousands of widows and spinsters who, as you say, don't care a whit for politics, and would, if they had votes, just give them to the clergy? Is not their condition rather appalling?

'It is very appalling,' was her answer.

'Then might it not be a good thing for them, themselves, if they had votes?' I inquired timidly. 'Might it not give them interests beyond themselves and their own concerns? Might it not arouse in them a feeling of responsibility, a sense of the duty they owe to their country, and thus turn them into decently good citizens?'

'Of course it might—in twenty years,' she replied grimly. 'Meanwhile England might go to the dogs and the Empire with it. If it comes to a choice between what is good for alone-standing women and what is good for the whole nation, it is not the nation, surely, that ought to be sacrificed.'

She went on her way, wailing mournfully because of the evil days that she saw ahead.

Now Cassandra is, as I have remarked before, an indiscreet woman: she says what other folk think, perhaps, but leave unsaid. She is also prone to wax dogmatic, and, what is even worse, depressing. Still she means well, and what she says she honestly believes. She has not a doubt in her mind but that, when women have votes, many of them—very many—will vote just as the clergy tell them to vote; with the result that we shall soon have in our midst a strong Clerical party. Whether in this she is right or wrong, it is not for me to decide; for I am a mere outsider, one who knows nothing of the pros and cons of the Votes-for-Women question. Nor is it for me to decide whether a Clerical party would be a blessing to us all, or as she holds, a curse. My work is to report, not weigh in the balance, to chronicle, not criticise.

EDITH SELLERS.

COMPULSORY SCIENCE
VERSUS
COMPULSORY GREEK

In setting down some thoughts as to what should be the place of the study of Nature—the Natural Sciences—in our Schools and Universities, I desire to begin by making what provision I can against the misunderstanding and misrepresentation with which all attempts at the advocacy of the opinions on this subject which I, in common with many others, hold, are met by those—happily a diminishing number—who are committed to the maintenance of the present condition of education in our great schools.

In the first place, let me say that I am well aware that, so far as the system of school education which I consider to be bad and harmful is concerned, the teachers who work under it, whether assistant-masters or head-masters, are as much its victims as are their pupils, and have less responsibility for it than have the parents of the youths subjected to it or than have the statesmen who have neglected higher education whilst legislating for primary schools. We are all in this matter, as in so many others, suffering from the ignorance, apathy, and immobility of past generations of those who have been allowed to control great matters which concern the State.

It seems also necessary to say that I do not approach this subject as an outsider. The system of school education to which I object is that which prevailed in the public school—St. Paul's—which I attended for six years as a boy. The curriculum was limited to Latin, Greek, and a little mathematics and less French. The selection of subjects was objectionable and the teaching of them as bad and perfunctory as it possibly could be. My condemnation of the system is not due to any failure on my part to fall in with it. I was the head-boy and prize-winner in successive classes of the Latin and Greek curriculum, and the whole condition was in my case vastly ameliorated by the fact that St. Paul's was a day school and that I had leisure to pursue other studies at home, not included in the school programme.

I am further especially anxious to guard against an unwarranted assumption which I have encountered when advocating the alter-

ation of the present system of education in the great public schools, and in the preliminary subjects of study enforced by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in such a way that a considerable proportion of the pupil's time shall be devoted to the study of the various branches of Natural Science—namely, the assumption that I do not desire that a training and exercise in literature and in history and languages should also be an integral part of public-school education. Such an assumption is due to a complete misapprehension. I should wish it to be quite clear that I do not desire to see Natural Science take exclusive possession of the educational field. The claim to exclusive or predominant possession of the educational field for any one subject is, in my judgment, injurious; yet it has been and is still put forward on behalf of the very ill-considered instruction in Latin and Greek which is now allowed to occupy most of the time and attention of teachers and pupils in our great schools. It is, in my opinion, a preposterous claim. I am quite unable to admit that there is any difficulty in assigning a reasonable amount of time and care to the subjects included under the term 'Natural Science,' as well as a reasonable amount of time to ancient and modern literature and languages and mathematics.

Let me, after these statements intended to prevent misapprehension and misrepresentation, proceed to state what appears to me to be wrong with the system at work in the great public schools of this country, for it is with these that my criticisms are chiefly concerned. The main source of the evil appears to me to be that it is a system which is a mere undesigned survival of antiquated methods and subjects—a system which has never been considered, and has not been adopted, after any intelligent examination of the purpose in hand. It is a system largely due to the very natural and pardonable desire of schoolmasters to avoid change and to make their own work as easy and as profitable as possible. It is also accounted for by the desire of well-to-do parents that their sons should go to schools frequented by youths of a superior social class; this desire being unchecked by any anxiety as to whether a reasonable system of education and instruction is pursued in the favoured school.

While the parents of the boys who are sent to our great schools are thus apathetic, there is no recognised criticism of school methods by any independent authority. Our universities are so constructed as to be constitutionally unable to exercise any control. The crowd of the convocation or congregation of M.A.s is not an intelligent or effective body for such a purpose. So far as the M.A.s concern themselves with the doings of schoolmasters, they are themselves merely a congregation of actual, future, or past schoolmasters, less sensitive and capable of judging in the matter than actual schoolmasters, and have no independent point of view or interest. The

only test applied to the schools in this country is the extremely injurious one of a competition by examination for scholarships in various special subjects. It has been compared by those who think it a fine thing (as appears in a correspondence in *The Times*, last autumn) to a steeplechase. It is in fact a sort of sport in which the unhappy competitors are trained and run for the purpose of glorifying the schoolmaster who has trained the largest number of winners, whilst real education and instruction, as well as the health and future development of the competing boys and the interests of 'non-runners,' are misconceived and neglected. So far from the competition amongst schools for success in examination having a good effect upon the schools, it has more than anything else perverted and injured them; for it has in the most disheartening way forced the efforts of able and energetic schoolmasters (such as Walker of St. Paul's) into the bad and mind-destroying methods of scholarship-hunting.

The main question which I desire to raise is whether the right choice of subjects for study is made in our public schools, and whether it is reasonable and proper, as I shall suggest, to cease altogether the cumbrous efforts to teach the Greek language to school-boys, and to substitute for it, as a regular and necessary part of the curriculum, a well-considered, duly adapted, and skilfully designed course of instruction in Natural Science—using that term in the most comprehensive sense.

I think it can be shown that what at one time was the legitimate and reasonable aim of a study of Latin and Greek authors can only be attained, in the present changed condition of knowledge, by giving the hours now misapplied to Greek to such instruction in Natural Science as is fitted to the mind of growing youth. The older Renaissance of Learning led very rightly to a widespread study of the ancient stores of knowledge contained in Greek and Roman writings. They have served their turn. We still regard them with affection and interest; but we have entered on and are far advanced in a new Renaissance. The whole world of thought and knowledge has changed during the past century. We no longer live in the pre-scientific age. An immense new birth of knowledge of Nature and of our conceptions with regard to man's place in Nature, as well as of our methods of investigation, not only in regard to our surroundings, but in regard to man himself—in regard to the study of his history, his language, his art, his knowledge, his schemes of society and government—has taken place. This new Renaissance must be fully and adequately recognised in the great public schools. The studies of the old Renaissance must not be altogether thrown aside, but they must make place—ample place—for the new. What is valuable in the old must be retained. The school-teaching of the old knowledge has become sadly

unreal, perfunctory, slow, and obstructive, as happens when the conduct of a difficult duty is entrusted to monopolists. The husk of it is mistaken for the kernel, the letter for the spirit, mere dexterity and verbal acrobatics for true learning and sound mental discipline. We can in the future retain some study of ancient history and literature, and even one of the classical languages—namely, Latin—while giving serious attention to the new knowledge—the Natural Science of our present Renaissance.

It must be evident to everyone who considers this matter that the reform consisting in the suppression of Greek grammar in schools and the introduction in its place of proper teaching of the Natural Sciences, free from cram-work and the shadow of competitive scholarship examinations, is truly enough like that of putting new wine into old bottles. The bottles are the present school methods and organisation; and it is not to be wondered at that there are people who declare that one must not introduce the new wine of Natural Science in large and effective quantity into the existing schools—because the bottles would burst if one did so. I quite accept this view. I do not desire that the bottles shall burst; and, without attempting to discuss the matter in detail, I will indicate how I would mend or reconstitute these old bottles so that they would not burst.

I will put my suggestions briefly and baldly:

(1) All great public schools should be day schools, not boarding schools. No master engaged in teaching in the school should be allowed to keep a boarding house, or be paid for his work as teacher by profits obtained as a boarding-house keeper. All arrangements for the boarding of such pupils as do not reside with their parents should be independent of the authorities of the school. As a rule it is of great value to a boy to have the benefit of home surroundings while attending school, and (in the case of the well-to-do) the boy or the boys of a family should be provided with a suitable study or work-room at home.

(2) The teachers in schools should be paid such salary as will make the profession of 'schoolmaster' attractive to the ablest and even to exceptionally able men. They should be asked to be 'teachers' not 'dames.' They should be experts not only in the knowledge of the subject which they teach, but also in the art of teaching. Though, no doubt, both these conditions are sometimes fulfilled at the present day, yet I think all will agree that it is a matter of chance, and that the teacher is not well enough paid, that he has often to use up his strength as a house-master, and that no means exist of making sure that the most capable teachers shall be employed to teach in our great public schools. Too often, I am convinced, the schoolmaster is no teacher at all, but a mere machine who demands that

a lesson shall be learnt or an exercise written, and punishes inaccuracy, but never 'teaches.' It seems to me that whilst men of the special capacity required might be employed to train boys in gaining certain acquirements such as languages, the elements of mathematics and similar instruments or keys of knowledge (what I shall speak of later as 'equipment studies')—men of the highest quality as approved and gifted 'teachers' should lecture and demonstrate to them in such subjects as history, literature and the various branches of science (which I would call 'final studies')—men who would proceed on no cut-and-dried lines laid down in hackneyed school-books, but who would use their own judgment and personal quality in order to command the interest of their pupils and lead them to the development of thought and understanding. As a school-boy at a London public day school, where I was never taught by anyone, I was able to attend lectures, out of school, by great teachers such as Huxley, Owen, Tyndall, and Hoffmann the chemist. No doubt there are some teachers as great as they in some of our great schools. It seems to me that as a definite system such men, and such men only, ought to be employed in our great schools to give regular teaching in all larger subjects which are not merely keys or instruments to knowledge. They should be employed as non-resident masters or professors. I attended in 1864 six evening lectures on 'Modern Chemistry' given by Hoffmann and published afterwards by him as a little book. They were the best teaching I ever listened to. I do not see why twelve such lectures a term (only one a week!)—thirty-six in the year—should not be given by such men as Hoffmann in every great school, and similar lectures, in similar amount, by other equally able teachers on experimental physics, on natural history, geology, biology and physiology—while practical work in connexion with the lectures might be carried on by their assistants.

No doubt such teaching would involve large expenditure, but the necessary funds could be found by existing endowments and by State-aid to render it accessible to the sons of poorer men: while the rich should be made to pay far more largely for good teaching as distinguished from boarding-house accommodation than they do at present. The increased expenditure on efficient teaching in the great public schools should not, by any means, lead to their becoming more exclusively the possession of the rich. It is of great importance to the community that rich and poor should have equal opportunity of attending schools in which the best teachers and the best methods are employed.

Supposing that we could change in the way I have indicated the wine-skin or antiquated public school frame-work, and were free to put into it what wine was considered best, what should we put there? What, if freed from the domination of tradition and prejudice, should

we teach in a public school for boys taking the fullest course of study and perhaps going on afterwards to the University? Education is a much misused term. One commonly hears it said that this or that man has had no education, whereas in reality every human creature is educated in thousands of ways, and as an absolute necessity of existence. By 'Education' people commonly mean what they consider to be 'good' as opposed to 'bad' or 'defective' education, and very generally restrict it to that small part of education which is carried on in schools and colleges. Some animals are more 'educable' than others, and man is by far the most educable of all animals. It is indeed his great and special distinction. The results of education are not transmitted by physiological heredity. Every individual born has to commence its education on a blank sheet. But man has created for himself a perfectly gigantic and over-powering possession, a sort of physical envelope of customs, taboos, traditions, laws and knowledge, which, though not transmitted to a new individual at birth as part of his structure, is yet a heritage, since it has accumulated and has been treasured as oral or written, painted or printed record from prehistoric times to our own day. It is this tremendous heritage by means of which man is educated. This heritage is put into his possession by gesture or by word—spoken, written or printed—by law, by the training given in the nursery and school, and by the experience of life. Though new generations do not inherit physiologically—in the substance of the brain—the results of education, the individuals do not start with an equal chance even if we leave out of account the circumstances of race, nationality, and social advantage. Individuals vary very largely in the capacity for being educated—what we call 'educability.'

It is the business of the 'educator' to ascertain the various degrees and kinds of 'educability' in the young, and to adapt the course of education administered to them to their varying aptitudes. It is above all one of the most solemn and tremendous duties of the adult members of a community to enable the young to enter upon the vast heritage open to them by well-considered education—to assimilate the experience of all past generations of men, to enjoy it and to make use of it. When one realises this great fact, it becomes clear that the well-educated man is he who has been enabled most fully to benefit by the accumulated inheritance of human knowledge and experience—those long results of time—so as to enter on manhood as the heir of all the ages, equipped for the acquirement of every human art and science. He need have no over-burdened memory, nor the dulled and one-sided intelligence of the book-worm. But he must be provided with the key to every chamber of the treasure-house and possessed of such wide training and experience as to give him assurance as to the extent and limitations of his own capacities, and a knowledge as to the directions in which he can most happily employ them.

It is and remains, however much we consider and examine the circumstances, a most astounding fact that what is considered by many serious people to be a 'good education' should have become, in the last two centuries and in this English land of ours, so narrow and perverse a thing as it is. It is interesting to trace the history of that perversion and valuable as a contribution to the understanding of human folly. Those who at this moment over-burden and stifle the developing mind of youth with what is called 'compulsory Greek' profess, as their reason and excuse, a great reverence for the art and wisdom of the ancient inhabitants of Hellas. One may therefore rightly ask: 'Do they follow in regard to school and University education the example or the precepts of the great Greek teachers? Do they attempt to consider how the Greek himself was educated?' It is flagrantly the case that they do not do anything of the sort. The ancient Greeks were not educated at school by attempts to study more ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics or Assyrian cuneiform text. They read and learnt to recite and to criticise the writings of their own poets, philosophers and orators: they learnt geometry, music astronomy and natural history—the natural sciences of their day. And they attained to a very definite conception of the purpose and value of school education. Let me quote one of their writers on this subject. He says:

'An educational course of study should have as its aim one or the other of two distinct degrees of proficiency in the acquirement of the various branches of knowledge or science. The first is the more thorough and special knowledge of the man who desires to take part himself in the advancement of a branch of science, to become in fact a professor or an expert. The second is, on the other hand, the more limited degree of knowledge which should be attained as a feature of a general education. A well-educated man should be able to form, with confidence, a judgment as to the goodness or badness of the methods and arguments made use of by a professor or expert who is expounding new views or new discoveries. In fact to be able to do this is the test of being "well-educated." To be what is sometimes called "a man of universal education" is to possess this ability not in one special subject only but in all or nearly all branches of knowledge. It is of course possible and more usual for a man to attain to this competence in one branch of knowledge without having it in all.'

Those words, which I think could hardly be improved upon at the present day, are a translation of the words of the greatest man of antiquity—Aristotle of Stagira—and form part of his preface to his treatise 'On the Parts of Animals.' These words find no sympathy, and the actual performances of the ancient Greeks in scientific discovery and in the production of great and delightful works of art have no counter-part, in the modern advocates of compulsory Greek. On the other hand, the 'Greek spirit,' of which these advocates merely talk, is realised, is in fact re-born and exists in our present phase of civilisation in the splendid creations and the self-reliant, hopeful and sober enthusiasm of the men of science of the nineteenth century.

I claim that the true Hellenism is to be found in the creations of the cultivators of Natural Science and not in the worship of Greek texts by the united pedagogues of Europe. The Greeks who called no man master would have, were they able to visit us now, nothing but contempt for the oriental self-abasement before them of our Greek compulsionists. The words of Aristotle indicate that he did not consider an incomplete instruction in the grammar of a dead language to be a part of a good education. And we know from the treatises on various subjects written by him which have survived to this day that nothing of the kind was taught by him or valued by him as a feature of school education. How is it that, almost worshipped as he and other Greek teachers have been in succeeding ages, during the development of Western Europe, his method and conclusions in regard to education have been during the last two hundred years increasingly disregarded and opposed? How is it that now we have the strange spectacle of leading teachers in our public schools and Universities declaring the wisdom of the ancient Greeks to be above all great and valuable, and yet, contrary to Greek precept, sacrificing the life's opportunity of hundreds of our best class of boys in a hopeless struggle with Greek grammar, in order that one per cent. may become Greek scholars, and be able to read the actual words of Greek writers instead of the excellent and sufficient translations of them which we now have. How is it that the teachings and spirit of the ancients are utterly disregarded by those who profess to admire them, and that a mere botch of the rudiments of the Greek language is all that most school-boys acquire after years of the approved but incapable teaching of 'Greek' to which they are subjected?

The answer is not far to seek. What we call 'a classical education' originated in the genuine attempt to impart a purely utilitarian knowledge of the Latin language for the purpose of reading the only books of any value which existed in the earlier Christian period of European civilisation. In the early Middle Ages, Latin was acquired as the key to or means of reading the Vulgate and the Liturgy, the Lives of the Saints and the works of the Early Fathers of the Church. Later in the Middle Ages a new value was found in the Latin tongue. Great books on science of all kinds had been written in it and in it alone. Therefore the purpose of imparting to the youth of the day a facility in the Latin tongue became simply this—that he should study the Latin translations of parts of the writings of Aristotle, of the Physiologus and other translations and compilations from Arabic and Greek sources then current. Later again we come to 'the revival of learning,' the Renaissance, after which a third and a fourth period of new impulse to the study of Latin have been recognised. The earlier of these was when men studied the Roman writers, chiefly Cicero, for their beauty of form and expression; the second, a later movement, when Roman

writers were studied for their intellectual and philosophic value. It was in the latter half of the sixteenth century that men such as Erasmus and Colet introduced the study of the Greek language—with the same general object as that with which Latin had been studied in early times, but more especially with that of actually reading Greek authors instead of the Latin translations of them. Greek was not a general study either in the great schools or the Universities of this country until much later. Indeed, the futile attempt to make it compulsory in high-grade schools—the invention of that foolish piece of wasteful aggression called 'compulsory Greek'—did not occur until we were well launched in the nineteenth century. Latin had in very early times acquired the character of the *lingua franca* of learned men, and the mastery of it was a necessity until a century ago for all who would study learned works, and, indeed, it is used to-day, although in a diminished degree, as a medium of publication.

But this plain and honest reason for the acquirement of Latin does not exist, and never has existed in the case of Greek. The schoolmasters who for centuries of well-established tradition had taught with increasing inefficiency that necessary key—the Latin tongue—to all their pupils, took it into their heads a hundred years ago, just when the whole of classical education was becoming effete, to magnify their office by forcing the Greek language on all their pupils. And they taught it in the same cumbrous way as that which they had arrived at in teaching Latin. For this they had really no justification or excuse. The enforcement of Greek was due to sheer ignorance of subjects which might have been taught in the place of it, and has never been a success.

A so-called 'classical education' has from time to time been defended on the ground that a really gifted teacher, taking a Latin or Greek author as his text, can make it the means of imparting to his class an immense variety of information in regard to science, history, morals and the art of expression. This is the attitude of the old-fashioned 'scholar' who endeavoured to bring universal knowledge to bear on the elucidation and illustration of his text. There is much to be said in favour of such a method of imparting knowledge to young pupils, and exciting their interest in a variety of problems. But there is this to be said against it as an exclusive and sole method. It was possible a century or more ago when a great commentator might aspire to something like universal knowledge; it is no longer a good method, because science has vastly progressed and no really adequate teacher of the kind could be found. The modern classical master knows his own limitations and does not attempt such teaching. More and more his range has become narrowed and specialised, and ceased to comprise a compendium of science as it once did. So that it is necessary to have several teachers to take up the various branches of

universal knowledge which the old scholar attempted to expound in connexion with his Latin or Greek text. But even were there such wonderful teachers to be found as the commentator-theory of classical education demands, there would be no reason why they should not take selected books of the English Bible or plays of Shakespeare for their texts instead of Latin and Greek productions.

It is when we consider the serious pretensions of those who, like Professor Zielinski of St. Petersburg, advocate the study of classical texts as the peg on which a great scholar and commentator can hang fragments of every science, art and history, that we fully realise what it is that has happened to our school education. Science was actually and genuinely taught by the aid of Latin texts of Greek and Roman authors two hundred years ago. Within the memory of many of us, Aristotle was regularly spoken of at Oxford as 'Science.' The examination paper in Aristotle was the 'Science' paper. But a great change has occurred since those old days. What has happened is this —Aristotle has ceased to be studied as a text-book of science. All the classical authors, once studied as real sources of information, have ceased to be so studied. The natural sciences and even history are not studied in those writers. These subjects have passed into new and far advanced developments, but the dear old writers' books remain, and are still, by mere force of habit and inertia, pounded at, mistranslated and explained as though it really mattered what they say. This brings me to the explanation of the antithesis which I have taken as the title of this essay—'Compulsory Science *versus* Compulsory Greek.' It is because the study of Greek *was* the study of Science—but is no longer so and cannot possibly be made any longer to be so—that Science must be taught independently and of set purpose without Greek and instead of Greek, and as a primary and compulsory subject. It is because the study of Greek is no longer, as once it was, the study of Science, that Greek must cease to be a compulsory subject, and that the acquirement of the Greek language (never successfully accomplished) must no longer even be attempted in schools. The immense amount of time thus set free, the un-assigned energy, and the improved mental health thus gained by the extinction of a mind-crippling tyranny, must be devoted to doing that very work in school education, viz. instruction in Science, which the study of the classics at one time performed, but for more than a century has been unable to touch. The various branches of natural science naturally and properly take the place of the shrivelled pretence of fallen Greek omniscience which is called 'compulsory Greek.' The sciences in virtue of which Greek was originally sought and honoured, must now, as a universal and compulsory part of good education, be studied in their actual living form.

The usurpation of the leading position in human organisations by

a method or by a man, originally encouraged only as a subordinate means to the achievement of greater ends, is a characteristic feature in the failure of human effort. The inferior and accidental stepping-stone tends to receive the adoration of the crowd, and the kingdom beyond, to which the stepping-stone was meant to lead, is forgotten. It is thus that Greek has temporarily taken the place of Science and must now be dismissed. It is thus that the hall-porter in his gold lace uniform has masqueraded as the lord of the palace, and must now be repressed. It is thus that the art of stage-dancing has degenerated to mere exercises in toe-stepping, and that musical compositions and performances are valued not for their beauty, but for their difficulty and technical skill.

The advocates of the retention of the curious rudimentary survivals of Greek study in our schools make use, in an elusive way, of first one and then another plea in its favour. The chief of them are:

(1) That the Greek language is well adapted for teaching in class by unskilled teachers and for examination competition. This needs no reply: as a recommendation it is self-condemned.[1]

(2) That it is a better training than any other in the use and analysis of language.

My reply is, that it is very doubtful whether it has any such advantage over English or Latin as to make it worth learning on that account.

(3) That Greek literature contains fine works of poetry and philosophy.

My reply is, that not one in a thousand who have acquired a little Greek reads them except in English translations.

(4) That the Greek civilisation has an archaeological and anthropological interest as the starting point of all modern culture.

My reply is, that translations of Greek writings and actual Greek works of art are ample bases for the appreciation of this interest and its pursuit without knowledge of the Greek language, and that the most successful investigators of Greek archæology have not been readers of ancient Greek. It would be consistent were these apologists to urge 'compulsory Hebrew' as a school subject because our religion and our sacred books are of Jewish origin.

(5) Another curious plea in favour of compulsory Greek is that of the schoolmaster who writes to the papers to say that he has taught Greek for fifty years and has always found that it produced abler boys than do modern studies.[1]

The reply to this is (*a*) that the clever boys are always pressed by the schoolmasters on to the classical side: (*b*) that the teaching of the modern subjects is always neglected and under-mastered: (*c*) that the gentleman who offers this class of testimonial to Greek does not

[1] See the postscript at the end of this Article.

know anything about 'modern' subjects, what they are, how they are taught, or how they should be taught, nor what is their educational value when properly taught—and that the comparison which he makes by appealing to his one-sided experience is without importance as evidence on the question of the comparative value of so-called classical and so-called 'modern' subjects of school-education.

Having arrived at the chief reason for substituting Compulsory Science for Compulsory Greek in our great public schools, I will revert to the question as to the selection of branches of science for teaching in schools, the place to be assigned to other subjects, and also the very important question as to the method of teaching and the general treatment of subjects in school-education. I will touch on this last matter at once. There is no doubt in the mind of any sane person that the maintenance of order and decent behaviour in a class, whether of very young or of older pupils, is an essential duty of the teacher, master or professor. There is also no doubt that next to this, as an essential condition of successful teaching, comes the power of arousing and holding the attention of the class. There has grown up and become established, owing in my opinion to the incapable class of men who have for many generations past been those chiefly employed to teach in schools, and owing to the unreasonable and irksome mode of teaching the elements of the Latin and Greek languages, which has become a tradition with them—an erroneous notion that school lessons must be drudgery, that boys naturally must hate these lessons and that they must be driven by a stern and hostile master through the process of learning by heart certain rules of grammar and certain lines of prose and verse, and that, although the boys' intelligence is in no way appealed to or brought into activity, yet they have thus been 'well-grounded' and have received 'a thorough training.' A training in what? It is merely a training in contempt and dislike for what are called 'lessons' and often for those who officiate at them. The method is thoroughly bad: it has become worse, age by age, and is now really farcical. It never leads to a real knowledge of either Greek or Latin, and the more tractable boys submitted to it become very frequently (I do not say invariably) seriously injured mentally. They lose all their youthful interest in the things of Nature, become gloomy and pedantic and acquire a false estimate of the realities of existence and of their own powers and relation to the world around them. Often this unfortunate twisting of the mind is continued during some years at the University, and although many of the victims, when their period of study is over and they have arrived at manhood, attain the conviction that they have received a one-sided, sadly defective education, and try to pick up in later years some knowledge of the various branches of science, it is usually too late for them to do so. They remain with warped intelligence, painfully conscious of their ignorance and anxious to conceal it.

It is, I think, an essential thing that Natural Science should

not be taught in the spirit or by the methods which have degraded so-called 'classical education'—a degradation necessarily ensuing upon the unchecked monopoly which 'classical learning' has been allowed, to our national disgrace and injury, to arrogate to itself. It would be better that Science should not be taught in our public schools at all, than that it should sink as a school-subject into the mummified condition presented by 'Compulsory Greek.' Many of those engaged in teaching Natural Science in our better schools, of late years, are alert on this point, and do not intend to allow their teaching to become a worthless thing of rules, exercises and sums. But there has been danger of this in the recent past. I remember examining, some thirty years ago, the chemistry class of a public school which had been taught a series of formulæ and sums from a wretched little cram-book—and had never been shown an experiment or demonstration. This evil tendency, in my opinion (I dare say my view is not largely shared), was shown when, in the Preliminary Science Examination at Oxford, a skill in working out sums in mechanics and optics was required, in place of a modicum of practical acquaintance with the experiments by which the main facts have been demonstrated with regard to the phenomena of Motion, Sound, Light, Heat, and Electricity. The admirable courses of lectures and demonstrations on what used to be called Experimental Philosophy have, I fear, been generally abandoned in schools and colleges in favour of the pedantic logic of administering a thorough grounding and drudgery in quantitative work, adapted to the examination juggernaut which leads nowhere, but ends for most boys and undergraduates—where it began. These things may have been reconsidered of late years: I hope they have. I hope and believe that the small band of teachers of Natural Science who have been grudgingly admitted into our great schools will always themselves feel a real interest and enthusiasm for the science they teach, and be able to command the attention and interest of the youngest, as well as of the oldest of their pupils. If the teacher aims successfully, not at forcing a boy to go through what is to him incomprehensible drudgery, but at exciting his interest and desire to know more about the thing which has thus excited his interest, the day is won. The art of teaching—a real and beautiful art—consists in thus exciting interest, and making use of the spontaneous effort to learn more which the pupil is ready to give. Step by step this process of exciting curiosity, and then judiciously gratifying it, until another excitement of the flagging attention is necessary, must be used, and that not by any out-and-dried routine procedure, but by the use of quick perception and sympathetic understanding on the part of the teacher. The teacher must have a true delight in what he is doing, and enjoy the effort of skill by which he adapts his teaching to the capacity of his class and leads his pupils on bit by bit, day after

day, by carefully selected ways of demonstration and experiment to the achievement of a real knowledge of great facts and principles.

In conclusion I will briefly state what I hold to be a possible and desirable course of school education when Compulsory Science has banished the usurper—Compulsory Greek. Let us suppose a six years' course to be followed by a boy from the age of eleven to seventeen. I hold that at seventeen he should leave school and go to college or university, choosing for himself, when there, a chief and two subordinate subjects for more thorough study. Further, I will suppose that there are three school terms of twelve weeks each, and that there are five mornings (9 to 12) and five afternoons (2 to 4) of school-work in each week. For convenience I divide school studies into two groups. For want of better names I call the first 'Equipment Studies,' the second 'Final Studies.' As equipment studies I reckon—

1. English language and recitation;
2. Practical acquirement of the Latin language;
3. Practical acquirement of the French language;
4. Practical acquirement of the German language;
5. Arithmetic;
6. Simple algebra;
7. Geometry and practical measurement of surfaces;
8. Measurement of spatial relations and perspective;
9. Chemical manipulation;
10. Simple geography and cartography with ethnography;
11. Some kind of handicraft.

As final studies I would reckon—

1. English literature;
2. English history;
3. Ancient history and archaeology;
4. Modern history;
5. General literature;
6. Chemistry;
7. Experimental physics;
8. Biology;
9. Geology and physical geography;
10. Physiology and the Laws of Health;
11. Astronomy.

I should give the mornings to the harder and less interesting work of the equipment studies—and for these a less accomplished type of teacher would be required than for the afternoon lessons or lectures in the final subjects. In six years of 180 mornings each, three of the equipment subjects might be worked for one hour each, every morning in successive years. I should begin with English, Latin and arithmetic: after two years substitute French for Latin and geography for English—and so on. There would be no difficulty in securing a thorough use of the subjects enumerated by means of active teaching in the time assigned

Of course the time-table would be varied—half-hours given to some subjects instead of whole hours, and past subjects reverted to and kept up by special classes. With regard to the final subjects—they are so called because they are the end or goal to be sought by means of the equipment studies. But they would of course be taught only in outline—in well-considered outline—suitable to young people. There should be no pretence of 'thoroughness' or a 'grounding' with a view to later real handling of the subject—which like Henry James's 'Madonna of the Future' never is realised. But the teaching should be accurate and the limitation of its amount be determined by great and judicious teachers. I should begin with chemistry, experimental physics and English history in the first two years, and then get on to ancient history and archaeology, geology and physical geography and biology in the next two. In the fifth year I should put in courses on English literature, modern history and physiology, while in the sixth there would be general literature, astronomy, and some repetition of one or more of the other courses.

am perfectly well aware that almost every teacher will exclaim that this scheme is preposterous and could lead only to superficiality and confusion. But that I believe to be an illusion, due to the fact that I have named distinctly several subjects which are often confused under one head. I see no reason to doubt that the power of talking and reading the Latin language could be acquired in two years' daily study, and the same with French were the methods of the Berlitz School employed by teachers as capable as those of the Berlitz School. And with regard to the final subjects, it must be remembered that I, at any rate, do not desire any more than does the advocate of so-called 'classical education' to make boys into chemists or historians or physiologists. The thing to be arrived at seems to me to be a fairly accurate knowledge of some leading and essential parts of a great many branches of knowledge—a genuine peep or survey which can be extended or completed in later years, if the aptitude exist. It must be noted that I have only assumed five hours' class work on five days a week, and that leaves a great deal of time both for preparation and revision of notes in the evenings, and for independent reading or pursuit of a subject, as opportunity might offer in the conditions of home life. The subjects which I think it would be wise to carry furthest, and to which I would give most time during school education, are chemistry, geology, the systematic parts of zoology and botany (included in my list under biology), and a complete scheme or chart of European history. I would also attach very great importance to the learning by heart of a considerable amount of selected passages of the best English prose authors and poets, and also of similar Latin and French selections; and I should make a point of seeing that these were not merely committed to memory and then forgotten, but by returning to them at intervals I should endeavour to make sure that they had

become a possession for ever. Of such accomplishments as drawing and painting, singing and the use of musical instruments, I have said nothing. But there would be time for them, and in my opinion, they should be compulsory parts of the education of younger boys. The study and appreciation of art would come after the school period of education. E. RAY LANKESTER.

Postscript.—Since this article was written I have had a conversation on the subject with which it deals, with an old friend, who gained the highest prizes and distinctions in classical studies at the University, and has now been for many years a house-master in one of the greatest and best of our old 'public schools.' He said: 'It is all very well to talk about the value of natural science, but it is not fitted for teaching to a class of boys as Latin and Greek are. With Latin and Greek you can give the boys something to learn by heart, and you can see that they learn it, and punish them if they do not. Now you can't do that with natural science. It is not adapted to school-teaching.' This remark is a fair example of the state of mind of a large number of schoolmasters. It discloses the assumption that to make a boy 'learn something by heart' is a sufficient and satisfactory result, and that the choice of subjects in education should be guided by the ease with which the schoolmaster can thus apply them, and not by their value in feeding and developing the boy's mind, except as a subordinate consideration.

It also shows how entirely erroneous is the notion which a first-class classical scholar may have of the possibilities of perverting the instruction given as 'natural science' into the form of 'lessons to be learnt by heart.' The list of the chemical elements, their atomic weights and the periodic law, endless lists of 'physical constants,' the enormous lists of the classification of animals and plants, of geological strata and their subdivisions, might all be used by the schoolmaster as 'lessons to be learnt by heart' by his pupils without effort on his part, and with only a little more benefit to the schoolboy than the lessons in Greek and Latin grammar advocated by my friend.

Happily no teacher of natural science would at the present day tolerate such a degradation of educational methods in his subject, although it is to this pass that, after centuries of monopoly, our boasted 'classical education' has come with the cheerful approval of distinguished scholars such as my friend. It is, of course, of value to the young student to acquire and retain in his memory such lists as those which I have cited above, but the mere storing of the memory with these details is only a small part of his training: its abuse is one of the dangers to which perfunctory teaching and 'the examination habit' constantly expose the schoolboy and the undergraduate. E. R. L.

THE COPTS IN SPAIN

People do not usually associate the Copts with the early history of the Moslem dominion in Spain, and no historian with whom we are acquainted makes more than a fleeting allusion, usually overlooked or misunderstood, to their presence in the Peninsula; yet a little reflection on the condition of Islam in Egypt will show that Musa Ibn Noseir, when he invaded Andalucia in 712, must have brought numbers of them in his train.

Gibbon, in his account of the conquest of Egypt by Amru, the lieutenant of the Khalif Omar, points out how the operations of the Arab general were facilitated by the friendly submission of the Copts.

> The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite Church, and a secret and effectual treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of slaves. . . . In the march from Memphis to Alexandria the lieutenant of Omar intrusted his safety to the seal and gratitude of the Egyptians; the roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every step of his progress he could count on a constant supply of provisions and intelligence.[1]

It is evident from these and other passages in Gibbon's account of the campaign that the Copts were on the friendliest terms with their Arab conquerors, whom they looked upon as their deliverers from the tyranny of the hated Greeks. Therefore there is an *a priori* presumption that Musa, whose own relations with Egypt had long been close and intimate, would bring Copts as camp-followers, if nothing else, of the army with which he invaded Spain, seventy-six years after the Arab conquest and settlement of Egypt.

Conde says that the garrison which Musa placed in Tangier under his son Merwan, after his conquest of that city in 705, consisted of 10,000 men, 'all Arabs and Egyptians'; and although the omission of chapter-and-verse reference to his authorities detracts from the value of Conde's statements, we shall see that the evidence of other historians points to his having been correct in this instance as in many others.[2]

[1] *Decline and Fall*, ch. 51.

[2] Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, i. 23.

These Egyptians would not have been fighting men, as the above quotation suggests, but servants, hewers of wood and drawers of water to the 'noble Arabs,' whose occupation from time immemorial had been war and whose recreation poetry. The lower-class Copts were slaves, in all but name, to the conquering race: the higher became builders, architects, weavers, embroiderers, jewellers—in short, ministrants in every art and industry to the Moslems, who, although eager to assimilate whatever they found of pre-existing civilisations, were as yet neither capable nor desirous of turning their hands to the production of these luxuries.[3]

In an anonymous account of the conquest of Spain, which Gayangos considers to be nearly or quite contemporory,[4] Musa's intimate relations with Egypt and the Egyptians are frequently referred to. We are told that he was a great favourite with Abd-al-Aziz, brother of the Khalif Abd-al-Melik and Governor of Egypt; that in 702 Najdah-ibn-Musa joined him with 'the van of the Egyptian army'; that in 703 or thereabouts 'the Egyptian fleet' set sail for Sardinia in defiance of his advice; and that in 708 Abdullah ibn Marrah 'with a body of men from Egypt' was given command of the fleet by Musa.

The early Moslems were no sailors: indeed, Ibn Khaldun says that the Khalif Omar forbade their putting to sea because they were so unaccustomed to that element and so unfitted for navigation, and that this prohibition continued in force until the reign of Muawiyah (661-679), when the Moslems began to employ foreign navigators and pilots, until they had gained sufficient skill and knowledge to build and sail ships for themselves.[5] After this their progress was so rapid that they soon became the most expert sailors in the world; and within the first century of the Hegira they not only had numerous ships in the Syrian ports and in Alexandria, but also at Tunis on the newly conquered North Africa coast, where Musa built a dockyard and organised a considerable fleet.[6]

The references to the Egyptian fleet and sailors in connexion with Musa, show that the Yemenite general drew on that country for the manning of his own navy. Since the Greeks had been practically exterminated or driven out by Amru, and the Copts *en masse* had placed themselves under the protection of Islam, we are forced to the conclusion that this 'Egyptian fleet' must have been manned by Copts under the now increasing body of

[3] Gayet, *L'Art Arabe* and *Costume en Egypte*, passim: Ibn Khaldun, in Gayangos' translation of Makkari, i. append. p. xxxv.

[4] *Op. cit.* i. App. E.

[5] Cf. Lenormant, *L'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, on Arabic commerce in the Red Sea. Paris, 1869, vol. iii. livre 7me.

[6] Gayangos, *op. cit.* i. App. A. xxxiv. ff: App. E. lxv. ff.

Arabs competent to take command of their own ships; for when the Arab historians speak of the Egyptians they must be taken to refer to the Copts, who at that time were the only Egyptians. Gibbon [7] remarks that the persecution of the Monophysites by the Greek Emperors had converted a sect into a nation and alienated Egypt from their religion and government.

Thus the frequent mention of Egyptians in connexion with Musa strongly suggests, if it does not indeed prove, that his expedition contained numbers of the race which was so useful, not to say indispensable, to the Moslems in North Africa at that period.

In this manner the coming of the Copts to the Peninsula and their establishment there is accounted for. And they would be especially numerous in the south-west of Andalucia, where the Yemenite Arabs, sons of Kahtan, many of whom had exiled themselves from Arabia Felix to Egypt long before the birth of the Prophet, were treated with so much favour and settled in such numbers by their fellow-tribesman and protector, Musa. Nearly thirty years after Musa's death a body of 'Egyptian troops' came over to Spain to help the Spanish Arabs to quell a dangerous Berber rising. These were afterwards settled in the district of Ocsonoba, in what is now the Algarbe of Portugal,[8] a province which then and for centuries afterwards was a stronghold of Yemenite, or Shiite, resistance to the Ommeyads, the Khalifs of Cordova, who sprang from the hostile race of Adnan. Nor is this by any means the only indirect evidence how close and enduring was the tie between Egypt and the great Arab faction inimical to the Sunnite rulers who sought the alliance and imitated the art of Damascus and Byzantium.

In 937 Abderrahman the Third alludes to the Copts of Seville by name, and the expressions he uses show that the despised race must have been numerous there at that time.

One Ahmed Ibn Ishak, a cousin of the Khalif's on his mother's side,[9] had ventured to suggest that he should be named heir to the throne on the strength of his relationship and his royal descent. Abderrahman was always extremely generous to his mother's relatives, but Ahmed's latest request was too much for the patience of the Khalif, who wrote him the following vigorous letter by way of putting an end to his pretensions:

As we only desired to do that which was agreeable to thee, we have until now always treated thee with the greatest good-will, but at length we are convinced that it is impossible to alter thy character. The only thing that thou deservest is poverty; for since thou didst not formerly know what wealth was, the possession of it has filled thee with intolerable pride. Was

[7] Loc. cit. [8] Dozy, *Geschichte der Mauren*, i. 168-9.

[9] The mother of Abderrahman the Third was a Christian named Mary, descended from the Gothic royal family.

not thy father one of the least of the horsemen of Ibn Hejjaj?[10] And hast thou forgotten that thou thyself wast no more than a donkey-dealer in Seville? We have always taken thy family under our protection when they asked it; we have helped thee, have made thee rich and powerful, we have raised thy deceased father to the dignity of a Vizier, we have given thee the command of our cavalry and made thee Governor of the greatest of our border provinces. And yet thou hast despised our commands, has not attended to our interests but rather neglected them, and to fill the measure thou now demandest of us that we shall name thee our heir! What merit, what title of nobility, canst thou adduce? To thee and thy family the well-known verses are applicable:

'Ye are people of base origin. How can hemp mate with silk? If ye are Koraishites, as ye declare, take wives of that renowned stock: but if ye are Copts, your pretensions are ridiculous.'

Was not thy mother the witch Hamduna? Was not thy father a simple soldier? Was not thy grandfather doorkeeper in the house of Hauthara Ibn Abbas? Did he not make ropes and mats in the hall of that lord? . . . May God damn thee, thee and those who laid a trap for us when they advised us to take thee into our service! Abject, leprous son of a dog and a bitch, come and humble thyself at our feet.[11]

Abderrahman did not mean that the actual progenitors of the audacious Ahmed were Copts, for he was merely repeating a popular verse currently recited in Spain. But the remark about the mother being a witch is significant, when we remember the occult powers claimed by the Egyptians throughout all ages; while the allusion to the Coptic community is conclusive of their existence in the country.

In Makkari's account of the Moslem conquest of Santiago in 997, taken verbatim from Ibn Hayyan, he mentions that the church dedicated to St. James was held in great estimation by pious Christians, who repaired to it 'from the most remote parts, from Nubia, from the land of the Kobts, and from other distant countries.'

It seems hardly probable that Nubian and Egyptian Christians should have made pilgrimages to the north of Spain from their respective countries, but it is not impossible that Coptic Christians from Andalucia[12], and Christian slaves brought to Spain from Nubia, should have been permitted to do so, for at that time great consideration was shown to members of their religion, especially by Almansur, the conqueror of Santiago. It is even recorded that this great Minister observed Sunday as a day of rest on account of the Christian slaves in his household.[13]

[10] Head of the family descended from Princess Sarah, grand-daughter of Witiza.

[11] Dozy, *op. cit.* ii. 34-5.

[12] It will be remembered that the Coptic Christians took the name of Jacobites from James Baradaeus, who revived their Church when it had been nearly destroyed by persecution. Gibbon says that the history of this man is obscure, and that 'The Jacobites themselves had rather deduce their name and pedigree from St. James the Apostle.' (*Decline and Fall*, ch. 47.) Thus the Church dedicated to St. James the Apostle would have a peculiar sanctity in Coptic eyes.

[13] Makkari, tr. Gayangos, ii. 195, 215.

The written evidence so far collected is, we admit, scanty, but we think nevertheless that it is sufficient to justify the assumption that there were Copts living in Spain under the Moslems, and that they were numerous enough, in Seville at any rate, to be recognised as an integral, if despised, part of the community. At another time we hope to bring forward further evidence, based on the early architecture of that and other Andalucian towns, which supports the hypothesis that the Copts were employed in the south-west of Spain, as they were in Egypt under the Abbassides and Fatimites, to build and decorate mosques and palaces. For the moment, however, we will confine ourselves to the endeavour to show that their descendants live here still.

In the suburb of Triana, on the opposite side of the Guadalquivir from Seville, live numbers of people of a race entirely distinct from the Andalucians, to whom the name of *Gitanos* (gipsies) is applied. We think that in their case this is no chance name, as with the English gipsies, but that it is theirs by right of their original nationality. If the Copts settled in Andalucia, what is more likely than that they should have been given, by the Spaniards, the name of their own country? For it has never been disputed that the name of *Gitano* is a corruption of *Egiptano* or *Egipciano*.

In Andalucia there are two distinct races, differing radically in manners, customs, language, and religion, who are grouped together in legal parlance—but never in popular talk—under the general title of *Gitanos*.

The *Gitanos*, so called by the people, are stationary; they dwell in houses if they can afford them, and if not in caves hollowed out of the rocks and ingeniously adapted to their needs in such a fashion as to be cool in summer and warm in winter. Here they—like other poor Spaniards who are not *Gitanos*—make a home in which they live all their lives, and which their children inherit from them when they die. No one who has not spent some little time in one of these rock-dwellings would believe how homelike and comfortable they can be made. Nor is Seville and its environs by any means the only district where the stationary *Gitanos* dwell.

The other race are called, by the people, *Hungaros*. They are nomads, like the gipsies of almost all other countries. They are continually on the move, never entering a town or sleeping under a roof if they can help it, and although they may occupy caves in the rocks on their journeys from one cattle fair to another, these are entirely distinct from the closed-in dwellings of the *Gitanos*, without the ingeniously fitted doors and windows which mark the latter; and the *Gitanos* are careful to explain that 'those bare

holes ' have nothing to do with their own people, but are used by the *Hungaros* in their wanderings up and down the country.

Both races are despised by the Andalucians, but the *Hungaros* and the *Gitanos* dislike each other at least as much as the Andalucians dislike them.

The *Hungaros* are tinkers and horse-dealers, buying and selling on their own account. The *Gitanos* are neither one nor the other. Their chief trade is clipping horses, mules, and dogs; they are also blacksmiths, but not tinkers. Their women make mats and baskets.

The *Hungaros* speak a language which is not understood by the Andalucians or the *Gitanos*; the *Gitanos* talk nothing but Spanish.

The *Gitanos* marry, baptise, and bury their dead with the rites of the Catholic Church. The *Hungaros* have a form of marriage entirely their own, they do not baptise their children at all, and their burial customs are frankly pagan.

A handsome young woman of that race died three or four years ago in her tent outside Seville. She had only been recently married, and her death was made the occasion of a great manifestation of grief on the part of her family and friends. The corpse was not prepared for the grave as that of an Andalucian or *Gitano*, however poor, would be, but was wrapped up in a gorgeous Manila shawl of fine silk embroidered in brilliant colours. Two hams and two bottles of wine were laid in the coffin with the dead woman and buried with her, to the astonishment of the *Gitanos* in Triana, who could not understand such a waste of good food. It was said that the reason for burying the hams and wine was that the worms would not attack the corpse so long as the hams lasted. The real origin of the custom, however, can only be the pagan tradition of providing food for the dead on the passage to the other world. We are not aware whether it prevails among the nomad ' Gipsies ' in other countries than Spain.

The coffin was followed to its last resting place in the unconsecrated corner of the cemetery by the whole posse of *Hungaros*, the women dressed in rags but adorned with quantities of gold and silver chains, necklaces, and other ornaments, the men with their long black locks thickly greased, and both sexes with gold or silver ornaments depending from their curls or plaits of hair.

Almost every year, after the annual fair, a *Hungaro* wedding is celebrated at the ancient town of Niebla, in the Province of Huelva. The scene is the raised cobbled causeway outside the great walls, which are still standing; and the inhabitants watch the ceremony from across the road, for no one who does not belong to the wandering band is invited to attend. No priest officiates, and no ceremony seems to be gone through. So far as can be made out by persons who do not understand the language, the man

simply takes possession of the woman without any religious or other formula. Drinking, dancing, and feasting are prolonged far into the night, and next day, when the *Hungaros* take their departure, the bride is seen walking beside her man.

The *Gitanos* are married in church, like their neighbours, if they can afford the somewhat heavy fee demanded for the sacerdotal benediction; if not, by the civil authority. The new home is previously prepared, the feast provided, and the guests invited, just as in the case of all other Andalucian couples. *Gitanos* and Andalucians even intermarry occasionally, and of late years the practice seems to be growing more frequent, although such a marriage is never regarded as other than a *mésalliance* by the dominant race.

This brings us to a very striking feature in the traditional relations of the two peoples. If you ask the Andalucian why he regards the *Gitano* as unworthy to become a member of his family he will shrug his shoulders and give you any reason but the true one.

The *Gitanos* are a dirty people; their clothes and their houses are never clean.

The *Gitanos* do not speak the truth, and they are light-fingered gentry with small regard for the rights of property.

The *Gitanos* are hot-tempered and too ready to draw their knives directly an argument arises.

It was a long time before we discovered the real nature of the barrier between the *Gitano* and the Andaluz. Religion is the foundation of it, and it is because of his religion that the Spaniard despises the Egyptian.

The *Gitanos* believe in God and in the Holy Spirit; they believe in the Virgin and accept the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception. And they have so much faith in the virtues of the Child Jesus that a certain image of the Infant Redeemer in the Church of Santa Ana in Triana has, until quite recently, been 'borrowed' without leave from the Virgin's arms by *Gitana* mothers, who have hidden it under their shawls and taken it home as an infallible cure for a sick child. For many years this was a common practice, the kindly official in charge shutting his eyes to the vacant place of the abstracted image until it was returned, as it never failed to be sooner or later.

But, notwithstanding their sincere and simple faith in most of the dogmas of Rome, there is one essential doctrine of the Christian Church which they do not accept.

They do not believe in the dual nature of Christ. To them He is the Son of God, but not the Son of Man.

Very rarely will a stranger or foreigner induce a *Gitano* to speak of this. But the Andalucians among whom they live know

it, and sometimes, when complete confidence has been won, they will admit that the chief reason for their innate contempt for the *Gitano* is their consciousness that he holds this unspeakable heresy. Yet such is their dread of the Church's wrath—dating from the time when merely to speak to a heretic was to court condemnation by the Inquisition—that unless they are convinced that the sympathies of their interlocutor are with them they will evade every question on the subject, and declare that the *Gitanos* are good Catholics like themselves.

That the fact is as we say, however, there is no doubt, for we have obtained confirmation of it from many Andalucians of the working classes, whose veracity was not open to doubt; firstly, because they could have had no possible object in misleading us, and, secondly, because no uneducated peasants would invent a heresy so strange to them, merely to deceive persons for whom they felt friendship. And once, in a moment of expansion, a young *Gitana* said to us confidentially: '*I* believe in the Immaculate Conception and all the rest of it, but there are many of my people who do not believe in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.'

The Copt, be it remembered, was a Monophysite. The Egyptian Church split off from that of Constantinople after the Council of Chalcedon on the question of the dual nature of Christ,[14] and the Copts some two hundred years later allied themselves with Islam to drive the Greeks out of their land, because the teaching even of Mohammed was less repugnant to them than that of the orthodox Church on this matter. They had no difficulty about the Christian God, His Son, the Virgin, or the Holy Ghost, for to them these were merely the old Gods of Egypt under new names. But they could not accept the human element in the Redeemer as an essential part of the Christian religion.

It is a very remarkable fact that the belief of the ignorant *Gitano* of Andalucia with regard to the Incarnation should be one which is certainly not held in the country in which he dwells, nor, so far as we are aware, in Western Christendom, while it is practically identical with that held by the Coptic Church more than fourteen hundred years ago.

We will now see what support is to be found in the post-Moslem history of Spain, for our hypothesis that the *Gitanos* of Andalucia are erroneously grouped with the wandering *Hungaros* and with the gipsies of other lands.

[14] It is not worth while discussing the tangled and uninteresting question how far and for how long Alexandria persisted in this heresy, because *to the* Copt Alexandria was not Egypt. 'Pour l'Egyptien, Alexandrie ne faisait point partie de son pays; s'y rendre était "quitter Egypte" et pareillement sortir d'Alexandrie pour venir à Memphis "se rendre en Egypte," appellation d'ailleurs encore en usage parmi les Coptes d'aujourd'hui' (Gayet, *l'Art Copte*, p. 12).

Zuñiga says that early in the thirteenth century the domestic and other misfortunes of Alfonso the Tenth were foretold to his mother 'by an Egyptian woman' (*una Egipcia*); and though we have not yet been able to discover whence he took the story, the very conscientious methods of this writer permit us to assume that he quoted from some authentic source.[15] It is important as indicating that 'Egyptian' fortune-tellers existed in Spain and were consulted by the highest in the land nearly two hundred years before the wandering people known to us as gipsies invaded Europe from the East.

These intrusive aliens seem to have become a great annoyance in Spain towards the end of the fifteenth century, for from thenceforth a succession of edicts was issued against them, the object of which was to make them settle down and do regular work. The first of these was promulgated by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1499 and speaks of 'Egipcianos' 'who went wandering about in bands.' This certainly seems to suggest that the Gipsies were the Egyptians of our essay. But a curious sentence in an Edict of the Emperor Charles the Fifth in 1539 supports the other hypothesis, for it refers to *Egipcianos* and *Gitanos* as distinct. This Edict confirms with slight alterations that of 1499, and contains the following passage:

> If there be found one or more Egyptian women, we order that they suffer only the penalties contained in the before-named Edict; and although they be not so, if they go in the dress of *gitanas* they are to receive the punishment of stripes contained in the preceding law.[16]

During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries a succession of savage laws was promulgated against the wandering *Gitanos*. Their dress and language were forbidden, they were ordered to live in one place and not attend fairs or deal in horses; and the galleys, branding, flogging, and death were the penalties for disobedience.

Every one of these Edicts recited the dangers and inconveniences caused by the wandering bands of gipsies, and their object was to compel the nomads to settle down in one place; but their frequent repetition shows how futile was the endeavour, in spite of the ferocious punishments inflicted for disobedience. This alone, taken in conjunction with the preference of the *Gitanos* of Andalucia for a quiet home life, goes far to support our contention that the two peoples are racially distinct.

[15] *Anales de Sevilla*, Madrid, 1795, vol. I. p. 322. First published in 1677.

[16] 'Y si fueren halladas alguna o algunas egipcianas, mandamos, se executen en ellas solamente las penas en la dicha pragmática contenidas en cada una dellas: y aunque no lo sean, si anduvieren en hábito de gitanas, hayan la pena de los azotes en la ley precedente contenida' (*Nov. Recop.* Lib. XII. Tit. XVI. Ley 2).

A pragmatic of Charles the Third, issued in 1783, contains the following paragraph: 'I declare that those who are called and call themselves *Gitanos* are not so by origin nor by nature.'[17] And throughout this Edict, which contains forty-three paragraphs, the persons in question are referred to as 'the so-called *Gitanos*.'

Who were the people who called themselves *Gitanos* (Egyptians) yet had no right to the name? We suggest that they were the nomads now known here as *Hungaros*, while the true *Gitanos* were the descendants of the Copts, who came from Egypt with Musa and continued to come during the following four centuries, throughout which the Yemenite families of Seville maintained commercial and political relations with Fostat or Cairo. The Abbadites of Seville and the Nasrites of Granada, to mention the two most powerful Yemenite dynasties in Spain, were friends and allies of the Sultans of Egypt, and there is evidence of intercourse between the Shiite Moslems of the two countries right down to the fourteenth century, so that the Coptic community in Spain was likely to have been reinforced many times before the country became wholly Christian.

The skill shown by the *Gitanos* of Seville at their chief trade of clipping animals is extraordinary. They will barber poodles in a style worthy of Paris, usually employing no implement but a clumsy pair of sheep-shears. But poodles are a comparatively insignificant part of the trade; all over Andalucia they clip mules and donkeys in such a manner as to leave raised devices of great complexity on the animals' haunches. It is not uncommon to see the whole of the haunch covered with intricate designs, which are invariably Arabic or Egyptian in feeling. Sometimes Spanish mottoes are clipped in the animal's coat, such as '*Viva mi amo*' (Long live my master), but most of the designs are called by the people *algarabia*, by which they mean symbols derived from the Arabic, which they do not understand. The first meaning of the word in the dictionary is 'the Arabic language.'

The patterns woven on the mats and baskets of *esparto* grass, made by the *Gitanos*, are of the same character, where there is any pattern at all. In many places this work has degenerated into a meaningless conglomeration of plaited strips woven together, but in others—*e.g.* in the hill-town of Medina Sidonia in the Province of Cadiz, which is off the beaten track—the *Gitano* colony still produce beautiful designs in *esparto* work, stars and polygons of various sorts being the leading motives.

The *Gitanos* of Andalucia dress like the Spaniards of their class, except that the women arrange their hair differently. This never varies, as does that of the Spanish working-class women.

[17] 'Declaro, que los que llaman y se dicen gitanos, no lo son por origen ni por naturaleza' (*Nov. Recop.* Lib. XII. Tit. XVI. Ley 11).

It is always parted into three divisions, the one in the centre being drawn straight back over the forehead, and the other two combed straight down over the ears. The oldest pictures we have seen of the *Gitanos* of Seville show the same characteristics in the coiffure.

The features of the *Gitanos*, as a race, differ so markedly from those of the Andalucians as to be recognisable at a glance. The type is strongly Egyptian; so much so that a comparison of a photograph of two Sevillian *Gitanas* with the engraving of an ancient Coptic statuette showed a striking likeness in the features, while, apart from the difference in dress, the sketch of an Egyptian woman of to-day might easily pass for that of a Spanish *Gitana*.

The *Gitanos* of Andalucia show another marked trace of their origin in their music. The scale is peculiar, containing intervals other than those of the ordinary Western one, while the songs of the *Gitanos*, full of strange cadenzas and long and complicated *fioriture* without any melody or meaning to our ears, recall, to one who has been in Egypt, the chant of the fellah on the banks of the Nile. The music of the *Hungaros* is of an entirely different character.

The dances of the *Gitanos* have spread among the Spanish population. Toned down and refined, for performance by young ladies in drawing-rooms, their origin is not so apparent, although even then there is a wide difference between them and traditional Spanish dances of Christian origin, such as the *Jota* of Aragon, or the *Vito* (St. Vitus), the Tarantella of Spain. But when we see a pure-blooded *Gitana*, with sombre, heavy-lidded eyes, black hair plastered over the ears, and her delicate fingers ceaselessly fluttering as she glides and writhes and bends her graceful body in the sinuous and highly immoral *Tango*, we are transported straight to the East. There is nothing of the gaiety and abandon associated with 'gipsy' music and 'gipsy' dancing in the performance of the Andalucian *Gitana*, as there is in that of the *Hungaros*, nor is there any of the joyousness which poetic fiction attributes to Southern Spain. In all but name the dance of the Andalucian *Gitana* is the *danse du ventre*, depending on the movements of the body for its attraction, full of unholy emotion and suggestion, absolutely Oriental throughout. Whether it is or is not the *Zambra*, which the Moslem King of Granada prohibited in the thirteenth century, or the *Zarba* or *Zarabanda* which in the sixteenth the clergy of Andalucia condemned as sensual and indecent, no one as yet seems to have been able to decide. But that it came to Spain under the Moslem dominion, whether from Egypt or from Asia *viâ* Egypt, there can be no doubt. And the fact that this is the traditional dance of the *Gitanos* of Andalucia, forms

another link in the chain of evidence which connects them with the Copts.

BERNHARD AND ELLEN M. WHISHAW.

Seville.

Note.—The first Edict relating to the 'Egyptians' in Spain was issued in 1499; the earliest legislation to control vagrant 'gipsies' in England was enacted in 1531. We believe that England and Spain are the only two countries in which the wandering people are called by this name, and we venture to hazard the conjecture that the term 'gipsy' may have been carried from Spain to England when the daughter of the authors of the earliest Spanish Edict against 'Egyptians' became Queen of England some ten years after that Edict was made.

Sir R. Burton, in his book *The Jew, the Gipsy, and El Isla*, p. 203, quotes from a *Historia de los Gitanos* by J. N. (Barcelona 1832) a statement that 'the *Gitanos* came from the coast of Africa as conquerors at the beginning of the 8th century.'

CHARLES BAUDELAIRE

ET L'ESTHÉTIQUE DE LA DÉCADENCE

Il y a, dans l'éclatante renommée de Charles Baudelaire, quelque chose de paradoxal et de tragique ; et cela n'aurait pas été pour lui déplaire. Il n'était pas simple. Et même, son art est la suprême réussite de l'opiniâtre effort qu'il fit pour n'être point naturel, mais artificiel, aussi artificiel qu'il le put.

Il parvint à l'être. Il y parvint de telle sorte qu'il déplut à ses contemporains et ne tira rien d'eux que haine, mépris ou moquerie. Les gens qu'il avait à rencontrer, ne fût-ce que pour placer de la copie dans les journaux, des pièces dans les théâtres, des livres chez les éditeurs, tous ces gens-là se méfiaient d'un être si bizarre et qui leur semblait tout chargé de mystification dangereuse. Il en souffrit, à cause de la pauvreté qui résulte d'un tel isolement. Les gens aboyaient après lui, un peu comme font les chiens contre un mannequin saugrenu, lequel les effraie pour avoir l'apparence d'un homme et les déconcerte pour n'en être pas un. On le détesta.

Depuis qu'il est mort, la gloire est arrivée, une gloire économe, qui vint tard comme afin de n'avoir pas d'argent à donner,—et une gloire équivoque, une gloire toute mêlée encore de scandale. Charles Baudelaire est le type de ces porte-lyre que Paul Verlaine a baptisés du nom de 'poètes maudits.'

Ecartons les fumées étranges qui font, autour de cette grande mémoire, une atmosphère irrespirable ; dégageons-la des légendes qui l'obscurcissent, la rendent absurde, incompréhensible et, principalement, inhumaine ; tâchons de la restituer avec exactitude, profondément humaine, avec sa qualité philosophique, mais humainement philosophique.

Charles Baudelaire naquit le 9 avril 1821.

Parmi les notes qu'il a laissées, on a trouvé ces lignes : 'Mes ancêtres, idiots ou maniaques, dans des appartements solennels, tous victimes de terribles passions.' Et puis, ceci : 'Enfance.

Vieux mobilier Louis XVI, antiques. Consulat, pastels, société XVIII^{e} siècle.'

Eh! bien, non. Cela donnerait l'idée d'un luxe et d'une opulence magnifiques—magnifiques et que frappa la destinée. De ces détails émerge le poème : et l'on voit, parmi les splendeurs de la richesse et de l'ancienneté continuée, les maniaques, les déchus qui se consument et aboutissent à ce résumé de leur prodigieuse et pathétique lignée, le petit Charles Baudelaire.

Son ascendance paternelle est de paysans qui ne vivaient pas mal, dans la campagne champenoise. Et sa mère était la fille d'un ' ancien officier militaire demeurant à Paris,' comme il est dit dans l'acte de naissance de Caroline Archimbaut-Dufays.

Il semble que François Baudelaire, le père de Charles, fut un homme charmant et plein de séduction. Il était né en 1759 ; et ce fils de campagnards fit l'effort d'acquérir des lettres, au point d'être choisi comme précepteur par le duc de Choiseul-Praslin. Il prit dans cette maison les plus fines manières ; en outre, il connut les philosophes et l'on dit que c'est lui qui procura du poison à Condorcet, lequel voulait mourir autrement que sur l'échafaud. D'ailleurs, on le comparait à La Fontaine, pour la bonhomie et la naïveté.

Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait plus de tragédie que cela, dans l'ascendance de Charles Baudelaire. Il est né de très honorables personnes. Mais il eût sans doute mieux aimé une dynastie plus pittoresque. Il déguisait et il costumait sa famille.

Il y a un portrait de ce petit garçon, en tunique de collégien, tunique militaire, à boutons d'or et haut col noir. La figure est celle d'un drôle d'enfant. Coiffée—les cheveux noirs—coiffée un peu à la Charles X, le poil amené en avant sur les tempes et jeté en côté de manière à laisser nu le front large et très haut. Les yeux sont noirs, vifs et insistants. Le visage est d'un joli ovale ; et, avec une toute petite bouche, il n'a pas l'air du tout commode : il ne boude pas, il serait plutôt dur et, facilement, mauvais.

Plus tard, il se souvenait d'avoir été promené par son père dans les jardins du Luxembourg ; ils allaient voir les belles statues des princesses. Mais François Baudelaire, qui avait 62 ans lorsque naquit son fils, mourut quand ce fils n'avait encore que six ans. Peu de temps après, Mme Baudelaire se remaria : elle épousa le lieutenant-colonel Aupick, bientôt général, un très bel et brave homme, à la physionomie douce, aimable, fière et qu'un daguerréotype nous présente encadrée de cheveux blancs qui ondulent, de favoris courts, d'une barbiche blanche, dite impériale ; et la moustache est militaire. Ce n'est pas sous de telles espèces qu'on se représenterait tout de go le beau-père des *Fleurs du mal* !

De sa prime enfance, Baudelaire dit qu'elle fut rêveuse : ' Tendance à la mysticité. Mes conversations avec Dieu.' Et,

toute sa vie, il resta d'esprit catholique : il l'est, jusque dans les poèmes diaboliques des *Fleurs du Mal*. Puis : 'Sentiment de solitude, dès mon enfance. Malgré la famille, et au milieu des camarades surtout—sentiment de destinée éternellement solitaire.'—Cependant, note-t-il encore : 'goût très vif de la vie et du plaisir.'

Goût très vif de la vie et du plaisir...avec la manie de rêver... Notons cela. Il y a là tout ce qu'il faut pour faire un pessimiste. Les petits garçons mélancoliques ne seront pas des pessimistes, plus tard ; ils se résigneront : ils n'ont jamais compté sur nulle aubaine. Mais celui-ci, qui a tant d'ardeur à vivre et tant d'aptitude à se forger des chimères, celui-ci est marqué pour les révoltes et les désespoirs.

Déjà, au collège de Lyon, sur ses dix ans, il a des batailles avec ses camarades et voire avec ses professeurs. Plus tard, quand il aura livré maintes batailles, oui des batailles d'homme, et quand il aura vérifié l'inanité de cette lutte, il connaîtra les pires détresses de l'âme. Provisoirement, il échange des coups avec des gaillards de toutes sortes. En 1836, le colonel Aupick fut appelé à l'état-major de Paris, Charles Baudelaire mis au Lycée Louis le Grand—et il s'en fit chasser, pour quelque bataille, sans doute.

A cette époque, il préludait à son orgueil ; il hésitait de tout son cœur entre deux ambitions : il avait envie d'être comédien—ou bien pape, mais, ajoute-t-il, 'mais pape militaire' !

Pape, il ne le sera pas—ou pape du diable *in partibus* ; mais non ! Et comédien, à proprement parler, il ne le sera pas ; mais, autrement, oui : et de quelle façon subtile et perpétuelle, nous allons le voir.

Je n'aurais plus grand'chose à noter de l'enfance de Charles Baudelaire, si je ne croyais qu'eûssent été fort importants pour sa destinée, et très malheureusement, deux événements tout proches de dates, la mort de son père et le remariage de sa mère. Il avait six ans et il avait à peine sept ans, car Mme Baudelaire se dépêcha de devenir Mme Aupick. Le colonel, fort honnête homme, fut parfait pour son beau-fils. Mais le beau-fils détesta le beau-père. Pourquoi? C'est le secret divers et nombreux des cœurs. Je ne sais si le petit Charles, qui semble avoir aimé beaucoup son père charmant, n'eut pas le sentiment de le voir trop vite remplacé par un intrus : et j'en ferais un jeune Hamlet, si je n'y prenais garde. N'allons pas trop avant...Tout de même, sa mère qu'il aimait de vive tendresse l'avait déçu, déconcerté : et l'on n'ignore pas ce qu'est un étonnement de ce genre, pour un garçon des plus sensibles et en qui l'émoi se prolongeait terriblement. Je me figure qu'ensuite il épilogua là-dessus avec luimême et, adolescent, fut gêné, fut offensé de voir sa mère qui avait cédé à une tentation d'amour. Plus tard encore, après la mort

du général Aupick, il se rapprocha d'elle et fut pour elle affectueux avec délicatesse. Mais l'impression première avait été profonde et rude. Et n'est-elle pour rien dans ce mépris que Baudelaire eut pour les femmes : il les considérait comme ' des formes séduisantes du diable ' et ne comprenait pas qu'on leur permît d'entrer dans les églises...

Le général Aupick avait organisé à merveille l'avenir de Charles Baudelaire—à merveille, mais sans le consulter. Il voulait que ce jeune homme profitât de l'amicale bienveillance du duc d'Orléans et il le destinait à la diplomatie. Diplomate, Charles Baudelaire?...Le général Aupick était un homme excellent et un loyal militaire, mais non un psychologue : un petit garçon qui a rêvé d'être pape ou comédien, ce fol sera littérateur, mon général; il n'est bon qu'à être littérateur—il l'est déjà !...

Il y eut des querelles, entre le général et le poète. Charles annonça le projet d'écrire; le ménage Aupick en fut effaré. ' Quelle stupéfaction pour nous,' écrivait Mme Aupick, ' quand Charles s'est refusé à tout ce qu'on voulait faire pour lui, a voulu voler de ses propres ailes et *être auteur* ! Quel désenchantement, dans notre vie d'intérieur, si heureuse jusque là ! Quel chagrin ! '...

La pauvre dame !...Et cela est consigné dans le premier poème des *Fleurs du Mal* :

Lorsque, par un décret des puissances suprêmes,
Le Poète apparaît en ce monde ennuyé,
Sa mère épouvantée et pleine de blasphèmes
Crispe ses poings vers Dieu qui la prend en pitié . . .

Pourtant, sous la tutelle invisible d'un ange,
L'enfant déshérité s'enivre de soleil,
Et dans tout ce qu'il boit et dans tout ce qu'il mange
Retrouve l'ambroisie et le nectar vermeil.

Il joue avec le vent ; cause avec le nuage
Et s'enivre en chantant du chemin de la croix ;
Et l'Esprit qui le suit dans son pèlerinage
Pleure de le voir gai comme un oiseau des bois ! . . .

Charles Baudelaire avait quitté le collège à 17 ans, en 1838. Depuis lors et pendant trois ans, il vécut à Paris, fort librement, se liant avec les littérateurs d'alors, avec Balzac, avec Gérard de Nerval, avec Hyacinthe de Latouche. On remarquait son élégance, sa froideur composée ; il écrivait ses premiers vers, du moins les premiers vers de lui qu'on ait et, en même temps, il combinait son personnage.

En somme, il se conduisait mal, faisait de dangereuses connaisances et des dettes. Un jour, au commencement de l'année 1841, pendant un grand dîner que donnait sa mère, il eut une

altercation violente avec le général : et, si le général le gifla, il sauta bientôt à la gorge du général et pensa l'étrangler. Un conseil de famille, hâtivement réuni, décida que cet être impossible serait embarqué pour l'Inde, à bord d'un vaisseau marchand.

Et Charles obéit. Je crois que l'orient le tentait.

Le pilotin fut absent dix mois. S'il resta quelques semaines dans l'Inde, c'est bien tout. Mais il vit les îles tropicales, et Ceylan ; il vit les bords du Gange et Calcutta ; il vit les beaux couchers du soleil sur la mer ; il sentit la rude chaleur qui accable les sens et qui réalise une splendide et morne philosophie de néant ; il admira les étranges pays où la disposition des couleurs est changée, où la vivacité des tons égaye jusqu'aux ombres ; et il connut l'odeur nostalgique de ces lointains lumineux.

On calcule qu'ayant été dix mois hors de France, le voyageur ne put rester que peu de semaines là-bas. Mais la plus grande partie de la traversée et les escales dans les ports singuliers furent orientales et ensorcelantes. Et puis, une telle âme n'a pas besoin d'un long temps pour s'emplir d'une extraordinaire poésie. Et puis encore :

Il est de forts parfums pour qui toute matière
Est poreuse. On dirait qu'ils pénètrent le verre.
En ouvrant un coffret venu de l'orient,
Dont la serrure grince et rechigne en criant,

Ou, dans une maison déserte, quelque armoire
Pleine de l'âcre odeur des temps, poudreuse et noire,
Parfois on trouve un vieux flacon qui se souvient,
D'où jaillit toute vive une âme qui revient.

Mille pensers dormaient, chrysalides funèbres,
Frémissant doucement dans les lourdes ténèbres,
Qui dégagent leur aile et prennent leur essor,
Teintés d'azur, glacés de rose, lamés d'or.

Voilà le souvenir enivrant qui voltige
Dans l'air troublé ; les yeux se ferment ; le vertige
Saisit l'âme vaincue et la pousse à deux mains
Vers un gouffre obscurci de miasmes humains.

Comme ce vase d'une matière, on dirait, poreuse ou comme cette armoire fidèle et bien close, l'âme de Charles Baudelaire, qui avait reçu l'odeur de l'orient, la conserva. Elle est dans toute son œuvre. On l'y trouve, et sans doute mêlée à des parfums d'occident ; mais on l'y trouve, obstinément, toujours la même et entêtante. Elle se lève de tous les feuillets de ses écrits, analogue à ces miasmes qui montent des marais et desquels on ne se délivre pas.

J'attribue à ce court voyage la nostalgie dont s'imprégna le génie de Charles Baudelaire. Non qu'il ait regretté l'Inde—je

crois qu'il s'en échappa dès qu'il le put—mais cette nostalgie est d'un tel caractère universel et absolu qu'elle est, finalement, le regret des pays qu'on n'a point vus, des plaisirs qu'on n'a point possédés et enfin de toute la vie, imaginaire, irréelle peut-être et impossible, qu'en tout cas on n'a point vécue. Et puis, à ce désir impérieux et décevant, s'ajoute, dans l'œuvre d'un Charles Baudelaire, une idéologie de nirvana, qu'il a prise là-bas, non dans les livres des sages ni dans la leçon des savants, mais qu'il a respirée avec l'air de ces plages où des hommes bronzés flânent, alanguis par les ardeurs du soleil, éblouis par les étincellements de la lumière et ainsi n'ont de tranquillité souhaitable que grâce au dolent stratagème du sommeil, image de la mort. Tant il est vrai que le bouddhisme fut un jour attrapé par un poignant philosophe, oui, mais comme il sortait spontanément du sol asiatique. Et, le subtil Bouddha, je le comparerais à quelque physicien malicieux qui, au moyen d'une cloche recueille les bulles empestées que dégage une eau vieille et croupissante. Le jeune Baudelaire procéda quasiment ainsi, selon l'exemple de Bouddha ; son âme fut la cloche et demeura empoisonnée. Dès lors, tous les sentiments qui y entrèrent, se pénétrèrent de cela.

Sans doute avait-il des dispositions naturelles à recevoir si vite et si profondement les miasmes de cette idéologie. Il naît des âmes orientales jusqu'aux derniers confins de l'occident ; et il suffira d'une petite occasion pour qu'elles acquièrent la conscience de leur qualité exotique. Au sixième siècle avant notre ère, tandis que Bouddha, au cœur de l'Asie, enseignait l'art du quiétisme, le philosophe Héraclite, aux bords grecs de l'Asie mineure, inventait —comme les Grecs ont tout inventé—la métaphysique du devenir, s'attristait de la fuite éternelle de tout et, sur cette désolante idée, basait une dialectique de chagrin. D'ailleurs, vif esprit hellénique, il échappait au mysticisme final de l'anéantissement. Mais j'ai souvent pensé qu'un voyage dans l'Inde ou aux régions thibétaines l'aurait en peu de jours converti au bouddhisme, dont il avait en lui toutes les prémisses et comme le désir obscur.

Revenons à Charles Baudelaire. De retour à Paris, il était saturé de tout ce qu'il émane, en fait de poésie, de rêve, de couleur et de désespoir grisant, du sol oriental.

Le voici à Paris. C'est alors que véritablement il entre dans la littérature, avec la volonté d'y réaliser une œuvre qui fût son âme, transformée en un bel emblème.

D'abord, il se manifesta comme un dandy, et comme le dandy que je dirai. Puis, nous aurons à formuler la philosophie de ce dandysme : autrement, la substance même de l'œuvre nous échapperait.

Mais, d'abord, Charles Baudelaire commit une folle erreur : il

se mêla de la révolution de '48. Se mêler d'une révolution, ce n'est pas digne d'un dandy!...En 1846 et quelque dix-huit mois avant les journées violentes de février, il écrivait, dans son étude des salons de peinture et de sculpture : ' Avez-vous éprouvé, vous tous que la curiosité du flâneur a souvent fourrés dans une émeute, la même joie que moi à voir un gardien du sommeil public crosser un républicain? Et, comme moi, vous avez dit dans votre cœur : " Crosse, crosse un peu plus fort, crosse encore, municipal de mon cœur ; car, en ce crossement suprême, je t'adore et te juge semblable à Jupiter, le grand justicier. L'homme que tu crosses est un ennemi des roses et des parfums, un fanatique des ustensiles ; c'est un ennemi de Watteau, un ennemi de Raphaël, un ennemi acharné du luxe, des beaux-arts et des belles-lettres, iconoclaste juré, bourreau de Vénus et d'Apollon ! Il ne veut pas travailler, humble et anonyme ouvrier, aux roses et aux parfums publics ; il veut être libre, l'ignorant, et il est incapable de fonder un atelier de fleurs et de parfumeries nouvelles. Crosse religieusement les omoplates de l'anarchiste ! " '

Voilà un Charles Baudelaire qui ne ménage pas les républicains ! Il les traite rudement. Il méprise les foules. Il les sacrifie à Watteau. Il n'est pas révolutionnaire, mais réactionnaire à plaisir.

'48 arriva. Le 24 février, vers le soir, on vit Baudelaire, dans un carrefour, au milieu d'une troupe hasardeuse qui venait de piller la boutique d'un armurier. Il avait aux mains un beau fusil tout neuf et, à la ceinture, une cartouchière de cuir. Il se vanta d'avoir fait le coup de feu. Un autre jour, on le vit dans le quartier du Palais Royal. Il disait à ses amis : ' On vient d'arrêter de Flotte ; est-ce parce que ses mains sentaient la poudre, sentez les miennes !...' Il etait exalté, brave ; et il se serait fait tuer.

Avec plusieurs énergumènes, il fonda des journaux révolutionnaires. Il fut gérant de la *République du peuple*, ' almanach démocratique '...

Quelle aventure !...Elle ne dura pas longtemps ; et Baudelaire s'en repentit bientôt, même il s'en excusa. Dans une sorte de journals sans dates qu'il a intitulé *Mon cœur mis à nu*, on lit : ' Mon ivresse en 1848. De quelle nature était cette ivresse? Goût de la vengeance. Plaisir naturel de la démolition. Ivresse littéraire ; souvenir des lectures.'

Mais oui, c'est cela, tout simplement cela ; et c'est à dire que Baudelaire, à vingt-sept ans, déraisonnable et ayant lu les livres des révoltés, suivant d'ailleurs une jeunesse prompte, se rangea du côté des mécontents et ne songea guère à l'objet de leur mécontentement. Goût de la vengeance, dit-il encore. Les amis qui le rencontrèrent un fusil dans les mains, une cartouchière à la

ceinture, s'étonnèrent; il affirma: 'Ce n'est pas pour la république, par exemple!...' Alors, quoi donc? Et il criait: 'Il faut aller fusiller le général Aupick!...' Telle était sa rancune; et je crois, en outre, qu'avec fureur il badinait. Il a écrit, plus tard: '1848 ne fut amusant que parceque chacun y faisait des utopies comme des châteaux en Espagne; 1848 ne fut charmant que par l'excès même du ridicule.' Voilà son opinion véritable.

Et voici le dandy.

On connut un jeune Baudelaire qui était l'élégance même et qui, par la justesse de sa tenue, protestait contre les façons débraillées des romantiques. Le costume, invariable été comme hiver, était, au dire des connaisseurs, de qualité anglaise; et l'on cite Brummell à son propos: l'habit noir, très ample, et qu'il laissait flotter, les manches larges, les basques longues et carrées, le gilet de casimir noir, long et bien étoffé, la cravate noire, à larges bouts et nouée sans brutalité; le pantalon de drap fin, pas trop collant et à sous-pieds; souliers ou escarpins noirs l'hiver et blancs l'été. Avec cela, du linge parfait, une propreté d'hermine. L'allure lente, souple, bien rythmée. Aux doigts, une petite canne à pomme d'or. Et puis un air cérémonieux, distant, un peu guindé, narquois, dédaigneux et très poli.

Avec cela encore, une affectation superfine, un vif désir d'étonner son interlocuteur plutôt que de lui plaire, l'évidente volonté de tenir à l'écart les gens qui deviendraient aisément familiers. Tout est calculé pour établir une distance bien respectueuse entre le dandy et le reste du monde. Et, à cette fin, tout lui sert, l'impertinence fréquemment, le paradoxe presque toujours, les sortes variées de l'ironie, l'humour et, bref, les divers moyens de défense que sait trouver un esprit ingénieux pour éconduire les turbulentes amitiés, l'exubérance des causeurs, l'insupportable camaraderie.

Il y a, dans *Mon cœur mis à nu*, ceci: 'Le dandy doit aspirer à être sublime, sans interruption. Il doit vivre et dormir devant un miroir.'

Ah! le dandysme est une étude et le dandy n'a point la vie commode. Il se refuse d'être jamais spontané; il se prive de l'agrément qu'on accorde aux bons enfants primesautiers; il se cantonne dans une solitude hermétique.

Pourquoi cela? et à quoi bon ce sacrifice? et quelle est enfin la raison de cette discipline rigoureuse?...

Je l'ai dit, que Baudelaire eut, dès l'enfance, une espèce de goût triste et passionné pour l'isolement. Mais ce n'est pas tout; et sa philosophie du dandysme, la voici.

Le point de départ est l'individualisme.

Charles Baudelaire n'a pas eu seulement l'amour de la solitude. Même je ne sais pas s'il l'a aimée: il l'a crue inévitable.

Il n'a jamais considéré comme véritable, profonde et substantielle l'union des âmes plus que celle des corps. Il dirait volontiers, avec le personnage d'une comédie de Musset : ' Quelles solitudes que tous ces corps humains !...' Et il écrit : ' Le monde ne marche que par le malentendu. C'est par le malentendu universel que tout le monde s'accorde. Car si, par malheur, on se comprenait, on ne pourrait jamais s'accorder ! '...

C'est le contraire exactement de la doctrine évangélique. L'évangile nous a commandé de nous aimer les uns les autres; l'individualisme réplique :—Si vous croyez que vous vous aimez les uns les autres, vous êtes les dupes d'une décevante illusion ; entre une âme et une autre âme, il n'y a point de passage, ni de pont ni de gué ; chacune d'elles est une île aux bords inaccessibles ; et chacune est chez elle comme une prisonnière d'elle-même !... Ainsi, la solitude ne nous apparaît pas comme une préférence : elle est une nécessité. Qu'on la déteste ou qu'on l'aime, on ne s'en défait pas. A bout de désespoir peut-être, le dandy s'en félicitera. Quand Charles Baudelaire préparait une dédicace pour les *Fleurs du Mal*, il écrivait : ' Je désire que cette dédicace soit inintelligible.' Le dandy ne se contente pas de l'indifférence : il se glorifie de la haine et veut qu'on le méprise. C'est à dire que, dans l'île escarpée de son âme, il ne se résigne pas seulement à être abandonné ; mais, de son âme, il fait une forteresse contre laquelle la foule heurtera ses bêliers et lancera ses projectiles. Il ne désirera pas d'autre acquiescement que le sien : 'être un grand homme et un saint *pour soi-même*, voilà l'unique chose importante.' Puis, afin de résister à la douleur du sort que la solitude inévitable lui inflige, il ajoutera quelque badinage à son orgueil ; il aboutira finalement à cette formule : ' *Le culte de soi-même* dans l'amour, au point de vue de la santé, de l'hygiène, de la toilette, de la noblesse spirituelle et de l'éloquence.'

Un grand homme, un saint, un héros—l'hygiène et la toilette —le mélange de ces mots inégaux indique assez le projet d'accorder une égale importance à des objets que l'on regarde habituellement comme fort inégaux : la toilette et la sainteté. L'ironie est alors évidente ; et elle est aussi de la logique poussée à ses conséquences pittoresques. Le dandy, quand il a tant de soin de son costume, atteste qu'il met les choses au point ; et il se moque des idées autant que de gens : il se moque, et peut-être avec tristesse. Mais sa tristesse, on ne la verra pas.

On ne verra pas sa tristesse ; mais elle existe et elle se cache au plus profond de l'être. Cet individualisme n'est que le signe ou bien il est la cause d'un pessimisme universel.

Voici le pessimisme de Charles Baudelaire. Un jovial chroniqueur, qui fut célèbre et qu'on a bien fait d'oublier, Jules Janin, avait consacré un article à plaisanter les poètes tristes. Baude-

laire lui répondit : 'Vous êtes un homme heureux ! Je vous plains, monsieur, d'être si facilement heureux. Faut-il qu'un homme soit tombé bas pour se croire heureux !...Facile à contenter, alors? Je vous plains...J'irai jusque là que je vous demanderai si les spectacles de la terre vous suffisent. Quoi ! vous n'avez jamais eu envie de vous en aller, rien que pour changer de spectacle ! J'ai de très sérieuses raisons pour plaindre celui qui n'aime pas la mort.'

Et l'idée de la mort emplit toute l'œuvre de Baudelaire ; elle en imprègne les feuillets, comme une odeur funèbre.

L'ancien révolutionnaire de 1848, l'imprudent porteur d'un fusil d'émeute, d'un fusil qui ne partit guère, cet énergumène d'un jour et qui se repentit de sa fureur comme d'une étourderie, Baudelaire n'a pas la plus petite espérance qu'on voie jamais le sort des hommes devenir un peu meilleur ici-bas. Il ne croit pas à l'efficacité des révolutions...' Il y a dans tout changement, écrit-il, quelque chose d'infâme et d'agréable à la fois, quelque chose qui tient de l'infidélité et du deménagement. Cela suffit à expliquer la Révolution française.'

Mais oui !...

Il se raille des utopistes 'qui veulent, par un décret, rendre tous les Français riches et vertueux d'un seul coup.' Il n'admet seulement pas la possibilité d'un lent progrès. Il écrit : 'La croyance au progrès est une doctrine de paresseux' ; il ajoute, n'aimant pas la Belgique : 'une doctrine de Belges.' Et il écrit encore : 'Quoi de plus absurde que le progrès, puisque l'homme, comme cela est prouvé par le fait journalier, est toujours semblable et égal à l'homme, c'est-à-dire toujours à l'état sauvage?...'

Ah ! je sais bien qu'on a l'air triste et qu'on déplaît, quand on n'a pas confiance dans le bel avenir de l'humanité ; mais je sais bien aussi tout ce que font, au nom d'un prétendu progrès—et qui n'est, en général, qu'une périphrase sous laquelle ils masquent leur intérêt personnel ou bien l'énorme vulgarité de leur satisfaction—les dangereux gaillards qui n'en finissent pas de tout saccager autour d'eux. Au profit d'une meilleure existence, qu'ils préconisent après l'avoir inventée, ils enlaidissent la vie contemporaine—qui a du prix, puisqu'elle est précisement celle où nous vivons. Si les physiciens réussissent une petite découverte dont les industriels s'emparent et qu'ils transforment en vive monnaie, on dirait aussitôt que tout s'arrange et que tous les angoissants problèmes de la métaphysique sont anéantis, et que le temps ne coule plus avec une terrifiante rapidité, et que la grande incertitude est calmée, et que le monde n'est plus une paradoxale société de condamnés à mort. En fin de compte, on peut se demander si l'idée du progrès n'est pas une déchéance de l'humanité ; alors, n'approuve-t-on pas cette impertinence de

Baudelaire qui écrit à Janin : 'J'estime ma mauvaise humeur plus distinguée que votre béatitude' ? . . .

Le pessimisme que nous constatons chez Baudelaire caractérise la littérature du second empire. Il domine encore, en dépit de tels sociologues un peu niais, le rêve actuel.

Les contemporains de Baudelaire avaient vu trop de révolutions, les unes après les autres, bouleverser tout et ne rien produire : après '89 et '93, la révolution de 1830 et la révolution de '48. On avait vu toutes les sortes de gouvernement agir et ne rien constituer de durable : après la république, l'empire, la royauté constitutionnelle avec de vains essais d'absolutisme, encore la république, et l'empire encore—tout cela qui ne créait pas une forte organisation de la vie. On avait vu les idéologies étrangères ajouter leurs tentatives à la vieille philosophie française et ne rien donner que de contradictoire. On avait vu la science, on la voyait qui, pour aboutir à quelques résultats partiels et de qualité pratique, était obligée d'écarter tout le mystère authentique, le seul valable et, sous le nom d'inconnaissable, de l'éconduire. Ainsi, tout s'en allait, en pure perte. Cette crise de la pensée française aboutit à un scepticisme qui tourna, chez les uns, à la plaisanterie, chez les autres au désespoir de l'Ecclésiaste.

Cette page de Baudelaire est significative : 'Le monde va finir. La seule raison pour laquelle il pourrait durer, c'est qu'il existe. Que cette raison est faible, comparée à toutes celles qui annoncent le contraire, particulièrement à celle-ci : qu'est-ce que le monde a désormais à faire sous le ciel?...Je ne dis pas que le monde sera réduit aux expédients et au désordre bouffon des républiques du Sud-Amérique, que peut-être nous retournerons à l'état sauvage, et que nous irons, à travers les ruines herbues de notre civilisation, chercher pâture, un fusil à la main. Non ; car ces aventures supposeraient encore une certaine énergie vitale, écho des premiers âges !...'

Le monde va finir, annonce Baudelaire ; il finira par où il a cru vivre : le mécanisme atrophiera de plus en plus 'toute la partie spirituelle' de notre nature...'Je demande à tout homme qui pense de me montrer ce qui subsiste de la vie !...' C'est par l'avilissement des cœurs que se manifestera la ruine universelle ou, si l'on veut, le progrès—car les deux choses sont identiques ; et le phénomène que les gens appellent progrès, Baudelaire le signale comme la catastrophe imminente, voilà tout.

Telle est, résumée, la pathétique et la prophétique lamentation de ce poète qui éprouva toute l'angoisse de son temps. Je ne sais si, depuis les prophètes d'Israël, on avait proclamé plus terriblement les suprêmes tribulations de l'esprit.

Le monde va finir !...Et—restons dans le domaine de la lit-

térature et des arts—voilà, par Charles Baudelaire, annoncée ou, plutôt, constatée la décadence.

Or, aux environs de 1885, un certain nombre de poètes—dont le groupe a, d'ailleurs, quelque chose de hasardeux—reçurent de leurs adversaires le sobriquet de 'décadents.' On voulut marquer ainsi le mépris qu'on avait pour eux. Et, ce mépris, plusieurs le méritaient. Il y eut, parmi les décadents, certains imbéciles, fort prétentieux—et quelques poètes charmants ou admirables. Ces véritables poètes que le dédain public confondit avec ces farceurs, ces poètes dont l'œuvre dure ou bien sera découverte par l'équitable avenir—si l'avenir est équitable et s'il y a un quelconque avenir pour la littérature—ceux-là ont accepté le sobriquet; et ils ne refusèrent pas d'être les décadents, d'être, à leur sentiment, les derniers d'une espèce bien raffinée. Ils sont la postérité directe de ce Charles Baudelaire qui, le premier chez nous, formula et mit en pratique avec génie, devant l'invasion des barbares, l'esthétique de la décadence.

Si l'individualisme est la vérité, si l'individu seul existe, n'allons pas convoquer les foules à communier avec nous. Et alors, la littérature n'essayera plus d'étendre les limites de sa clientèle. Orgueilleuse, elle se confinera dans l'aristocratie intellectuelle des cénacles. Esotérique, elle ne fera nul effort pour être accessible aux multitudes.

Si le pessimisme est la vérité, si le progrès est une duperie et si le simple avenir même est douteux—bref, si le monde va finir—la littérature n'a plus qu'à être le jeu tardif et malin d'une race condamnée, le divertissement des derniers jours, le bouton de cristal des mandarins ultimes et qui vont mourir...Ou bien, en d'autres termes, il n'y a plus qu'à être des dandys!...

Ainsi, le dandysme est fondé en doctrine sur l'individualisme des philosophes et sur le pessimisme qui, venu de loin, venu de la Révolution, fortifié par les révolutions ultérieures, s'épanouit sous le second empire.

Il n'y a plus qu'à être des dandys!...De la multitude taillable et corvéable, Baudelaire excepte pour les honorer trois sortes d'hommes: ce sont les prêtres, les guerriers et les poètes, ces trois sortes d'hommes étant également détachés de toute utilité vaine; prêtres, guerriers et poètes, qui se consacrent à un bel et stérile idéal; prêtres, guerriers et poètes, qui sont trois manières de dandys.

Encore le prêtre se propose-t-il de régler la conduite et la pensée des multitudes. Le guerrier, d'accord avec les gouvernements, travaille pour le bien de la cité...Le dandysme par excellence est l'art; le véritable dandy sera un artiste; et les deux mots sont, bien souvent, synonymes.

Notons la nouveauté de cette idée de l'art—et, précisément, de la littérature—que notre XIXe siècle a realisée. Au siècle précédent, la littérature était soucieuse avant tout de répandre des doctrines philosophiques et politiques, qui devaient modifier l'état social des collectivités humaines. Les écrivains d'alors se montrèrent moins curieux de la beauté que de l'activité politique. L'idée d'une littérature qui se suffît à elle-même, qui fût absolument détachée du gouvernement des masses et qui se glorifiât de sa parfaite inutilité, cette idée-là n'est point la leur. Elle est plutôt celle du XVIIe siècle; et, en effet, Racine, Molière, Corneille, La Fontaine ont maintes fois annoncé qu'à leur avis l'objet de l'art était de plaire : la littérature est, pour eux, un divertissement.

Mais, au XIXe siècle, c'est bien autre chose que nous avons vu. Un Jean Racine compose ses tragédies; et, par ailleurs, sa vie n'en est pas modifiée. Il a, pour ses tragédies, son esthétique; et, pour sa vie, il a sa morale, sa religion. Son esthétique, d'une part; sa morale et sa religion, d'autre part. Son esthétique gouverne son art; elle n'a rien à faire avec l'arrangement de sa vie quotidienne. C'est au XIXe siècle que nous avons vu l'esthétique entrer dans la vie quotidienne, dans l'âme et dans le cœur d'un artiste; et, si je ne me trompe, c'est en Chateaubriand que nous voyons, pour la première fois, un artiste—et quel artiste prodigieux!—concevoir sa vie et l'organiser comme une œuvre d'art. C'est une redoutable initiative qu'il a prise là : elle a transformé, elle a enrichi—sans doute, excessivement—et elle a comme exaspéré d'orgueil la notion de l'art, simple jusqu'alors.

Baudelaire est bien, à cet égard, l'héritier de Chateaubriand, comme le sont, d'ailleurs, tous les écrivains français du XIXe siècle et, quant à présent, du XXe. Mais Baudelaire, là-dessus, renchérit encore. L'art, pour lui, n'est plus seulement la règle et le gouvernement de la vie : il est plutôt un refuge contre la vie. La quotidienne vie est une si laide, si absurde et désespérante chose, que le dandy s'écarte d'elle et se réfugie, corps et âme, esprit et cœur, dans le suprême dandysme de la littérature.

Conséquemment, cette littérature ne cherchera point à imiter la vie; elle ne sera pas réaliste; elle ne sera pas naturelle. Au contraire, et avec une volonté rigoureuse, elle s'imposera le devoir d'être parfaitement artificielle. L'art est, ainsi, le contraire de la nature; et la vie de l'artiste, un paradoxe.

Baudelaire s'est efforcé de réaliser, dans son œuvre et dans sa personne, un perpétuel et un savant paradoxe. Il y a réussi de telle sorte que ses contemporains l'ont pris pour un mystificateur. Il affectait d'énoncer les opinions les plus nettement opposées à la doctrine habituelle; il tâchait de déplaire et d'irriter : il y parvint. Et l'on éconduisit ce 'farceur,' sans être touché aucunement

du pessimisme sincère et du philosophique désespoir que sa façon d'écrire et d'être signalait ou dissimulait.

Il y a quelque chose de tragique et de forcené dans la peur et dans l'horreur qu'il éprouve à l'égard de la nature. Tout ce qui est 'naturel' le dégoûte. Il écrit : 'Le commerce est naturel, *donc* il est infâme.' Il déteste la littérature naturelle : 'Voyez George Sand. Elle est surtout, et plus que toute autre chose, une grosse bête...' Des femmes, et de toutes les femmes, il écrit : 'La femme est le contraire du dandy. Donc, elle doit faire horreur. La femme est naturelle, c'est-à-dire abominable !' Ce n'est pas gentil ; je le lui reproche.

Mais il a rigoureusement tiré, en logicien résolu, toutes les conséquences de ses prémisses. Cette malédiction des femmes n'est pas un badinage ; et, en fait, la vie de Baudelaire nous apparaît comme toute dépourvue d'amour. Elle n'a point eu cette douceur consolante, cette grâce : elle se déroule comme un désert morne et maudit. Nous n'appellerons pas amour, au sens un peu joli et tendre qu'a ce mot, la liaison si longue, charnelle et horrible qui lui associa cette demi-négresse, Jeanne Duval. Il réduisit l'amour à une sorte de sensualité farouche et dont il compliquait assidûment le détail, mais avec le soin minutieux de n'y mêler nul idéal. Tous les sentiments naturels, qui sont comme la fleur spontanée des âmes, il les arrachait de son âme ; ainsi, un trop délicat jardinier, fabricant d'orchidées précieuses et de monstrueux chrysanthèmes, saccagerait et jetterait avec mépris les roses trémières, les simples violettes et enfin toutes les fleurs modestes et charmantes qui sont le doux et vrai parfum de la nature.

Que lui reste-t-il? que reste-t-il à ce nihiliste furieux qui a tout dévasté autour de lui? que lui reste-t-il pour avoir un prétexte à durer?—La littérature !...

Quand il était à Bruxelles, malade, pauvre, plus découragé que personne, plus abandonné, prêt à mourir, il écrivait à un homme d'affaires qui lui avait adressé un peu d'argent afin qu'il pût achever un livre : 'J'ai honte de me servir de votre billet ; mais la littérature doit passer avant tout, avant mon plaisir, avant ma mère !...'

Comme il n'a point gardé autre chose que la littérature, il l'entoure d'un soin jaloux ; il lui accorde un culte presque mystique. Et il écrit : 'Toute forme créée, même par l'homme, est immortelle. Car la forme est indépendante de la matière, et ce ne sont pas les molécules qui constituent la forme.'

Les molécules, la matière, la réalité—enfin, la nature : tout cela est périssable, tout cela est la mort et a déjà l'odeur de la corruption terminale. Tout cela est de l'essence de mort, oui, parceque tout cela est *naturel*. Et seul échappe à la destruction

promise l'artificiel qui est, pour ainsi dire, de l'art au second degré : l'art de l'art, en quelque sorte, l'artificiel étant à l'art ce que l'art est à la réalité. Si l'art nous écarte de la nature et nous met à l'abri de ses envahissements mortuaires, l'artificiel sait nous enfermer dans une deuxième citadelle, fortifiée, placée au centre de l'art et garantie par lui comme par des circonvallations habiles ; solide, en outre, de ses épaisses et hautes murailles.

L'artiste qui s'est enfermé là est le prisonnier de sa volonté fière. Si l'on se moque de lui ou si l'on déteste son orgueil, on peut aussi admirer ce terrible, sauvage et subtil reclus.

Afin de mieux et plus sûrement réaliser l'artificiel qu'il avait conçu comme le dernier chef d'œuvre de l'art, on sait les stratagèmes auxquels recourut Baudelaire, et qu'il utilisa, du moins il le prétend, ces stupéfiants et ces poisons, l'opium et le haschish. Alors, toutes choses étant bouleversées, la vision changée, les perspectives tout autres, les couleurs toutes neuves et imprévues, les idées plus ardentes, les sensations décuplées, alors, il se réjouissait de ses paradis artificiels. La morbide rêverie lui voilait la réalité, la nature. Il se tue à ces extravagantes volontés ; et nous lui prêterons cette parole néronienne : *Qualis artifex pereo*, 'Quel artiste je suis, pour mourir !...'

A quarante ans, Baudelaire avait publié presque toute son œuvre. Il lui restait encore six années à vivre. Elles furent effroyables. Premièrement, la pauvreté le tourmenta ; elle était son châtiment, logique et injuste. Mme Aupick, un jour, écrivant à quelque ami de son fils, se désolait et constatait que Charles avait 'adopté un genre bizarre, absurde comme lui et qui lui faisait peu de partisans.' Elle ajoutait : 'Il est vrai qu'il a pour lui son originalité, c'est quelque chose...' Pauvre dame ! Et lui, le fils, plus pauvre encore !...La fierté qui l'avait enclos dans son difficile idéal d'art eut pour récompense la gloire et pour châtiment la misère. Il fut accablé par les dettes, il fut torturé par les échéances, humilié de toutes les façons. Et il connut, après avoir publié les *Fleurs du Mal*, le tracas de l'indigence quotidienne.

Dans l'espoir de gagner un peu d'argent avec divers travaux littéraires et des conférences, il s'établit à Bruxelles. Les Belges lui déplurent affreusement ; et il s'ennuya jusqu'à crier de détresse.

Puis arriva la maladie, deuxième châtiment. Je crois qu'elle se manifesta d'abord en 1862. Il écrit, à cette date : 'J'ai cultivé mon hystérie avec jouissance et terreur. Maintenant, j'ai toujours le vertige ; et, aujourd'hui 23 janvier, j'ai subi un singulier avertissement, j'ai senti passer sur moi le vent de l'aile de l'imbécillité.' Quelques jours plus tard, il écrit encore : 'A Honfleur, le plus tôt possible !' A Honfleur, c'était chez sa

mère...' A Honfleur, le plus tôt possible, avant de tomber plus bas. Que de pressentiments et de signes envoyés déjà par Dieu, qu'il est grandement temps d'agir, de considérer la minute présente comme la plus importante des minutes, et de faire ma perpétuelle volupté de mon tourment ordinaire, c'est-à-dire du travail! . . .'

Son travail, c'est désormais la traduction des *Histoires Extraordinaires* d'Edgar Poe : il l'a commencée, il la continue opiniâtrement. C'est aussi la préparation de ses conférences. Et c'est un livre relatif à la Belgique : il n'aura pas le temps de l'achever.

Considérer la minute présente comme la plus importante des minutes—c'est le conseil d'orgueil que donne Emerson. Faire sa volupté de son tourment—il y a là du Nietzschéisme.

Emersonien, Nietzschéen, disciple et prophète de ces grandes idéologies arrogantes, il le devient à l'époque même où, par les rues, on le rencontre, solitaire, triste et mal vêtu de vieux habits râpés. Il a tout l'air d'un vagabond qui déambule au bord du suicide.

De manières et de paroles, quand il veut bien parler, il est plus orgueilleux que jamais. Au fond de lui ou à part lui, les sentiments s'adoucissent, ou bien ils s'amollissent. Ce sont des sentiments naturels, des sentiments vrais, sincères, simples : et il ne les expulse pas de son cœur, désormais. On dirait qu'après tant d'années passées à l'étrange culture de son âme artificielle, maintenant son âme naïve se met à lui plaire. C'est la seconde époque de l'exotisme, le moment où ce voyageur des rêveries extravagantes revient à sa maison natale et y goûte le bizarre amusement de s'y sentir dépaysé.

Le fumeur d'opium et le mangeur de haschish, comme un vieil et bon enfant, songe à sa mère avec une tendresse jolie et franche. Deux années avant de mourir, il écrit : ' Ma mère m'a écrit une lettre charmante et pleine de sagesse. Quelle patience! Et quelle confiance en moi! Savez-vous qu'elle a été malade et subitement restaurée? Par bonheur pour moi, j'ai su les deux nouvelles, la bonne et la mauvaise, à la fois.' Et puis, bientôt après : ' Ah! mon cher ami, j'ai quelquefois le cerveau plein de noir. Conserverai-je ma mère aussi longtemps que vous avez conservé la vôtre?...Ma mère m'écrit des lettres courtes et où je trouve un ton de tristesse (je n'ose dire d'affaiblissement) qui m'inquiète. Que savez-vous de sa santé? Car il se pourrait que, par crainte de me tourmenter, elle me cachât quelque chose.'

Quelle douceur délicieuse, dans ces propos alarmés! Et quelle fraîcheur exquise, après l'atmosphère brûlante et âcre des *Fleurs du Mal* et des *Paradis artificiels*, ces paradis qu'emplit une rage d'enfer ingénieux!...

En même temps, son catholicisme de combat devient une sorte de piété ravissante. Le poète du mal compose des prières; il

s'adresse à Dieu en ces termes religieux : 'Ne me châtiez pas dans ma mère et ne châtiez pas ma mère à cause de moi. Je vous recommande les âmes de mon père et de Mariette. Donnez-moi la force de faire immédiatement mon devoir tous les jours et de devenir ainsi un héros et un saint.'

Il se compose des règlements de repentir et de sagesse : 'Hygiène, conduite, méthode. Je me jure à moi-même de prendre désormais les règles suivantes pour règles éternelles de ma vie. Faire tous les matins ma prière à Dieu, réservoir de toute force et de toute justice, à mon père, à Mariette et à Poe, comme intercesseurs ; les prier de me communiquer la force nécessaire pour accomplir tous mes devoirs et octroyer à ma mère une vie assez longue pour jouir de ma transformation ; travailler toute la journée, ou du moins tant que mes forces me le permettront ; me fier à Dieu, c'est-à-dire à la justice même, pour la réussite de mes projets ; faire tous les soirs une nouvelle prière, pour demander à Dieu la vie et la force pour ma mère et pour moi.'

C'est ainsi que Charles Baudelaire, avant de mourir, tâcha de vivre et fit l'effort de s'amender. Cependant, la maladie le ravageait. Crises nerveuses, vertiges, convulsions le mettaient au martyre. Et il n'avait seulement pas la monnaie qu'il faut pour acheter des médicaments.

La paralysie le prit—et l'aphasie : ce génial ami du verbe entra dans le silence, oublia les mots et, dans ce désert de sa tête, se perdit jusqu'à, peu à peu, s'anéantir. L'une des dernières petites phrases qu'il prononça, et qu'on recueillit sur ses bégayantes lèvres, fut : 'La lune est belle ! ' Il l'avait chantée, autrefois :

Ce soir, la lune rêve avec plus de paresse . . .

Près de mourir, il se souvint d'elle, ornement de ses nuits, vase de tristesse et grande taciturne.

Quand les mots ne lui étaient plus intelligibles, il n'y avait plus, pour l'apaiser, pour écarter son cauchemar de moribond, que la musique. Il l'aimait anciennement : il l'aimait avec sa volupté sensuelle et avec son ardeur cérébrale :

La musique parfois me prend comme une mer . . .

Il avait rêvé de la joindre, par le rythme, par le son divers et bien agencé des syllabes, aux significations du vocabulaire. Telle était sa poétique souveraine et alarmante, jadis. Maintenant, la musique toute seule suffisait à charmer le silence de son agonie commençante. La musique sans les mots, mystère d'un art plus secret encore que les autres. Et il exaltait ainsi l'esotérisme pathétique où la maladie, après lui-même, le condamnait.

Il mourut le 1er septembre 1867, à quarante-six ans.

Le récit de ses dernières souffrances et la maladie qui le mena jusqu'à la mort semblent tout pleins de vérités emblématiques. Et l'on dirait que ce héros du paradoxe le plus volontaire, ce négateur altier de la vie et des réalités concrètes, subit les représailles de ce qu'il avait détesté avec arrogance. La vie et les réalités profitèrent de sa faiblesse ; elles se ruèrent sur lui, l'assaillirent ; elles eurent enfin terrassé l'ennemi, l'admirable, tragique poignant poète des fleurs mauvaises et des voluptés artificielles.

ANDRE BEAUNIER.

THE NEW POLICY OF IMPERIAL AND HOME DEFENCE

FROM the comments which have been made upon the *Notes on Invasion* written by the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty it might be imagined that he had stated the most unorthodox views on the question of home defence.

The more carefully, however, his statements are examined the more apparent it will become that this distinguished officer has merely restated very old truths[1] in a fresh form coinciding with modern conditions and with the new policy of Imperial and Home defence which has been elaborated by the Admiralty and the War Office in close co-operation with each other and with the Foreign and Colonial Departments.

One hundred years ago Lord St. Vincent, as First Lord of the Admiralty, held precisely the same opinions as have been recently expressed by Admiral of the Fleet Sir Arthur Wilson, and as Mr. Balfour, the first Prime Minister to devote himsel to the careful study of the defence problem, has explained, there have been great scientific changes since Napoleon planned his invasion of England, which 'all make in favour of defence.' Mr. Balfour, speaking nearly six years ago, mentioned specifically two of these changes which had been greatly to our advantage—the use of steam and the use of wireless telegraphy, and, in consequence of the recent development of the submarine, it is also now possible to include underwater craft among the 'great scientific changes' which 'make in favour of defence.'

[1] Lord St. Vincent always ridiculed the idea of invasio so long as the fleet was adequately maintained. 'Our great reliance,' he wrote, 'is on the vigilance and activity of our cruisers at sea.' When the menace of invasion first became acute in 1801, before the Peace of Amiens, Nelson wrote: 'Our first defence is close to the enemy's ports'—that is, his ports in the Channel—'and the Admiralty have taken such precautions, by having such a respectable force under my orders, that I venture to express a well-grounded hope that the enemy would be annihilated before they get ten miles from their own shores.' Again, Pellew said in his place in Parliament in 1804: 'As to the enemy being able in a narrow sea to pass through our blockading and protecting squadron with all the secrecy and dexterity, and by those hidden means that some worthy people expect, I really, from anything I have seen in the course of my professional experience, am not much disposed to concur in it.'

Admiral of the Fleet Sir Arthur Wilson's *Notes* were not originally intended for the public eye; they were prepared for the information of the War Office and were written on the well-founded assumption that they would be read in the light of full knowledge of the progress which has been made during the past few years in evolving a new and well co-ordinated scheme of Imperial and Home defence. In the past we have had a Navy and an Army, and considerable confusion has existed as to the uses which would be made of these two arms in time of war. Under Mr. Balfour's leadership an effort was made to ascertain the precise defensive needs of the Empire and of the British Isles, and to shape the two defensive services to accurately ascertained conditions. Since the resignation of Mr. Balfour's Government this work has been continued, and the First Sea Lord wrote his *Notes on Invasion* on the assumption that they would be interpreted by military experts who, as a result of the deliberations of the Committee of Imperial Defence and direct consultation with the Admiralty, were familiar with all the details of the now complete scheme of Imperial and Home defence.

The new plans for Imperial and Home defence may be thus summarised:

I. *Imperial.*

1. *Sea-going Fleets.*—The basic principle of Imperial, as of Home, defence is the existence of sea-going forces of such strength that they can secure command of the sea in face of any probable combination. They comprise squadrons in foreign waters varying from time to time in accordance with the grouping of the Powers; secondly, the Atlantic Fleet, acting as 'pivot force' between Home and Mediterranean waters—reinforcing either as required; and, thirdly, squadrons which under normal peace conditions cruise in the vicinity of the British Isles, because these waters are the strategic centre of gravity at present. The last-mentioned form the main fleets; they consist of heavy ships and are arranged as follows:

(*a*) The First and Second Divisions of the Home Fleet, embracing all the newest and most powerful ships, fully manned, with active-service ratings only, victualled and stored, and always on a war footing—instantly ready for war. These two Divisions under six Admirals constitute the strongest fighting force in the world, and certain torpedo craft are associated with them.

(*b*) The Third and Fourth Divisions of the Home Fleet, maintained on a peace footing, with nucleus crews, but with an organisation enabling the Third Division to be put on a war footing at a few hours' notice. The 'balance crews' to complete the nucleus crews to war strength are always 'told off' and immediately available in the depots and instructional establishments of the ports to which the ships are attached. The vessels can be mobilised in a few hours,

and exclusively with active-service ratings. The ships of the Fourth Division are of older types—for use as a forlorn hope; their nucleus crews are small and they would be completed with a proportion of the Naval Reservists.

2. *Sea-going Army.*—This consists of the Regular Army and its reserves. The spearhead of this Imperial arm is the Expeditionary Force, consisting of about 160,000 officers and men, which is organised and equipped for work overseas. This is the largest professional—as distinct from short service—army ever organised in any country. The Expeditionary Force under normal peace conditions remains in the British Isles because they are the base of Imperial military operations, because the officers and men have their homes in the British Isles, and because rations and general maintenance charges are less costly in the British Isles than elsewhere. The Regular Army has no essential part in the defence of the British Isles, but remains in the British Isles as a matter of convenience until it is needed elsewhere.

This professional Sea-going Army—and particularly the Expeditionary Force—is the necessary complement to:

(*a*) The Sea-going Fleets: It is intended to take up the offensive-defensive operations at the point at which the action of the Sea-going Fleets must stop because they cannot operate on land.

(*b*) The Colonial Defence Forces: The self-governing Dominions are organising armies of their own in close co-operation with the British military authorities in order to relieve the British Regular Army of the duty of local defence.

(*c*) The Indian Army: This consists of about 75,000 British troops; 158,000 native troops under 3,050 British officers; 34,000 Volunteers, Europeans and Eurasians; and over 20,000 officers and men of the Imperial Service Troops raised by the native rulers and trained under British officers.

II. *Home.*

3. *Home-defence Flotillas.* — For the first time in its history the country has been provided by the Admiralty with a system of mobile defence on the coast. It consists of torpedo-boat destroyers, torpedo boats, and submarines, with 'mother ships' and auxiliaries, supported ashore by war signal stations, manned by coastguards who are in 'wireless' communication with passing ships of all descriptions, in telephonic communication with each other, and in telegraphic communication with the Admiralty in London. This chain of twin land and sea defence stretches from Dundee right down the East Coast to Dover and thence round to Portsmouth and Devonport, with important intermediate bases of operations at the Nore, Harwich, and the Humber. It is always 'active,' and the 'mosquito' vessels are never absent from their cruising area.

4. *Home-defence Army.*—This force consists of the Territorial Army, organised on a county basis and capable of being readily concentrated at any threatened points on the coast. It is the largest drilled citizen army ever raised on the voluntary principle. The establishment of officers and men is 315,000. The Act under which it is raised came into operation as recently as April 1908, and already it comprises 257,387 officers and men, though the conditions of service are very onerous and the funds hitherto available for maintenance and equipments have been limited.

When Sir Arthur Wilson prepared his *Notes on Invasion* he did so on the correct assumption that they would be read by the military authorities in full knowledge of these carefully co-ordinated arrangements for the defence of Imperial and British interests. Under this new scheme the ocean-going fleets and the Regular Army have no essential part in purely local defence; afloat and ashore they are supplemented by the mobile coast defences and bythe Territorial Army. The Sea-going Fleets are consequently free as they have never been free before to go anywhere and do anything in pursuance of the offensive-defensive policy which is now the accepted principle upon which the whole of the naval and military forces of the Empire are organisod, and the Sea-going Army is ready to follow the Sea-going Fleets.

So long as a state of peace exists the Sea-going Fleets and the Sea-going Army remain in or about the British Isles; in these circumstances no foreign nation would entertain for one moment the possibility of invasion, since such an operation would have to be carried out in face of Sea-going Fleets more than twice as strong as the naval forces of any other Power, in face of a large and active mobile coast defence, in face of regular troops, including reserves, of 300,000 men, and in face of a citizen army of about 235,000 officers and men.

Mr. Balfour, when Prime Minister and fresh from consultation with the highest responsible naval and military experts, remarked on one occasion that the British people are apt, in comparing the defensive power or offensive power of Great Britain and her great military neighbours, to compare the number of our soldiers with the number of theirs and to say, 'If they can get across the sea, how could we hope to resist the masters of these innumerable legions?' That, as Mr. Balfour explained, is not the problem.

> The problem is how to get across the sea and land on this side; and inasmuch as that difficulty, which thinkers of all schools must admit—the extreme military school will admit it as much as the extreme blue-water school—inasmuch as that difficulty of getting men over increases in an automatic ratio with every new transport you require and every augmentation you make for the landing force, it becomes evident that the problem which a foreign general has to consider is not 'How many men would I like to have in England in order to conquer it?' but 'With how few men can I attempt the conquest?'

This is the problem of invasion and, as Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour

studied this problem in close association with the highest responsible experts of the Navy and Army; these experts included Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Kerr, then First Sea Lord, and Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Mr. Balfour put to Lord Roberts the specific question, 'With how few men could an enemy attempt the conquest?' According to Mr. Balfour (House of Commons, May 11, 1905):

The answer which was given by Earl Roberts, and accepted by all the other military critics whom it was our duty to consult, was that he did not think it would be possible to make the attempt with less than 70,000 men; those men to be lightly equipped as regards artillery and as regards cavalry, because, of course, horses and guns are the things which most embarrass the officers responsible for transport, embarkation and disembarkation.

Lord Roberts was distinctly of opinion that even with 70,000 men to attempt to take London—which is, after all, what would have to be done if there was to be any serious impression or crushing effect produced—he was of opinion that that was in the nature of a forlorn hope.

These two statements, the first as to the new policy of Imperial and Home defence, and the second as to Lord Roberts's dictum upon the minimum size of the invading force, are essential to a proper comprehension of Sir Arthur Wilson's statement upon the problem of invasion.

In the light of these facts Sir Arthur Wilson wrote his *Notes*. He remarked:

To realise the difficulty that an enemy would have in bringing such a fleet of transports to our coast and disembarking an army, it is necessary to remember that all the ships operating in home waters, whether they are in the North Sea, the Channel, or elsewhere, are in wireless communication with the Admiralty and with the Commander-in-Chief, so that if a fleet of transports is sighted anywhere by a single cruiser, or even by a merchant ship, if she is fitted with wireless, every ship which happened to be in a position to intercept the transports would at once get the order to concentrate as necessary for the purpose, whether she was at sea or in harbour.

It is further necessary to remember that even supposing that by some extraordinary lucky chance the transports were able to reach our coasts without being detected, their presence must be known when they arrive there; and long before half the troops could be landed the transports would be attacked and sunk by submarines, which are stationed along the coast for that purpose.

Besides the submarines there would be always a large force of destroyers, either in the ports along the coast or within wireless call, as, in addition to those that may be definitely detailed for coast defence, the system of relief for those acting overseas will ensure a large number being actually in harbour at their respective bases, or within call while going to or returning from their stations.

These destroyers, though not specially stationed with that object, will always form, in conjunction with submarines, a very effective second line of defence in the improbable event of such a second line being required.

Sir Arthur Wilson followed up this general statement by one of a more specific character. He put himself in the position of a foreign admiral on whom devolved the task of convoying even such a relatively

small force as 70,000 men (Lord Roberts's original figure) to this country and landing them on our shores:

> To understand thoroughly the small chance of an invasion from the other side of the North Sea being successful, it is necessary to put oneself in the place of the officer who has to undertake the responsibility of conducting it.
>
> His first difficulty will be to consider how he is to get his great fleet of transports to sea without any information of it leaking out through neutral nations or otherwise.
>
> Next, he will consider that *somewhere within wireless call we have nearly double the number of battleships and cruisers that he can muster, besides a swarm of destroyers.*
>
> He has probably very vague and unreliable information as to their positions, which are constantly changing. *His unwieldy fleet will cover many square miles of water, and as all the ships will be obliged to carry lights, for mutual safety, they will be visible nearly as far by night as by day.* How can he hope to escape discovery?
>
> Many of his transports will have speeds of not more than ten to twelve knots; so that there will be no hope of escape by flight if he is met by a superior force.
>
> If he is sighted by any of our destroyers at night they will have little difficulty in avoiding the men-of-war and torpedoing the transports.
>
> Is it possible to entice part of our fleet away by any stratagem? Possibly. But *even if he succeeds in drawing off half our fleet, the other half, in conjunction with destroyers and submarines, would be quite sufficient to sink the greater part of his transports, even if supported by the strongest fleet he could collect.* The fleets would engage each other while the destroyers and submarines torpedoed the transports.
>
> Finally, even if he reached the coast in safety, he would see that it was quite impossible to guard his transports against the attacks of submarines while he was landing his troops; and that it was quite certain that a superior force would be brought to attack him before the landing could be completed.
>
> Taking all these facts into consideration, he would probably decide, as the Admiralty have done, that an invasion on even the moderate scale of 70,000 men is practically impossible.

It will be seen that the First Sea Lord confined his attention in these *Notes* to the purely naval aspect of the problem of invasion, and reiterated with increased emphasis, owing to the improved arrangements of the Fleet due to scientific changes and better organisation, the views expressed by former First Sea Lords. As Mr. Balfour remarked in the House of Commons when dealing with this question, 'I am not aware of any considerable naval authority who has ever held that serious overseas invasion is a thing of which we need be greatly afraid.' This statement is completely supported by the declarations of all the great seamen of the past, but no former First Sea Lord could point to such instruments of defence and such a complete organisation of those instruments as exist to-day.

But it may be said 'How does it happen that Sir Arthur Wilson's declaration as the highest responsible naval expert of the country is traversed by Lord Roberts and other military officers?' It is quite true that the problem of the invasion of the British Isles by a foreign force is a military as well as a naval problem, and it is essential to analyse the operation of invasion in order to ascertain the relative

spheres in which the naval expert on the one hand and the militar expert on the other are qualified to express opinions. A scheme invasion involves the following operations:

1. Mobilisation at a convenient foreign port carried out in complet secrecy, otherwise early news would be received in England and th army of invasion would be defeated when it was not an army but mob of men huddled together in transports on the high seas, withou defence against torpedo attack and with only such protection agains the overpowering British fleet as a much weaker convoying flee could assure.

2. Embarkation: This must also be carried out in complete secrec the necessary transports being collected and the troops put on boar without a whisper reaching any British agent, naval officer, merchan officer, or civilian, otherwise the news would inevitably reach th British authorities.

3. Transportation to England: This again must be carried o without being observed by British war or merchant ships, otherwis a wireless message of warning would immediately be despatched to th Admiralty. The distance from Germany to England is about 300 mile or 30 hours at 10 knots an hour.

4. Disembarkation: This operation, including the landing not onl of the men but of horses and guns, must be carried out rapidly an without attracting any attention, otherwise the defenceless transport would become the target of the swiftly concentrated British mobil defences. Owing to the shelving character of the eastern coast Great Britain, at any point at which disembarkation could be mad the transports would have to remain two or three miles at sea, an the men, guns, and horses would have to be landed in pontoons an small boats in face of a very active British defence by torpedo craft, not by battleships and cruisers.

5. Penetration: The invaders, having surmounted all the nav and military difficulties involved in these separate operations, woul have to penetrate to London in order to render the invasion an effecti operation of war.

It is evident from this very short statement that in these operatio naval and military opinions have their weight, but the military offic plays a comparatively small *rôle*, and military opinion is qualified express its view only upon the first and last operation—namely, mobil sation and penetration. The other three operations are distinctly nav although in the matter of embarkation and disembarkation the mil tary officer takes some part. But the really serious problem of inv sion—transportation—is distinctly naval, and therefore it is the nav officer, the expert upon sea navigation and its difficulties, who mus say the last word as to the practicability or otherwise of an invasio scheme. Moreover, the naval officers who are best qualified to advis the public are the Sea Lords of the Admiralty, whose business it is

know the amount of shipping available at any given moment in a foreign port for use as transport, and who must also be cognisant of the relative naval strength which could be employed, on the one hand, as convoy to transports, and, on the other, for the attack upon those transports. The First Sea Lord of all the Sea Lords is the supreme authority on these purely naval questions because this officer is 'charged with the most important and responsible work of preparing for war'; he is responsible for the fighting and sea-going efficiency of the Fleet, its organisation and mobilisation; and for the distribution and movements of all ships.

In the light of this consideration of the various operations involved n the act of invasion, it is difficult to understand the confusion of the public mind which has arisen owing to the criticisms to which Sir Arthur Wilson's *Notes on Invasion* have been exposed, and exposed particularly from military officers. Sir Arthur Wilson confined himself strictly to the naval aspects of invasion, dealing not at all with the task of mobilisation and the other task of penetration, and he has been publicly criticised by a number of military officers in a sphere which is especially his own. Prominent among these officers has been Field-Marshal Earl Roberts. This distinguished officer's name and fame are dear to the British people, who will never forget the splendid work he performed during his many years' service in India and the supreme sacrifice he made in the darkest days of the war in South Africa when, struck down by a great bereavement, he proceeded to the Cape and took command of the British troops. Lord Roberts is a great soldier, but he does not unite with his military knowledge and experience any knowledge or experience of naval affairs. Nevertheless Lord Roberts has become the chief critic of the professional naval opinions of the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty.

Lord Roberts in the speech which he delivered in connexion with the formation of 'The Theatrical Branch' of the National Service League, on the 7th of February, dealt with Sir Arthur Wilson's memorandum and directly criticised as a military officer the views expressed by the highest responsible naval expert in the country upon the purely naval aspect of the invasion problem. In the course of this speech Lord Roberts made the following statements according to various newspaper reports of his remarks:

> We had allowed our much-vaunted two-Power standard to become little more than a one-Power standard.
>
> We had to wake up and pull ourselves together if we hoped to hold our own amongst the Great Powers of the world. As matters now stood, if our expeditionary force happened to be out of the country, we should be at the mercy of any invader who could land on these shores.
>
> It was assumed that the invasion would be carried out in exactly the way in which we were prepared to meet it, and it spoke of the precise strength of the invading force [2] and the number of ships in which it would come.

[2] Lord Roberts's own figure—*vide* Mr. Balfour, May 11, 1905.

They were all to come in a body, and all by the same route. We were to make no mistakes. Our information was to be absolutely correct. He presumed there were to be no fogs—nor any storm to disturb our plans; and while we were to have the advantage of wireless telegraphy, that was to be denied to the enemy.

Lord Roberts in this speech apparently ignored the purely military aspects of the operation of invasion, the secret mobilisation of the invading force, and the methods to be adopted after its disembarkation in order to enable it to penetrate to London, and confined himself exclusively to expressions of opinion upon the naval aspects of the matter. The audience had the unique experience of listening to a Field-Marshal criticising the opinions expressed on a naval problem by the Admiral of the Fleet who is responsible for the preparation for war of the greatest navy that the world has ever seen. It is stated in the reports of Lord Roberts's speech that his criticisms of the First Sea Lord were received with 'laughter,' 'renewed laughter,' 'laughter' again, and finally with 'loud laughter.' Whether the risible faculty of Lord Roberts's hearers was tickled by the spectacle of a Field-Marshal criticising the naval opinions of an Admiral of the Fleet, or whether the laughter was of the appreciative type, the reporter does not state. The fact, however, is that Lord Roberts's opinions upon the work of transporting an invading army across the seas are entirely without value, because Lord Roberts is a soldier and not a sailor; indeed, it may be added that, prior to his departure for South Africa, his whole military experience had been confined to India and India exclusively, and he had therefore had no opportunity of studying at first hand the whole problem of Imperial military defence as it must be studied by the officers of the General Staff of the Army.

Apart from this point, do not Lord Roberts's criticisms of the First Sea Lord's naval opinions carry their own refutation? The First Sea Lord having stated that we have in British waters nearly twice as many battleships and cruisers as Germany can muster, the Field-Marshal affirms, as a soldier, that our fleet is only a little more than a one-Power standard fleet. The First Sea Lord's declaration on our relative naval strength cannot be overruled by a soldier, however distinguished. And then we have those old bogeys—fog and storm. Lord Roberts has never commanded a fleet at sea, as Sir Arthur Wilson has done for a longer period than any other officer in the Navy. If he had ever been, as Sir Arthur Wilson has been, on the bridge of a flagship in command of a large fleet of battleships and cruisers, commanded by captains accustomed to fleet evolutions, he would not have quoted either fog or storm as likely to prove of any assistance to an admiral engaged in convoying to these shores a crowd of transports unaccustomed to act together and therefore not possessing the experience which alone enables our fleets to move in fog and storm without encountering irreparable disaster.

Moreover, Lord Roberts apparently does not yet appreciate the point, so well made by Mr. Balfour, that 'great scientific changes' have occurred in naval warfare—the introduction of steam with the consequent evolution of ships as fast as express trains, the development of wireless telegraphy which has converted the whole of the North Sea into an area closely resembling the Whispering Gallery of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the evolution of the submarine, which can travel on the surface at 15 knots and continue to cruise for two thousand miles, while submerged it can travel unseen for 150 miles without once coming to the surface—remaining unseen itself, yet by means of the periscope maintaining a vision of what is occurring on the surface. All these changes, as Mr. Balfour has admitted, 'have been in favour of defence,' and, moreover, the submarine is the one thing in existence ashore or afloat which is entirely independent of storms.

It must be apparent that Lord Roberts's incursion into the field of naval criticism, particularly as his criticism was directed against the responsible First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, was somewhat unfortunate in its character, and under any circumstances hardly in keeping with the traditions which debar naval officers from criticising their military colleagues, and as a rule deter military officers from criticising those who are and must be supreme in matters naval.

But Lord Roberts should perhaps not be judged by a speech made at the foundation of a 'theatrical' branch of any organisation; it is fairer to consider his present opinions upon the question of invasion in the light of the opinions which, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and a responsible member of the Committee of Imperial Defence, he expressed when the problem of invasion was considered by the experts of the country in consultation with six Unionist Cabinet Ministers who were prepared to face the conclusions, however serious they might be and whatever the burden of expense involved.

This grand inquest in which Lord Roberts was concerned as the head of the Army took place six years ago, and in a subsequent statement Mr. Balfour explained to the House of Commons that the aim of the Government was to 'lay down a specific and concrete problem for discussion by our expert advisers—a problem which, if extreme in its character, should be extreme against this country and should assume things to be far worse than they are ever likely to be.' Mr. Balfour added:

> We thought we were going far enough in devising an hypothetical state of things adverse to this country if we assumed that our Army was abroad upon some oversea expedition and that our organised fleets were absent from home waters. I do not see that we could be asked to go much further than that. . . ,
>
> We thought that we could not be going far wrong as regards the Army if we assumed our military position to be what it was during the few days—for it was not more—at the very worst moment, from this point of view, of the South African War. . . .

The actual state of the Home Army at the beginning of that week—because the position improved afterwards—was as follows: We had 17,000 infantry and cavalry, and twenty-six batteries of artillery; and that was the regular force we had at home in organised units.

We had 141,000 Volunteers who would, under the existing organisation, be used for garrisons; there were 85,000 Volunteers remaining; there were regiments of Militia, and there were soldiers under age, soldiers ill, and soldiers insufficiently trained, who were not in any organised units at all.

As regards the Volunteers, their number was large, but from the point of view of a field army they were not organised, and there was not in the country at that moment any machinery for organising them. There were no headquarters staff and no sufficient arrangements for instantaneously using them as a field army. Though, no doubt, with sufficient notice, that organisation could be improvised more or less, it did not exist at the precise psychological moment.

This was our moment of 'greatest possible weakness.' The Territorial Force at that time did not exist. The reserve ships had no nucleus crews, and 'could not be counted on at that time for rapid action and mobilisation—rapid action and mobilisation measured not in days but in hours.' The e was no system of mobile coast defence. Wireless telegraphy was then in its infancy; it was little more than a toy. There were no war signal stations on the coast. We possessed only about half-a-dozen submarine boats, small in size, of unproved utility and extremely limited radius of action, while France, our nearest neighbour, had over fifty such vessels already completed. All the things which count for so much in our defensive arrangements to-day—the portion of the Fleet maintained on a peace footing but ready for instant mobilisation for war, our coast-defence system, our Territorial Army, the present reliable system of wireless telegraphy, and the large flotillas of sea-going submarines—were still to be developed; and yet what was the verdict of Lord Roberts and the other responsible experts when faced by Mr. Balfour's inquiry as to the practicability of invasion by a French army, separated from this country only by twenty or thirty miles of water—little more than a ditch compared with the broad expanse of the North Sea? Within little more than the range of a big naval gun France possessed an army of nearly 600,000 men on a peace footing, capable of expansion on the outbreak of war to 3,500,000. France possessed at that time a fleet of 36 battleships and coast-defence vessels of 380,000 tons displacement, 57 cruisers of 356,607 tons, and very powerful flotillas of destroyers and torpedo-boats.

It would seem at first sight that England at this moment was at the mercy of this vast army admittedly at that time at a high point of efficiency. Lord Roberts was asked to tell the Committee with how few men the conquest of England could be attempted, the Admiralty adding the warning note that the larger the invading force the more numerous the transports to carry it, and the more numerous the transports the greater the difficulty of maintaining secrecy and the

bigger the target for the British Fleet. Lord Roberts gave it as his opinion that an enemy would not undertake the operation with less than 70,000 men—'those men to be lightly equipped as regards artillery and as regards cavalry.' Having obtained this opinion from the highest military expert, Mr. Balfour then turned to the Admiralty and inquired their opinion as to the amount of shipping which would be required for the transport of such a force, even for so short a voyage as twenty or thirty miles. Admiral of the Fleet Lord Walter Kerr was at that time First Sea Lord, and the Admiralty stated that the invading army would require 250,000 tons. Mr. Balfour added that some experiments made by the French indicated that perhaps that estimate might be too high and that it might be possible to carry out the operation with 210,000 tons, and this latter figure was regarded by the experts who appeared before the Committee as 'a low estimate.'

On these two assumptions the Committee of Imperial Defence proceeded with its grand inquest. It was assumed that the transports would start from Brest. In the opinion of the Admiralty experts at that time, the disembarkation of 70,000 men on a coast like the coast between Portsmouth and Dover would not be 'a very easy operation, and above all it would not be a quick operation.' Mr. Balfour added that he did not believe anybody could estimate the time it would take at less than forty-eight hours; 'forty-eight hours involves two nights,' and 'calm weather is required.' Then Mr. Balfour added the following remarks, conveying, it will be remembered, the conclusions reached by the whole Committee of Imperial Defence:

> Conceive the position of the invading soldiers—the pick, no doubt, of the invader's army. It is not as if they were fighting for glory on a stricken field. Packed in these transports, commanded not by men of the French Navy but by ordinary merchant captains, not knowing when or where or how the attack would take effect, only knowing that if it did take effect it would mean the sudden hurling into infinity of a whole helpless regiment of soldiers—does anybody think it is an enterprise which would be undertaken by any sane person?
>
> I do not know whether we have the right to measure the courage of our opponents by our own, or their readiness to take responsibility by that of our own naval officers, but I am certain that there is no admiral in the British Fleet, and there has never been an admiral in the British Fleet, who would undertake a task such as I have supposed.
>
> If a French admiral were to have committed to him the expedition which I have endeavoured to draw in imagination, he could not protect the transports, he could not even protect his own ships, if they were obliged to lie in positions perfectly well ascertained, absolutely known, within a few miles of torpedo stations of our own, two days and two nights. Why, it is not the transports alone which would suffer loss and destruction in that time. If the protecting fleet itself did not suffer some great calamity while they were lying helpless off this shore, naval authorities have greatly overrated the efficiency both of torpedo craft and the submarine.

In this manner the problem was considered by the experts, of whom Lord Roberts was one, and the conclusions which were reached

on the hypothesis that the United Kingdom was in a position of 'greatest possible weakness' was that—to quote Mr. Balfour—'serious invasion of these islands is not an eventuality which we need seriously consider.' In that verdict Lord Roberts concurred.

The character of the problem has now changed. A new policy of Imperial and Home defence has been adopted in which are embodied all the latest great scientific changes which 'make in favour of defence.' The hypothesis is now based, moreover, not upon the assumption that the transports will have to make a voyage of twenty or thirty miles, but that they will have to cross a sea which is about 300 miles broad, and, again to quote Mr. Balfour—reflecting expert opinion—'every mile you add to the distance exposes this huge fleet of transports . . . to the attacks of torpedo boats, and that irrespective of the strength of the convoy, since neither cruisers nor battleships can drive from the sea or from the coast . . . either submarines or torpedo-boat destroyers which have a safe shelter in neighbouring harbours and can infest the coast altogether out of reach of a battleship, which is very likely much more afraid of them than they have reason to be afraid of her.'

In view of all the changes to our advantage which have occurred in the past six years, when our naval defences have been reorganised and immeasurably strengthened under the genius of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, and our Army has been reorganised under Mr. Haldane and the General Staff, and the nucleus of a real Territorial Army created, it should be no surprise that the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty holds to-day the opinion as to the impracticability of invasion which was held by the Committee of Imperial Defence of which Lord Roberts was a member. In the interval the problem has changed, but it has changed to our advantage. We are not now less than 30, but about 300 miles from the possible enemy, and we now possess a policy of Imperial and Home defence which, while providing adequately for the protection of the British Isles, leaves the Sea-going Fleets and the Sea-going Army free for Imperial purposes as they have never been free before.

In conclusion, it will be found that the First Sea Lord does not state that the country is in no peril from raids—that is, from small forces of foreign soldiers which might be landed on the British coasts in order to terrify the civil population, and thus bring pressure upon the Government calculated to deflect the War authorities from the pursuit of the offensive-defensive policy which is the only policy for a maritime people strong at sea, and possessing more than half the mercantile shipping of the world. No enemy would attempt to land such raiding forces, numbering possibly five thousand or so each, so long as the British Isles contain the present overpowering machinery for defence. Such an operation, however, might be considered worth undertaking in the course of a long war, if the enemy had knowledge that the

British Fleet was engaged beyond British waters, that the Expeditionary Force was abroad, that the Army Reserve had been depleted to make good wastage in the Expeditionary Force, and that the civil population of the British Isles was denuded practically of all naval and military defence. In accordance with the principle that the smaller the target the more difficult it is to hit it, it is conceivable that if four or five forces of this character attempted to land at different points on our shores, two or possibly more might elude the mobile coast defence and obtain a footing. A war diversion of this character might have considerable influence upon the British people, probably panic-stricken owing to the absence of adequate protection. It is against this danger that the Territorial, or Home defence Army, of about a quarter of a million of men, effectually guards the country.

The circumstances under which the Territorial Army would have to bear this responsibility are of the most specific character. The Atlantic Fleet and the First and Second Divisions of the Home Fleet are always on a war footing. The moment war is declared[1] either formally or by 'a bolt from the blue,' the remainder of the Fleet is mobilised together with the Expeditionary Force, and on the same day the Territorial Army is embodied complete in its war equipment as a citizen army has never been before. During the early days of war, whether the enemy were a neighbouring Power or a distant Power, the whole defensive machinery of the United Kingdom would be on a war footing and would be concentrated in and about the British Isles. If a portion of the Sea-going Fleet were ordered out of British waters, it would be only so ordered in pursuit of the enemy's fleet, and if the enemy were being chased in the Atlantic it could not at the same time be a menace in the North Sea. Until the Admiralty issued a passport, guaranteeing the temporary or complete command of the sea, the War Office could not move the Expeditionary Force, which would consequently remain in the British Isles until the Admiralty gave the word for it to sail.

The most cursory consideration of the conditions of war, under any probable circumstances and against any possible combination of enemies, must confirm the official belief that a considerable period would elapse before even a portion of the Regular Army would be sent out of the country. During that period the Territorial Army would be continually under training, daily gaining in efficiency. These citizen soldiers would be undergoing their training not in one concentration camp, but at various convenient centres throughout the country—in the eastern counties of Great Britain as well as in the northern, western, and southern counties of Great Britain. During the early stage of a war, while the British fleets were actively pursuing offensive-defensive operations against the enemy

[1] In actual practice the Third Division of the Home Fleet would probably be mobilised at the first whisper of probable trouble.

and the mobile coast defence was guarding the coasts, there would be over half a million men under arms in Great Britain, the numbers increasing day by day. The country would then be at its greatest possible strength to repel invasion, and invasion would be impossible, as every responsible naval and military expert agrees.

When at last the Admiralty was able to give a passport to the Expeditionary Force, there would be a large force of reservists and pensioners organised, and the Territorial Army would have attained a high standard of efficiency. Does it not stand to reason that in face of our mobile coast defence of destroyers and submarines and the organised citizen army of a quarter of a million men, supported, as it would be, by a large number of reservists, any foreign nation would conclude that a raiding policy was one which would be accompanied by *neither glory nor profit*? *The Territorial Army is the antidote to raids.*

The basic principle upon which a nation completely surrounded by water must be defended, and the principle upon which a great maritime empire must also be defended, is the maintenance of a fleet of unchallengeable strength. So long as this principle is accepted and acted upon by the Government of the day, every First Sea Lord in the future will be able to repeat the certificate of immunity from invasion which Admiral of the Fleet Sir Arthur Wilson and his predecessors at the Admiralty have given. The whole problem has been admirably summed up by Mr. J. R. Thursfield in the following words:

> That naval force is the natural and proper defence of a maritime State against over-sea invasion is the indisputable teaching of history. The unbroken consistency of the records of hundreds of years cannot possibly be the result of accident. No theories incubated in times of peace, no speculations as to what might have happened if events had shaped themselves differently, can shake a law thus irrefragably established. There is only one explanation of the fact that of the many projected invasions of England none has succeeded for eight hundred years, notwithstanding that naval superiority has not existed at all periods, and that the military forces at home have often been utterly inadequate to resist the strength that could be brought against them, if the sea had not intervened. All the great operations of war are ruled by the measure of the risk involved, and, until the defending Navy has been crushed, the risk of exposing large numbers of transports to attack is too great to be easily accepted.

Since these words were written the new policy of Imperial and Home defence has been more fully developed, and the assurance of security behind an unchallengeable fleet has been doubly assured.

Six years ago Lord Roberts agreed that even 70,000 French soldiers could not be transported for 30 miles across the Channel. Now we have 300 miles separating us from these 70,000 invaders—who have become Germans in the meantime—and we have two new lines of defence—our coastal flotillas, with the wireless stations ashore, and the most highly trained citizen army we have ever possessed. Surely it follows inevitably that since we were secure in 1904–5, we are still more secure in 1911. *And that is the verdict of the First Sea Lord, the highest responsible authority.*

ARCHIBALD HURD.

YEOMAN HOPKINS:

ONE ASSET IN OUR ARMOUR.

'I LABOUR for peace, but when I speak to them thereof they make them ready to battle.' So cried a Psalmist many centuries ago straight from the heart, denied the modern privileges of poetical licence. Time has only ripened the sad truth of his prophetic cry. To deny the reality would be a danger. The foreword of a Titanic struggle can be read in the sonorous and portentous words with which the world is occasionally favoured. That warning is in itself an advantage, for the unreadiness which invites aggression must pay its penalty. The 'mailed fist' caused apprehension, the 'rattle of the sabre' made hearts beat, now the 'shining armour' tells the tale that all is ready. As I pen these lines another pen with a simpler stroke adds 15,000 men to an army already numbering millions, and all ready to act at the will of one man. Added to this land force increase is a building programme of war ships which transcends in amount that proposed for the present Mistress of the Seas. Does all the above betoken peace or a sword, and a sword with the scabbard thrown away? We share with other nations the warning given, and we take our own precautions.

One asset in our armour is Yeoman Hopkins. I met him one bright September morning last year as I rode an easy jog to a manœuvre area near by to see one of our Army Divisions pitted against another. A sturdy, well-framed youth in khaki was bestriding a cob of no mean stamp, and as our roads lay together I entered into conversation. His age was eighteen, his father a farmer fairly well to do, with whom he worked. His seat on his horse left something to be desired, but that was not to be wondered at as he had only had four riding-lessons. He carried a rifle *which he had never fired*. His mount his father had just bought him in London. It savoured too much of the objectionable hackney breed to please my eyes, but was of a stout, well ribbed up form. I looked the combination of horse and rider over with a professional eye, suggested one or two details to be attended to, such as tightening girths and loosening his curb-chain, and noticed deficiencies and extravagances in equipment. There was no doubt the material was the making of a soldier,

given time for the purpose. The lad was bright and cheery, and, like most of his comrades in the Territorials, full of confidence and courage. Alas! it was 'the valour of ignorance,' for when he told me that after a week's squadron training he was bound for Army Manœuvres I nearly had a fit. Great Scott! to think that I had wasted nearly forty years of solid life in teaching and training men to become soldiers, and here was a youth who, taken from his farm and given one week's training, was to take his place shoulder to shoulder or knee to knee with the made article over whom years had been spent in the making. One of two things was evident. Either Hopkins was a born soldier, or else the authority that permitted such a masquerade was a born fool. Fourteen days later a figure in khaki leading a sad and hungry-looking horse was seen returning to his home. 'Hallo, Hopkins,' I said, 'what's the matter? Your horse got a sore back?' 'We both 'ave' was the answer. I leave a taxpayer to figure out the cost of this outing given to Hopkins, for neither on nor off his horse could he be of any military value, with such a system of hustling him into efficiency.

Let us leave Hopkins for a while and ask the reader to accompany me in my ride to see his comrade Atkins, and note the strenuous training he has to face under teachers who consider him fit for the manœuvre ideal of Army Peace-War. Two Army Divisions were operating against each other. Each was trained under the eye of its commander in all the successive stages of marching, shooting, fighting and manœuvre. In modern armies command and instruction are inseparable terms. All our commanders have full latitude as to methods, and free scope for the exercise of such brain-power as God has bestowed upon them. The nation has no need to withhold its trust. You could see the result in the intelligent manner in which each unit and each arm worked for a common purpose. How that each successive ground wave was made good or held by a never-ending but invisible fire of which in peace the Umpire decides as to superiority, but which superiority in war is decided by the trained and well-directed marksman over the ill-trained shot. 'A battle lost,' says a great writer, 'is often a battle gained.' Verily our little army of Regulars has profited by its lessons in war. No need now to look to foreign teachers. We have got an officer corps of thinkers, and with thoughts wedded to their profession we are bound to move and improve. This road to perfection towards which, if permitted, it is trending, is entirely the making of the officers themselves. It is no thanks to Secretary of State or to Army Council, who individually are quite out of personal touch with modern military training, so rapid are the strides it has made. The most conscientious study in the seclusion of an office can

never produce the mastership of a craft which actual handling of its tools alone can give. A man who has not gone through the military mill himself and learnt the art of handling men is hardly one to inspire the nation with confidence as a military councillor. Turn any of our subalterns of three years' service loose with his orders and money enough to carry them out, and it is money well spent. The training grant has done the trick. Look how the men march nowadays. Gradual anl judicious exercises for legs, arms, feet, chest, back, head, and muscles, all well thought out, result in travelling marches of thirty to thirty-five miles—not an uncommon feat in our infantry. A standard of shooting has been reached which surpasses that of any army, and well it may, for our Army is still armed *with the worst military rifle in Europe.* But at the best our Home Army is but a glorified depot. A stream of men pass out to fill the ranks of units abroad and a drain flows to the Reserve. During the trooping season some fifteen to twenty thousand are on the high seas. But the backbone of N.C.O.s and officers remains, and faces every year the task of moulding into shape the raw material of striplings which hunger drives into the ranks.

Lighter, indeed, would be that task if the 'art of teaching' formed part of the curriculum of study at our military schools and colleges. The officers have got to teach, and there surely must be a right method which at present has not received sufficient attention at those colleges. We have reason to be truly grateful for the series of disasters which befell us at the opening of our last war. They lifted the veil of ignorance in which our Army was shrouded, enslaved as it was by the trammels of old habits and custom—

That Monster Custom that all sense doth eat.

Units and regiments that entered the campaign with mottoes and battle honours emblazoned on their colours—heirlooms of a past great reputation—soon learned the lesson that to succeed in war you cannot live *on* a reputation, but must train and live *up to* that reputation. The term 'crack' regiment soon became a term unknown, and war, the great leveller, stamped anew the hall-mark of battle efficiency. Old leaders, sodden with old habits, are slow to learn the new methods which a study of the science of war under new conditions of arms and weapons enjoins. Fortunately amidst our Army shone one bright intellect, now, alas! lost to us for ever, who struck out a line of strategy which at one stroke compelled our adversary to conform his movements to our own will. This in itself is the very essence of initial strategy. It was this movement that set our leaders thinking. It was too late to begin the study of war from books, but men began to think.

'For God's sake, gentlemen,' said Demosthenes of old, 'I beseech you to think.' From the daily experience of grim war arose that school of thought in our Army which, now added to study, has made it a very powerful engine for battle. We have learnt that war is a science, and that battle training and battle leading is not the amateur pastime that we have so long considered it. No doubt there are still a few cobbles, and here and there a boulder to be found on the road to perfection of our Army. Let us glance at a few.

Much criticism has been bestowed of late upon the subject of cavalry, and conclusions as to its inutility drawn from its inaction as such in our late war. It assuredly did not fail in its initial strategic movement, for when that fine force under its fine leader rode to the relief of Kimberley, its action not only effected that purpose, but the movement was felt by the enemy five hundred miles away at Ladysmith. This long, rapid, and brilliant move north, however, deprived the cavalry of its tactical use, as it practically dismounted the force. It is open to argument whether a shorter tactical movement round to the rear of Cronje's force would not have combined with it the strategic intention. One can picture this fine force let loose upon an enemy in retreat and on the move. A trail of five hundred or a thousand men laid low by sword or lance would have won for our horsemen such a halo of invincibility that the enemy untrained and untaught to meet such weapons would have hesitated to face them again. The lesson of the strategic move was above all a lesson in horse supply. The omelette is not to be made without breaking eggs. Had our cavalry landed with two horses per man instead of one, the war would have been halved in its duration. Unfortunately, once the supreme cavalry leader had left, there was a lack of competent successors to take his place. Old men find it difficult to shake off old habits. There were plenty of younger men who, when they got their chance, showed that we need not despair of the exhibition of the proper cavalry spirit when the day requires such. In the game of war, and especially with a cavalry leader, it is your fine decisive spirit which rules circumstances, and leads the bold unscathed among pitfalls where the timid, or even the merely prudent, are like to leave life and limb. Reams have been written about the arm of the cavalry. One says it is his horse, others the sword or the lance or the rifle. It is none of these; it is the head, the brain-power, which decides the when and where and how to use the means at his disposal. The pith of action is common sense. We must mould the weapons at our hands into the form and use that deep thought has forged into our minds. Fortunate is that army whose ranks, released from the burden of dead forms, are controlled by natural, untrammelled, quickening, common-

sense. Cavalry has a deep study before it. The use of the airman and the automatic rifle portend a revolution in organisation and tactics, but, tersely put, we shall want a cavalry that can shoot. The failure of cavalry in war is often due to its misuse by the army commander. Not always, however, for recent history has shown that the famous charge of Bredow's cavalry at Vionville was not due to the initiative of that leader, but to something stronger than persuasion by the Army Corps leader.

As our Yeomanry aspire to be cavalry and are called such, the reader will draw his own conclusions as to whether the training the individual now undergoes gives him a chance of fulfilling his mission as an asset in our Army, as a cavalry soldier in the larger sense of the term.

My ride took me straight into the work of the divisional cavalry. It bore the stamp of thorough. What a defect in our organisation it is that denies to a divisional commander the perfecting and training of his own eyesight and hearing. Why impose upon him, when mobilisation takes place for war, strange eyes and ears? Our cavalry force is already too weak to be spared for this duty. The mounted infantry at present detailed for this important work is trained elsewhere, and its components rob the divisional commander of the very best material in his infantry units. All units that compose the requirements of a division, including the communication companies, airmen, &c., should undoubtedly be trained in peace under the eyes and orders of their supreme leader in war. The mechanism of a division at work is full of lessons. Our superb infantry can safely challenge criticism, and so can our artillery. The latter, called upon as they are for world service, must train to slower and more deliberate methods, as well as to that demanding the quickest rate of fire. The extremes of variety in light and *terrain* under which our gunners may have to fight have no comparison with those found in the battle-grounds of continental warfare. I came across a battery of 4.7 guns moving to a fresh position. Teams of eight under-bred hired horses dragged these huge weapons. I inquired of the major if a larger stamp of horse and fewer of them would not fulfil the task. He replied that the heavy horse, if called upon to trot, was apt to go wrong in his feet. As his fine gun crews of garrison artillerymen were on their own feet, I hardly saw the force of his argument. The remedy was close at hand, for in the bend of the road where I met them was a brewer's van. The two fine shire horses dragged a load behind them equal, or nearly so, to the weight of the gun close by. Driven without whip or spur, I would have backed the driver and his team to perform the manœuvre task of the battery. I leave it to others to work out the economy effected in length of column of march, time, pay, rations, cloth-

ing, &c. We are inclined to overlook the military value we possess in our Shire breed of horse. We may be grateful that it is not yet a declining one, but in these days of the necessity of shortening the lengths of army baggage and impedimenta columns on the march, surely two horses that can do the work of four or six are worth consideration. Naturally the heavy horse has no place in the fighting line.

At the close of all manœuvres comes the conference, where cut-and-thrust arguments and weighty or flabby sugar-coated criticism is given, according as the troops concerned are Regular or amateur. In the one the director or chief umpire has to deal with a near 'image of war without its guilt,' in the other with the burlesque of battle enshrined with gilt—the one praised or damned according to its deserts, the other tactfully praised, but with faint damns. It would be unkind to pour the cold truth upon the value of the amateur, but as year succeeds year the gap between him and the professional soldier widens and widens. To combine the two branches in action in serious warfare is to throw a burden upon the shoulders of a commander which few would care to experience. In the battle front the chain must be of equal alloy. The weak spot is certain to be tapped; there the link will break, and then collapse is inevitable.

Let us skip back to Hopkins. His campaign was a short one, but very varied and full of incident. Within the fourteen days from the time that he was carting manure on his father's farm he had donned service dress for the first time, undergone troop, squadron, and regimental training under officers more or less amateur, and was further found charging in brigade. During this last effort he was decanted, and horse and rider returned in the plight in which he was met by me. Reporters state that the charge above referred to was against dismounted rifle fire from cavalry in position. As Hopkins and his comrades possess no 'arme blanche,' a regrettable incident in peace warfare was apparent. Is Hopkins to be given such a weapon? I trust not for many reasons, but that he should have some cold steel about him is a necessity which war experience dictates. Maybe, the suggestion of a bayonet to Hopkins's equipment would lead to the dissolution of our Yeomanry from purely sentimental reasons. If this force is to be an effective force of mounted rifles, it must be armed for the purpose. No better lesson in war can be afforded than that given by the study of the fight at Waggon Hill. There is no question but that if the attackers had been armed with, and trained to use the bayonet the defenders of that important section of the defence of Ladysmith would have been swept off their legs. There were practically no defence works, and certainly no obstacles to impede the attack. In accidentally

bumping up against a fatigue party the attackers betrayed both their motive and their strength by opening fire just in the darkness that precedes the dawn. You could count the hostile numbers by the flashes of the rifles, and the lesson for life that was given to me was that a night-fire fight is only useful as a blind and a decoy, and is not likely to succeed in war. Our ancestors taught us this lesson in night attack, and emphasised it by removing the flints from the bayonet-fixed musket. On the above occasion only the cool courage of the commander of the section, and the brave bayonet charge delivered by *fresh troops*, relieved a situation which for some fifteen hours was unquestionably an anxious one. If Hopkins is destined to perform an attacking rôle as above somewhat sketchily described, there is no question but that he must specialise in his training, and that that training should be under skilled officers. There are crowds of unit commanders who finish their periods of command annually in the Army and await re-employment. They are fresh from the last finishing touches of military science. Surely their services might be of value. Is it not an expensive luxury to maintain a force of Yeomanry which as cavalry can never be used in a body? Undoubtedly some of the individual men would become fairly good cavalry, given time and training under skilled officers, but the leaven would be too small to make the mass effective as cavalry, and the drain of the best horses for supply to meet wastage in the Regular cavalry would be a further handicap.

I met Hopkins a few weeks later behind two good horses bred by his father at a ploughing match for youths under twenty. With voice alone he worked his team into the prize list. Here, if you like, is an asset in our armour if driver and team and wagon could be subsidised ready for employment on mobilisation. Before, however, the horse becomes of military value, we must follow the system employed abroad, and adopt the breast harness for universal use. Co-operation between the Ministers of War and of Agriculture could work wonders in our transport line and remount department. Hopkins as a driver, with his fine pair of voice-trained horses, would save many yards of length in our columns on long and narrow lanes with their sharp turns, that length now spun out by employing ill-trained town-bred drivers with four or six horses in the wagons.

It is with Hopkins as a gunner that the real danger in our Territorial system should be considered. You may have your battery of guns looking as smart and workmanlike as you like, and to the eye all that eyewash delights in, but it is on the range that men are tested as gunners. It is there that the inspector must judge if they are capable of dealing with a foe, and that promptly, for if they are not they will speedily punish their friends. Nerve

tension in the highest disciplined force will go near to snapping point when attack comes from both front and rear. In these days of low trajectory and high velocity field guns the slightest error in laying or fuse setting tells its tale. It is more than wicked to have an ill-trained artillery. It is criminal. I speak from experience in this matter, for in one instance only a fortunate rehearsal in a combined fire fight of guns and rifle, before committing the troops in serious action in war, resulted in the saving of many lives.

I met Hopkins, as you may remember, carrying a rifle which he had never fired. I wonder how many gunners in the Territorial Force have ever even seen a gun fired on the range, or handled a round of service ammunition. Not many, for they are not given the opportunity, and sufficient gun ranges do not exist for giving them experience in mastering their weapon.

As to the horse question, fortunately our passion for sport and pastimes materially helps to solve what in other countries is a difficulty. Racing, steeplechasing and foxhunting demand some five hundred thousand choice horses, which, on the first sign of war in the Home territory, would be either on the market or commandeered. We fail to make use of a fine race of men by not encouraging the military training of the thousands of gamekeepers in the country. We may afford to copy foreign Powers in this respect. In Hungary a licence is only granted after the man has passed an examination at the Forest School, where he is not only taught forestry but to hunt and shoot. Germany, ever practical, goes a step further and embodies them as sharpshooters; and what nature of war is so trying and difficult to leader and led as bush and wood fighting? If our Territorial Forces be ever called upon to fulfil their *rôle* and meet invasion, it is that species of combat that we shall have to meet in our own woods and forests.

And how do we practise them in peace to meet this high trial? An annual pantomime rehearsal takes place in open downs, with here and there a covert marked 'Out of bounds' by some owner who puts pheasants before patriotism. Is it not somewhat more than a farce to bring the East Anglian Division to Salisbury Plain for its training, whereas its duty is to meet the first local brunt of an attack? Would it not be more profitable to learn on our own war links where our own bunkers are placed, or must we wait until the sight of a foreign war commander's flag on the staff at Sandringham House reminds us of our shortcomings? Is that artificial sporting bird, the pheasant, for ever to be allowed to prevent the rehearsal for battle in the ground where the struggle for supremacy on our land will inevitably rage? It is refreshing to hear that the manœuvre area for the Army Divisions for this

year is selected in East Anglia. Independently of the experience to be gained in a peace-war over a *terrain* of highly enclosed and heavily wooded country, with its narrow lanes and level surface, the lesson in organisation I predict will lead to much economy in the composition of our Territorial Divisions. We seem to worship the Regular Army divisional organisation as a graven image, quite ignoring that its composition is thought out for service on continental areas. That branch of arms such as cavalry and artillery, when they are denied action by the nature of the ground, become only an encumbrance to a commander. They block the roads, eat up supply, and are an extravagance. We had two instances of this in our two last wars on the north-west frontier of India, where the divisional organisation was broken up to meet the requirements which local conditions enjoined. We are likely to learn a similar lesson when manœuvre takes place in many of our local defensive areas. I anticipate a report suggesting such an alteration as above indicated after our next manœuvres, and shall be much surprised if it does not include a recommendation that the whole of the divisional artillery of the local Territorial artillery be swept away and its place taken by one brigade only of Regular artillery. The advent of the air-spy in war adds a special interest to the value of wood and forest features on a battlefield. Both battle formations and fire tactics for wood fighting are a special study, and in few countries can they be better studied than our own.

The reader must not run away with the idea that I wish to indulge in a wholesale condemnation of Hopkins and his comrades in the Territorial Army. They are doing their best, I believe, to become efficient, but there is no doubt about it they do not get a fair chance. 'Efficiency,' as Lord Rosebery defines it, 'depends upon two things: (1) The means supplied to be efficient; (2) the willingness of the subjects to use those means.' We need not discuss the first. If the men of the force are meant to be soldiers the means supplied are grossly and criminally insufficient. In the second case the willingness of the subjects depends upon the willingness and generosity of another subject—the employer. An honest courtier and that rare bird an honest politician, a member of the Committee that devised the plan of a Territorial Army, has announced his conviction that, although the framework exists which the plan devised, the body must die of atrophy. Something is wrong, whether the stage-enlisted men have repented of their ardour, whether the men when brigaded with Regulars found the trials of marching, fighting, outpost, &c., above their powers of endurance, unconditioned as they were to face them, whether the employer declines to spare his man, or from many other causes; but the fact remains that in a force already 40,000 men short in

its establishment, the training year of 1910 saw 1,100 officers and 20,000 men absent with leave from their units, and 44 officers and 4,700 men absent without leave.

It is the argument of the ignorant to maintain that in the absence of the striking force elsewhere, at the first sign of danger a rush of men to the colours would be the result. That is just what the Army would prefer to avoid. A yeoman on the South African veldt taught me this lesson. I had found him when on sentry on outpost so buried in meditation that, although I was mounted and with an orderly, I rode up to him and touched him on the shoulder. It was broad daylight, and when I questioned him to explain his dereliction of duty and asked him where he was trained and taught, he replied that he had been two months at Aldershot before embarkation. His sole duty there was to 'answer my name twice a day. There was nobody left to teach me.' There will be a repetition of this should our striking force be employed oversea. Of what value will your Officers Training Corps of university students and public school boys be to fill cadres of units where men meet officers, perhaps for the first time, within sound of the hiss of a bullet? Of what use are 'boys with women's voices who strive to speak big' when they know not how to speak, much less how to command? What class of discipline may you expect? What are the opening words of our Training Manual on this point? 'True discipline cannot be said to exist unless all ranks are confident in the ability of their superiors to instruct in peace and lead in war.'

We do not trust the lives of our peaceful citizens to unskilled care when using public means of transit. The captain of a penny steamer must have his master's certificate before he can work his charge. Even our friend the taxi driver must pass an examination before he gets his licence. And yet in war we entrust the lives of brave men to the slenderest of leading strings. With such material of a doubtful value would it be wise to allow our striking force to show its power in oversea warfare? The map of the world is open to its action as necessity demands. We need not scan a distant horizon for one probable sphere of operation. That sphere, which now lies between the hammer and the anvil, has been the battlefield of centuries, and will be so again. Some bright morning, when we awake from the long sleep due to the dangerous narcotic prescribed by a self-confident admiral, we shall find scope for more than thought. Picture a simultaneous seizure of Antwerp by 50,000 German cavalry, and Flushing by a water-borne force of equal strength in infantry. Nothing is impossible in war. German cavalry is always at war strength, and the line of action would possibly be through the country of a 'passive resister.' Any traveller can see for himself the miles of railway sidings that exist on the German frontiers;

they are there for a set purpose. The water expedition is almost as simple. We may remember the wreck on our own shores of the huge German sailing ship *Preussen*. The owners detailed lighters from Hamburg to remove the cargo. Soldiers make capital ballast, and German rivers possess over 1,000,000 tons of such seagoing craft, built to work in shallow waters. It would take a numerically stronger body than our striking force to turn out a force of 100,000 Germans from a strategic position. A bold diplomacy would anticipate this strategy by an occupation of the threatened points previous to a declaration of war, but when since Copenhagen have we been equal to the occasion of proving that an initiative in strategy is the half-way point to victory. Neither peace strategy nor war strategy have been worth the consideration of Ministers we have bred for the last 120 years—and yet politics is the parent of strategy. We have suffered alike from the Pittfalls of the great Minister who lived nigh a century ago, who lost thousands of men by his false reading of strategy, to the more recent days, when thirty thousand good soldiers were dragged from the colours to please a Bannerman.

We shall suffer in pocket for ever for the weakness that stood behind our policy when the Iron Chancellor demanded the surrender of Heligoland. Here in our hands we held the very throttle of German naval expansion. In German hands the new harbour and roadstead provides accommodation for the entire German high sea fleet, making the island the key to a manœuvring base over ninety miles in length. We pay millions yearly for this exhibition of want of forethought, weakness, folly, or—curious coincidence, in 1887 I enlisted a man from Heligoland; his name was—Funck. Verily our naval programme is made in Germany. A policy without a backing of force is worthless. The balance of power in Europe, held by us for so many years, has now passed from us. The surrender of that power carries with it subservience to the dictates of those who succeed to our lost inheritance. We have ourselves by our weakness conjured up the nightmare of Europe.

To be in any position to use our striking force, weak in numbers as it is, the country must be prepared to meet a counter striking force. Nothing would be easier than to decoy our small force even a little way from our shores, to a place where our honour demands their services, and there find them 'contained' by an equal force. Who knows that this may not be the strategy of an invader of these shores, and such strategy include the double simultaneous movement? Where armies are numbered in millions the line of attack may cover hundreds of miles, and the echoes of war may yet be heard from the Hall of Peace at the Hague.

Will Hopkins and his friends be trained and ready to meet a foe a fortnight after mobilisation? Certainly not. We must be

prepared to meet an extreme case. We cannot afford to gamble in this matter with the country as a stake. Our duty is clear. We must grasp the nettle of national service. On this question of personal service to the Empire questions of party must bow to questions of State. The voluntary effort is played out. The student on the subject will *form* his judgment from the sound words written by a brave and tried soldier while gazing on a life-and-death struggle between two mighty combatants, whence he writes that 'Nothing but the best will do in war.' Contrast these words with those of an equally brave and tried soldier who advocates voluntary and therefore spasmodic effort to meet a foe who has been trained to a man to regard patriotism as a religion and to submit himself to the discipline of arms. Why educate a man at the expense of his country to live for himself when some day he may be called upon to face in battle a man who has been trained body and soul to die for his country? The dominant factor in war is the spirit of the general and the soul of the people. Has our nation, in whose veins, of old, saltpetre once freely coursed, forgotten its past or has it succumbed to live a life of free 'bread and circuses'? Surely the time has come to mend or end our present defence system, and teach our manhood that 'the life of a citizen belongs to his country.' While we are allowing ourselves to be blinded with party questions, going so far as even to permit our defensive forces to become a political shuttlecock, while our two parties are squabbling and arguing whether we are to be constitutionally governed by George the Fifth, or autocratically ruled by Lloyd George the First, a third party in the form of William the Conqueror is scheming the manufacture of history, and such history as may settle our disputes in the manner that we may least desire. As the Emperor of Japan rightly says, 'A day's neglect may mean a century's regret.'

The awakened citizen will doubtless exclaim: 'What is our Navy to do meantime?' All navies are modern creations. They start fair. The new factors of war above the sea, on the sea, and under the sea offer studies in the science of naval war which are common to all naval Powers. The supreme test of war will alone decide which Power has mastered the new science. Our soldiers can only wish that the sister service will not be met with the surprise which greeted their initial efforts eleven years ago. Fortunately many sailors shared our surprises, and have profited by the lesson taught. In a service with a strong conservative spirit it may be expected that expert naval opinion is at present divided on questions of naval strategy and tactics.

The nation, however, will need to keep a watchful eye upon the party politician, and insist that the Navy is not betrayed by an undue weakening in battle strength. We must not forget the gamble in ship construction that went on a few years ago, when

we discovered that we not only had a *sharper* to deal with abroad, but also a *welsher* to combat at home. 'Only numbers can annihilate' is the doctrine left us by our little admiral, and nothing but the wiping out of a hostile navy will save our position as a sea-girt Empire. A landsman can hardly picture the combination of situations that may be presented to the brain of a fleet commander. The elements themselves may obstruct his orders for a concentration of fleets for offence. Do we not remember how, some months ago, all telegraphic communication around our shores was paralysed for some hours owing to a magnetic storm? Does not that incident itself suggest the creation of some devil of an air machine that will carry out such a service? A loophole for an invader may then be left. He will come 'as a thief in the night.' A 'master mariner' will argue that this game can be played by both sides. So it can, but it must be remembered that a defender has need of a hundred eyes, the attacker of only one. 'The defender,' as Von der Goltz says, 'is only victorious when he is victorious at all points, while the attacker triumphs if he gains the upper hand at a single spot.' If that spot be anywhere on our shores we may pray God that something better trained for battle than Hopkins was when I first met him may be found on that spot. Let us learn a lesson from poor France in 1871, who pinned her hope of resistance to a powerful foe upon an ill-trained mass of 'men with muskets.'

W. G. KNOX, *Major-General.*

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

The devotion to the practical aspect of truth is in such excess as to make people habitually deny that it can be worth while to form an opinion when it happens at the moment to be incapable of realisation, for the reason that there is no direct prospect of inducing a sufficient number of persons to share it. . . Everybody knows that questions are inadequately discussed, or often not discussed at all, on the ground that the time is not yet come for their solution. Then when some unforeseen perturbation, or the natural course of things, forces on the time for their solution, they are settled in a slovenly, imperfect, and often downright vicious manner, from the fact that opinion has not yet been prepared for solving them in an efficient and perfect manner.—Morley, *On Compromise.*

Any change of government which has to be introduced should be one which men will be both willing and able to adopt, since there is quite as much trouble in the reformation of an old constitution as in the establishment of a new one, just as to unlearn is as hard as to learn.—Aristotle, *Politics*, iv. 1.

"Has he well considered what an immense operation any change in our constitution is? . . . and when you open it to enquiry in one part, where will enquiry stop? Experience shows us that no time can be fit for such changes but a time of general confusion; when good men, finding everything already broken up, think it right to take advantage of the opportunity of such derangement in favour of a useful alteration.—Burke, *Works*, i. 371.

In his reflections on the English Revolution of 1689, von Ranke has distinguished with a benediction the practical sagacity with which our ancestors confined themselves to an empirical solution of

the constitutional difficulties presented by the claim of the last of the Stuarts to arbitrary powers. The distinction was not undeserved. The Declaration of Rights, like the Book of Common Prayer, was the work of men studiously anxious not to accentuate differences but to accommodate them, and while the one is Catholic in its liturgy and Calvinist in its articles, the other is as tender to the prerogative of the Crown as it is solicitous for the rights of the subject, unites the popular doctrine of a breach of contract between king and people with the monarchical theory of an abdication of the throne, and provides a formula of mediocrity to which each political sectarian might with no great casuistry subscribe. The result may perplex the philosopher and seduce the historian; it cannot but command the admiration of the statesman. To be silent on things indifferent to the practical end in view, and to unite as many men as possible in the attainment of it is no small part of statesmanship. Englishmen at every critical period in constitutional history have concerned themselves with perfection but little, and with doctrine not at all; their fundamental laws are more in the nature of working agreements than of declarations of principle. The life of the law, as a great jurist has reminded us, is not logic but experience,[1] and this is no less true of the law of the constitution than of the law of contract and tort.

The English constitution never was—and never will be—a figment of a doctrinaire imagination; it is a series of inductions based upon experience; its theory is but a refinement upon fact, and speculative reconstruction is out of place. The student of the Parliament Bill may smile at its naïve incorporation of a preamble about the expediency of a reformed Second Chamber, with provisions for limiting the powers of a chamber on the assumption that it remains unreformed, but he cannot deny that such a Bill is addressed to an immediate solution of pressing difficulties in a way that least divides the men who are concerned to remove them. We do not question the practical sagacity of the Ministers who framed that Bill; we find it difficult, having regard to the exigencies of the political situation, to conceive what other course they could have adopted. Its empirical method is sound enough. But it is none the less true that such a measure, just because it lacks homogeneity, cannot be anything but a temporary expedient, and it will be the duty of every thoughtful man to consider carefully during the next two or three years what form the final settlement of this distracting controversy is to take. We cannot afford to submit periodically to the hazard of violent elections the very principles upon which our constitution is to be based. Plebiscitary appeals for a definition of such principles

[1] Holmes, *The Common Law*, p. 1.

involve a fundamental confusion of law and fact, and are as out of place as would be the submission by a judge to the jury, in an action of tort, of questions as to the meaning of negligence or defamation. That way lies revolution and counter-revolution, with all the decay of political manners, of public faith, of private amity that such desperate courses involve. Then, indeed, we may expect to see the moderate men of both parties driven out of public life; in the words of the grave historian of the malady of faction: 'Frantic energy will be the true quality of a man,' obstinacy will be thought courage and extremity will be a mark of conviction, men will vie with each other in saying not what they think but what they imagine the public would like to hear them say, and he who shouts the loudest will be the one who is esteemed the most.' There have not been wanting already in the last two elections [3] signs of such a decline in public spirit—one faction, incensed at the obstinacy of such a Second Chamber as we have, has been driven to repudiate Second Chambers altogether; the other, dissatisfied with the verdict of the polls, demands the empanelling of a fresh jury for every issue in the case, or even challenges the competence of the court to interpret the verdict. Representatives may, it is argued, know their own minds, but cannot possibly know the minds of those whom they represent. Indeed, the House of Lords is rapidly advancing the claim to be a political Court of Appeal which may decide that the verdict of an election is against the weight of evidence. Each side vies with the other in the height of its pretensions, and as the conflict is accentuated its area is enlarged, until men end by calling into question things which at the beginning of the struggle no one would have ventured to dispute. The position of the Lords in November last on the subject of Money Bills was appreciably more exacting than it had been a twelvemonth earlier, and their original acceptance of the conclusiveness of an election is now exchanged for a demand for the Referendum. On the other hand, the feeling of hostility within the Ministerial ranks to the preamble of the Veto Bill, laying down the principle of a reformed Second Chamber, would appear to be stronger now than it was a year ago. The Ministerial attitude has hardened steadily during the last six years, and one can trace its development from the day in December 1906 when they abandoned their own precedents for considering Lords' amendments to Commons' Bills *seriatim*, and returned them *en bloc*, on to the next stage when they forsook the precedent of submitting questions of valuation to the Lords in a separate Bill

[3] The writer may escape imputations of academic austerity if he explains that he was a candidate in both elections, and may therefore claim to speak with some knowledge of the hustings.

which the latter might amend, and incorporated a complex valuation scheme in a Money Bill which they might not amend.[3]

In money clauses in ordinary bills, as distinct from Money Bills, the privilege which forbids the Lords to amend such clauses, and confines them to the alternative of rejecting the clause or passing it as it stands, has been stretched so far as to exclude the Lords from effective revision of many important measures altogether. The Lords retaliated by refusing even to enter on the committee stage of a bill, the Licensing Bill of 1908, which had cost the Commons enormous labour and been the subject of considerable concession to the Opposition—and I have good authority for saying that one of the main reasons why that Bill was so summarily dismissed at the conventicle at Lansdowne House was that the Lords were advised by high legal authority that, in a measure so inextricably involved with questions of assessment, compensation and duty, the claims of the Commons' privileges might be asserted in such a manner, if the Lords took the trouble to revise the Bill in committee, as to refuse consideration in the Lower House to the Lords' amendments altogether. Nor does the accentuation of the conflict stop here. If its results were merely to deprive the Second Chamber of its legislative functions altogether and to reduce it to the primitive function of the defendant in an early English lawsuit—a categorical yes or no—such results, in view of the attitude of political hostility to the very existence of a Liberal Government which that Chamber has mistaken for its constitutional office of impartial revision, such results, we repeat, might be tolerated.

But unfortunately the rights of the subject, and, paradoxical as it may sound, the rights of the Commons, have had to be sacrificed to the exigencies of this internecine warfare, and both have been handed over in an increasing degree to the uncovenanted mercies of the Executive, which has either assumed or been granted judicial and legislative functions of a character so far-reaching as to justify us in calling them an unprecedented introduction of 'administrative law' into this country. Where co-operation in legislation between two chambers is absent, and the Government of to-day has to reckon on the uncompromising hostility of the Upper House, it will naturally put

[3] We do not mean to say that the Ministerial attitude was unconstitutional. There were precedents for it in the Income Tax Acts and the Finance Act of 1894. Rather we are concerned to insist that the Lords' action in rejecting altogether the Scotch Valuation Bill forced the Government to incorporate their valuation proposals in the Finance Bill of 1909, on the reasonable presumption that otherwise the Lords might, while passing the Finance Bill, have so amended or rejected the valuation proposals as to make the Finance Bill inoperative for all practical purposes. We shall develop this point in its bearing on the Veto Bill at some length later on.

as little detail into its bills as possible, it will confine the draughtsman to generalities and delegate to the departments which it has under its control the real task of legislation. The department will then make statutory rules and orders which may regulate the hours of labour in trades, schedule land for expropriation, determine the amount of compensation,[4] override the judgment of a local authority as to the desirability of putting an Act in operation,[5] repeal an Act of Parliament,[6] and may, indirectly, even tax the subject.[7] Hitherto the check on these large and arbitrary powers consisted in one or both of two sanctions—(1) the discretion of a Court of summary jurisdiction where the enforcement of departmental legislation depends on the liability of those who disobey it to a fine on conviction, or (2) the veto of either House of Parliament upon the proposed departmental rule when it is laid on the table of the House before coming into operation. But of late there has been a marked tendency to limit the discretion of the magistrates[8] and to make the veto of either or both of the two Houses inoperative. There are, or rather were, ways of making that veto effective—the enabling Act might require that a departmental rule or order made under its authority should lie on the table of the House for forty days, and only come into operation if both Houses signified their approval of it, or, more usually, if *either* House (this gave each House a veto) or the House of Commons alone (this deprived the Lords of any voice in the matter, but their exclusion was usually confined to Minutes involving the distribution of money grants) did not object to it within the statutory period. But Parliamentary time is limited; the twelve o'clock rule, which automatically interrupts Parliamentary business, unless it is of a character specially exempted from such interruption, falls alike on the just objection and the unjust, and the effect of recent rulings of the Speaker,[9] deftly taken advantage of by Government draughtsmen, is that unless the enabling Act contains express provision making objection to the departmental order conclusive, no objection can be taken after twelve o'clock. The objector is fortunate if he gets a chance of criticism on the Estimates, but there is nothing to prevent the Department from tabling its rules at such a time that the statutory period of forty days has elapsed before the Estimates come on for discussion; if, on the other hand, the Department is a little

[4] See the Housing and Town Planning Act, 9 Ed. VII. c. 44, Schedule 1.

[5] *Ibid*, section 10.

[6] *Ibid*. See Commons Debates, *The Times*, September 11, 1909.

[7] See *Institute of Patent Agents* v. *Lockwood* (1894) A.C. 347.

[8] 9 Ed. VII. c. 44, section 21. As to the importance of this discretion in protecting the subject see *Salt* v. *Scott Hall* (1903) 2 K.B. 245.

[9] See *Hansard*, 4th series, vol. 71, p. 222 (1899), and vol. 96, p. 1009 (1901). The courts have attached great importance to the implied approval of the two Houses as a ground for refusing redress. See the case in Note 7.

more considerate, he finds himself occupying valuable time in Supply which should be properly devoted to control over Estimates of expenditure, with the result that he is delaying the consideration of votes till such a time as the House will be compelled to vote them without discussion under the operation of the guillotine. Either way, therefore, the department will get the better of the private member—if he objects to its legislation he may, without being able to enforce his objection, be making himself an unconscious tool of its expenditure. It is at this point that the Upper House might make itself an effective check on departmental, as distinct from Parliamentary, legislation; but as that House cannot enforce its objection upon an Executive which is not responsible to it unless the Act expressly provides, as it now but rarely provides, that a resolution of either House shall make the order inoperative, little can be effected except by way of the publicity of criticism, and the Lords apparently have but slight inclination for this somewhat gratuitous exercise of the true functions of a revising chamber. Had the courts been entrusted with the power of declaring whether a departmental order was in accordance with the terms of an Act, there would, of course, have been a salutary check in this direction; but the Acts are now usually drafted in such a way as expressly to provide that the orders made under them shall be of the same effect as if they were part of the Act itself, and the courts are excluded. There is, of course, something to be said for such exclusion when the desirability of enacting these orders turns on a question of policy—the Legislature is obviously the proper judge of such a question as that; but if the Legislature is in turn excluded the result is an absolute *cul-de-sac*. Moreover, the courts are being excluded not only on questions of policy, but questions of law; and we have had the amazing spectacle of an Act of Parliament which provides in one clause that land may be taken compulsorily, and in another that due regard must be given to the interests of any cultivator thereby dispossessed, providing in yet another clause that not only the question whether the law has been observed by the local authority, but even what the law is, is to be interpreted by the Government department,[10] which, in certain cases, may thereby be pronouncing upon the legality of its own acts. Even when this power has not been granted we have seen Government departments assuming it, and the Board of Education, which seems to be infected with the spirit of autocracy, has deliberately disregarded in the case of one defaulting local authority the judicial interpretation [11] of

[10] See the Small Holdings Act, 8 Ed. VII. c. 36, section 39, and *Ex parte Ringer*, 126 *Law Times Reports*, p. 116.

[11] We think there can be no doubt that the judgment of the House of Lords in the case of *Attorney-General (for the Board of Education)* v. *West Riding C.C.* as to the duty of a local authority to 'maintain and keep efficient,' without

an Act which it had previously very properly obtained in proceedings for an injunction against another defaulting local authority. Given by the Act a power to decide questions of fact in cases of conflict between local authorities and managers of schools, it proceeded to put its own construction on questions of the legal meaning of the Act as involved in the facts under dispute. Fortunately, it has long been a rule of common law that a writ of *certiorari* may issue to quash the decisions not only of a court, but of any kind of tribunal acting judicially, and the Court of Appeal was therefore able to recall the department to its sense of duty. As Lord Justice Farwell sternly reminded it,

> Such a tribunal is not an autocrat free to act as it pleases, but is an inferior tribunal, subject to the jurisdiction which the Court of King's Bench has exercised for centuries.

But the powers granted to or assumed by the Board of Agriculture and the Board of Education are as nothing to those which are to be exercised by the Local Government Board under the Housing and Town Planning Act. Not only is the clause [12] which requires its departmental orders to be laid before both Houses of Parliament suspiciously vague in its omission of words giving effect to objection, but the clause and schedule which provide for the compulsory acquisition of land would appear to mean that the Board is to have all the powers of depriving private persons of their property which have hitherto been almost exclusively reserved for Parliament. I doubt if anyone has yet realised what the result of this may be. It may not only deprive private persons of their property but their neighbours of common law rights in the enjoyment of the property which is left to them.[13]

There is another aspect of the matter which touches the rights of the subject even more closely. The tendency of late has been to increase the powers of the Central Departments at the expense of the local authorities--the local authority is either made the servant of the central authority, as for many purposes Boards of Guardians have always been, or the servant of the local authority

discrimination in salaries, the non-provided schools, should have governed its action in the case of the Swansea schools, where it adopted a totally different attitude, throwing over the opinion of its own legal adviser. The Court of Appeal (1910), 2 K.B. 165) was apparently of this opinion. The case has been carried to the House of Lords, whose judgment has not yet been given.

[12] See Clause 10.

[13] No such case has yet arisen under the Act, but I am inclined to think that the incorporation by reference of the Land Clauses Acts and the Railway Consolidation Clauses Acts may operate to deprive persons of any right to redress for injuries at common law to their interests by the putting of the Act into effect. I doubt if the Courts could grant them thesame protection as the highest Court of Appeal was able to grant them in the case of *Metropolitan Asylums Board* v. *Hill*

is made the joint servant of the central authority. The effect of such exclusion or such dual control is to deprive the relations of the local authority and its officials of the ordinary liabilities of master and servant at common law and make it impossible in many cases for anyone injured by the action of the official to sue the local authority;[14] and as one cannot as a rule sue a Government Department in tort the individual injured is left without a remedy. We are not going here to enter into the difficult legal question of how far neglect to perform any of these always increasing statutory duties, or negligence in the performance of them, *confers* or withdraws rights of redress on the part of third persons—it is quite sufficient to confine ourselves to the clear cases indicated above. They are serious enough.

When we turn from the legislative and judicial encroachments of the Executive to their financial usurpations, the same tendency is apparent. The Treasury, the motive power in the departmental hierarchy, is not above suspicion. The original proposals of the Finance Bill of 1909 to exclude the courts altogether in disputes arising as to the valuation of the property on which the subject is taxed were, it is only fair to say, properly amended in the committee stage of the Bill, and, although the official tribunal of Special Commissioners is substituted for the unofficial tribunal of General Commissioners (true descendant of the old rule of Magna Charta that one should only be amerced by a jury of one's peers) in appeals against assessments to super-tax as distinct from ordinary income-tax, there is, of course, always the possibility of a case being stated for the High Court. It is not so much in the direction of assaults upon the rights of the subject that the Treasury has been active as in assaults on the control of the House of Commons. There is an Act, the Exchequer and Audit Departments Act of 1866, which may be called the charter of the Commons' control over expenditure, and this Act provides that a great Parliamentary officer, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, in co-operation with a Committee of the House of Commons, the Committee of Public Accounts, may scrutinise the propriety of any payment made out of sums granted by Parliament, and call any official concerned in a misappropriation to account. The Treasury have now put forward the claim that under the Old Age Pensions Act, which constituted a central pension authority the judge of whether conditions justify the grant of a pension, neither the Comptroller and Auditor-General nor the Committee of Public Accounts may recommend for disallowance any pension once allowed under such an award.[15] This means that a de-

[14] See *Tozeland* v. *West Ham Guardians*, 1 K.B. (1907), p. 920, and *Stanbury* v. *Exeter Corporation* (1905), 2 K.B. p. 841.

[15] See the third Report of the Public Accounts Committee (No. 126) of 1909.

partment takes upon itself to decide that it shall be exempt from the statutory control of the House of Commons over its expenditure, and, by implication, shall interpret the law. When it is remembered that some 15,000 such disputed claims as to the award of a pension have arisen in two years, the magnitude of this pretension will be apparent.

It has long ago been held that one cannot at law compel the Treasury to pay moneys voted by Parliament for a particular purpose, however clear the intention of Parliament that they should be paid may be;[16] the Treasury now contends that Parliament cannot prevent it from paying moneys however clear the intention of Parliament may have been that they should not be paid. Not so very long ago the Treasury was contending that they could not even be compelled to exercise their official duty of determining a question at all.[17]

We have taken four great departments as examples of the growing tendency towards administrative autocracy. Exigencies of space alone prevent us from boxing the compass in Parliament Street. Not very long ago the Admiralty was contending that a young naval cadet, whose career had been summarily terminated and his character (as it turned out) defamed by its administrative decision, could not, since the Admiralty chose to shelter itself behind the prerogative, exercise the right to have his character cleared in a court of law. We find similar pretensions put forward by the Attorney-General on behalf of the War Office in another case; the case was decided by the court of law in favour of the War Office, and doubtless rightly decided, but the claims of the War Office went far beyond anything that the court conceded to them.[18]

Such are some of the usurpations of the executive upon the rights of the subject and the control of the Commons which have characterised this long and embittering conflict between the two Houses. Not all of them are directly due to that conflict,[19] but

[16] *R. v. Lords Commissioners of the Treasury* (1872), L.R. 7 Q.B. 387.

[17] *R. v. Lords Commissioners of the Treasury* (*ex parte Devon Standing Joint Committee and others*) (1909), 2 K.B. p. 183. In this case, fortunately the High Court was able to insist that the Treasury should determine the question whether it ought to pay, although it could not, in virtue of the 1872 decision, compel it to pay. Note the words of the Lord Chief Justice: 'He thought the case was one in which the Treasury must determine, and his view was strengthened by the fact that if they (the Court) decided otherwise now, *there was no other machinery by which a determination could be obtained.*'

[18] *Woods v. Lyttelton and others* (1909). See the argument of the Attorney-General, *The Times* (Law Report), 17 June, 1909.

[19] It should be remembered that permanent Civil servants, whichever party be in power, are always ready to extend their authority, and Ministers not slow to avail themselves of such extension. It was a Conservative Government which passed the Aliens Act giving the Home Office a final and exclusive voice in the

most of them are such as a conflict of this character must necessarily encourage. A Minister, in his dual capacity of a servant of the Crown and a Member of Parliament, can hardly be blamed if, confronted with the persistent obstruction of one House of Parliament which he can never control, he falls back upon an extension of the powers of the Department which he can control, even though that extension is also at the expense of the other House of Parliament. And as the lust of power tends to grow with its exercise, and one usurpation suggests another, a Minister will easily succumb to temptations to extend it in directions where no such excuse can be pleaded. The paradox of the situation is this: that as the Second Chamber grows more officious and less dutiful, the need for a Second Chamber becomes more acute. The control of the Government over Parliamentary time, the discipline of the Whips, the consciousness that a point pressed home against a Minister may be met by a threat of resignation which, if persisted in, will involve the resignation of the whole Cabinet and the penalties of a dissolution, makes it impossible that one House alone—especially when, by so doing, it surrenders the whole position to the other House—can control such action by the executive particularly if the action is itself part of the whole strategy directed against that House. The private member, however solicitous for the public good, feels that he is a soldier under the orders of an Army staff whose commands in face of the stern necessities of war he is bound without question to obey, lest by insisting on some small point of tactics he may ruin the strategy of the whole campaign. And the Lords, in their turn, having raised greater issues abdicate their proper functions to determine the lesser, and are concerned not so much to criticise the departmental action of the executive as to frustrate its Parliamentary legislation and force it to a dissolution. And thus the conflict extends over the whole field until the rights of neutrals, whether the right of the private member or the right of the subject, are inextricably involved. The occasions of revolutions, as a great thinker has reminded us,[20] may be small though the issues involved are great, the slightest pretext may cause a conflagration. We are face to face with a situation, a time of general confusion, in which nothing is likely to remain the same, and the devouring flood of party faction threatens to sweep away all the existing landmarks of our Constitution.

interpretation of that Act, though as an alien never had (except for the doubtful position of alien merchants under Magna Carta) any right enforceable by action to enter British territory this power is not of such consequence. But it might quite conceivably be used by a Unionist Government to restrict the English labour market in pursuance of a Protectionist policy.

[20] γίνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν.—ARISTOTLE, *Politics*.

If this be true of departmental legislation it is certainly no less true of parliamentary legislation. The Ministry forced back from one line of attack is compelled to pursue another, even though it involve a breach with parliamentary tradition. Defeated on its Education Bill of 1906, it has embodied education proposals in an Appropriation Bill and a measure which constitutionally should be confined to the appropriation of public money has operated to repeal a part of an Act of Parliament.[21] Here again, we should be less concerned if this merely operated to invalidate the veto of such an obstructive Second Chamber as is the one we have; what we are exercised to show is that it operates to defeat the control of the House of Commons. There is no department of legislation in which the House is so ruthlessly closured as in the debates on the Estimates which are embodied in the Appropriation Bill—a disorderly latitude of debate in the first twenty days of Supply is followed by a rigorous application of the guillotine on the twenty-first day, under which Estimates involving the expenditure of millions of public money are put to the vote not only without discussion but even without explanation. As the Civil Service votes usually come last, this means that under such a use of the Appropriation Bill as that indicated above, the Commons may repeal an Act of Parliament without even being aware of the fact. Moreover, as a Parliament goes on, the Government, forced by the earlier action of the House of Lords in rejecting their Valuation and Licensing Bills, to embody in a Finance Bill licensing and valuation proposals, have to occupy an unprecedented proportion of a parliamentary session on a Finance Bill alone—the more so as the Opposition fight it as if they were fighting for their very existence—with the result that other Bills introduced in the same Session and of a magnitude and importance sufficient to occupy an equal proportion[22] of parliamentary time are hustled through without discussion. The Bill is sent up to the Lords, who turn it inside out, convert it into what is practically a new Bill, and the despairing Minister in charge, on receiving back the changeling from the Lords, is compelled in self-defence to depart from the constitutional course of dealing with the Lords' amendments *seriatim*, moves that the House disagree with the whole of them *en bloc*, and the Bill is returned to the House of Lords in its original form.[23] Revision becomes a farce; co-operation between the

[21] See the Appropriation Bill of 1909.

[22] Mr. Birrell on the Irish Land Bill of 1909: 'The subject was one of vast importance financially, socially, and politically. In his judgment, and in the judgment, he thought, of most men acquainted with the real facts of the case, *it was really as important as the Budget itself*. . . .The eleven days allotted to the discussion of the Bill in the Commons was far too short, having regard to the gravity of the question and its difficulties; but it was all he was able to get.' —Speech at Bristol, *The Times*, October 9, 1909.

[23] Cf. the debates on the Irish Land Bill.

two branches of the Legislature an impossibility. Here again it is the Commons who suffer. The effect of moving to disagree with the Lords' amendments *en bloc* may mean that the Government's own amendments, inserted in the Bill after it had left the Commons and reached the Lords, may never come under the notice of the Commons at all,[24] while the Lords' Opposition amendments, even when they raise questions which the Commons' Ministerial members have never had an opportunity of discussing, and on which they would like to express an opinion, are equally excluded from its consideration. The same result in a different degree also follows when the Minister in charge meets a Lords' amendment which may introduce useful improvements in a Bill by moving that it be not considered on the ground of infringement of privilege.

Burke once remarked[25] of the House of Lords that it is the weakest part of the Constitution. Like all weak characters, it is obstinate. It mistakes truculence for courage and wilfulness for conviction, and instead of asserting real, if modest, rights, it has been in the habit of raising impossible pretensions.[26] It is as ready to pass a bad Bill as to reject a good one if it thinks that to revise the former would weaken its power of rejecting the latter. The most illuminating confession of its weakness in this respect that we remember to have seen is to be found in the words of Lord Lansdowne in advising their lordships not only not to reject the Trades' Disputes Bill of 1906 but not even substantially to revise it. Then, if ever, their case was a peculiarly strong one because the Government, after introducing a moderate measure to the Lower House, which the Attorney-General commended to its consideration on the ground that it was an infinitely more statesmanlike solution of the problem than the alternative Bill of the Labour party, had within forty-eight hours thrown over their own proposals and adopted the disparaged alternative. The latter Bill was one which put trade unions in an extraordinarily privileged position at common law, conferring on them immunities from the consequences of wrongful acts by their agents for which it is impossible to find a parallel in legislation, but Lord

24 The writer refers to the Education Bill of 1906. It was estimated that rather more than half of the Lords' amendments, which, by the motion to disagree *en bloc*, the Commons were precluded from considering, were moved by the Government itself.

25 *Works*, v. 48.

26 The strategy of the Lords during the last five years bears a curious resemblance to its strategy in the years immediately following the great victory of the Commons in the passing of the Reform Bill. Then as now it showed a curious inability to recognise the strength of the Ministerial position and aimed to exercise the same powers after the passing of the Reform Bill as it had exercised before it. The long ascendency of the Tory party seems to have produced a similar perversity in the Lords in 1906. See Greville, *Journals of the Reigns of George IV. and William IV.* vol. iii. p. 296.

Lansdowne declined the constitutional office of a thoroughgoing revision. Here was a Bill, he declared, 'which will bring ruin, bodily suffering, and mental anguish to individuals,' a Bill which was 'fraught with danger to the community and likely to embitter the industrial life of this country,' a Bill which in the opinion of the House 'was detrimental to the public interest'—and having said so much he recommended their lordships to pass it with as little amendment as might be. His whole language betrayed a constitutional inability to perceive that a Liberal Government with the unprecedented majority of 300 in the Commons could be regarded as anything but a public enemy—be it remembered that this was within the first few months of that Government's tenure of power and before it had introduced a single measure of contentious legislation with the exception of an Education Bill which was nothing if not a compromise—and in words which amounted to a declaration of war against the Commons, and which we think will go down to history as the epitaph of the House of Lords, he declared that 'we must, before risking a conflict with the House of Commons, choose it on ground as favourable as possible to ourselves.'[27] Verily *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*!

Such is the situation as it has developed during these momentous five years. We have subjected the relations of the executive, the Commons, and the Lords to this close and detailed analysis because we believe it is only by taking counsel of experience that we can hope to effect any lasting settlement. Colonial analogies will help us but little; foreign analogies not at all. As well might one imitate the constitution-mongers of the French Revolution and send a commission to Crete for a copy of the laws of Minos. We must use existing material for what it is worth because constitutional truths are true only in proportion as they are apprehended, and it is better to accept an imperfect solution which will command assent than a perfect one which will not receive it. Political science is nothing if not an empirical science, and political truth, unlike religious truth, depends not upon its reception by the intellect but upon its hold over the imagination. A constitution principle is worth nothing if it is not accepted as such. Political obedience is—to borrow Newman's distinction—an act of notional, not real assent. It remains, therefore, to consider how far the solutions of the problem now before the country present any probabilities of a permanent settlement. We have two alternative solutions—the Parliament Bill, or Veto Bill as it is commonly called, proposed by the Government, and the proposals of the Unionist party so far as they can be gathered from the Lords debates of November last, the

[27] See the debate in *Hansard*, series iv., vol. 166, pp. 702-3.

speeches of Lord Selborne during the last few days, and the Referendum Bill recently introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Balfour of Burleigh. At the time of writing Lord Lansdowne's Bill has not been made public. We therefore propose to defer any detailed consideration of the Unionist proposals until the next issue of this Review and to confine our criticism to the Veto Bill. But we may remark in passing that we see no prospect whatsoever of a permanent settlement along the lines of the Unionist proposals so far as they have gone. So far as we are able to put together a coherent plan from the sources we have indicated, we find it amounts to this: the House of Lords is to be 'moderately reformed' by making it a composite body consisting of representative peers elected by the whole body of the peerage and elected members chosen by indirect election by the councils of the counties and county boroughs, with an infusion of ministerial nominees who are apparently to sit for life. This reformed House is to exercise powers over Bills which, 'although no doubt financial Bills and dealing with finance, are Bills producing social and political effects'—the question as to whether Bills come within such a definition to be decided by a Standing Joint Committee composed of members of both Houses presided over by the Speaker. In the case of ordinary Bills, and presumably also Bills coming within the preceding definition, when the two Houses fail to agree a joint sitting—whether *in plenum* or by delegation, a vastly important distinction, does not appear—is to take place and the matter is to be settled by a joint vote. 'Cases which are not normal,' whatever that may mean, are to be submitted to the vote of the electorate by a Referendum. Now we think it safe to say that a more incoherent scheme or one which raises more controversial issues could not possibly be devised. It appears to represent elements taken at random from Constitutions as remote from one another as those of Prussia and Australia. Its one intelligible feature is the desire to preserve the Upper House from the penalties of a dissolution. It involves a large number of fundamental misconceptions. A joint session of two Houses is only possible on the assumption that both are wholly, or at least almost entirely, elective—otherwise the votes weighed together are of unequal value. This applies to a joint sitting *in plenum;* it applies with double force to a joint sitting by delegation. Indeed a joint sitting by delegation would represent the creation of a new legislature if its opinion were conclusive, and, if it were not, we should simply be where we were before. As to the powers claimed over money Bills, the definition proposed would give the Lords a power to reject and amend a Finance Bill every time new taxation was proposed. No man who has ever studied the incidence of taxation can deny that every

new tax involves 'social and political consequences,' for a tax does nothing if it does not discriminate and take into account the existing distribution of wealth. We think therefore that the claim as to money Bills must be interpreted as little short of a claim by the Upper House to coequal powers in finance. That raises the question of its composition, because powers and composition are parts of one equation; the Unionist party does not seem to have realised that large powers must involve a large representation. No one has yet produced a scheme which does not perpetuate the ascendency of the Unionist party, and the one certain thing that can be said about the idea of indirect election is that if it plays a large part in the composition of the reformed Chamber it will react on our local authorities in such a way as to make them even more political than they are at present. The idea of indirect election has been pretty well discredited by experience: its one result in America has been to destroy the autonomous character of the State legislatures, whose members are chosen, not as representatives of State interests, but as electors for the Federal Senate elected on the 'ticket' of the national caucus and bound to obey it. At a time when we are seeking to relieve the congestion of Parliament by removing from the strife of national parties legislation of a local character and devolving it upon local or provincial authorities, the idea of accentuating the political complexion of those bodies cannot but be a thoroughly retrograde step.

There remains the Referendum. Who is to decide when it is to be brought into operation? On this vital question there is even greater diversity of opinion among the Unionist party than upon the others. Lord Lansdowne appears to favour statutory definition of a comprehensive character—all constitutional questions, meaning thereby proposals for 'altering the legislative parliamentary machine,' instituting compulsory service, disestablishing the Church, and so on, are to be subjected to a Referendum, which means that we are to have a written Constitution and presumably a new tribunal to interpret it. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, convinced, very properly we think, that it is impossible to define constitutional questions, would have the Referendum set in operation on any Bill, not only by a majority of the Lords but by a minority of the Commons. This would certainly mean that groups would form themselves in the House of Commons to initiate Bills of as revolutionary a character as they pleased, and get them submitted to the electorate, in which case our last state would be worse than our first, for any part of the Constitution might at any time be exposed to a plebiscitary revolution. And as there are few legislative proposals nowadays which do not commit the House to expenditure to put them in operation, the financial results for the taxpayer might be

perfectly appalling. Lord Selborne would set up a joint committee of both Houses, peers and 'best men,' who should apply the Referendum whenever they pleased: what would be the relation between this joint committee and the joint committees on Finance Bills and on contentious Bills, and how they would settle their differences with each other and with the unfortunate Cabinet, it passes the wit of man to discover. But one thing we know from American experience of competing committees, and that is that the organic character of Parliament would be irretrievably destroyed. Under this scheme of a trinity of joint committees deciding the content, the form, the sanctions of legislation, we seem to see something like the little oligarchy of the Lords of the Articles that dominated the old Scottish Parliaments. Now, as then, there will be nothing left for the rank and file of the representatives of the people to do but to come and take the oath and then go home. We are not going to examine here the objections to the Referendum—we have done it elsewhere [28]—we will content ourselves with pointing out that its advocates seem to forget that, in the language of Burke, government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and that there can be neither 'where one set of men deliberate and another decides, and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments.' [29] The essence of all parliamentary legislation is compromise; the essence of plebiscitary legislation is antithesis. A Minister in charge of a Bill can make concessions when he submits it to the House, he dare not when he submits it to the country.

Such then is the intellectual confusion which has overtaken the Unionist party. Is it any exaggeration to say of it, as Thucydides said of the great disruption of the Peloponnesian War, that 'the meaning of words has no longer the same relation to things, and is changed by them as they think proper'? Compared with such revolutionary proposals as these the Veto Bill of the Liberal Government is conspicuously studious in its moderation and conservative in its design.

Now even a measure like the Veto Bill must depend for its success in operation on the good faith of both the parties which avail themselves of it, and, putting entirely on one side the possibility of its repeal in a new Parliament of a different political complexion, it is, as I hope to show, quite possible, in the present temper of the House of Lords and the Unionist party, for the procedure it sets up to be so abused by them for purposes of obstruction as to throw the whole programme of a Liberal Government into confusion. It appears to have escaped the notice of most people that

[28] *The Westminster Gazette*, January 28, 1911.
[29] Speech to the Electors of Bristol, November 3, 1774.

while rigorously, and I think very properly, giving statutory definition to the claims of the Commons as to privilege in money Bills, it leaves the whole of the debatable land of privilege as to money clauses in ordinary Bills still undefined. Such privilege is a pressure-gauge of the legislative machine; when the temper of the Houses is high, it rises; when it is low, it sinks. There seems only too good reason to suppose that the Lords, warned off the field of money Bills, will now assert their highest pretensions as to money clauses in ordinary Bills, and will no longer be content to waive their claims to amend such clauses. Bills of the character of the Licensing Bill or the Development Bill, which deal directly or indirectly with the application of public moneys, or Bills like the Old Age Pensions Bill which are preceded on their introduction into the House of Commons by a financial resolution committing the House to an expenditure of public moneys—Bills, in short, which, like the Invalidity and Insurance Bill, will deal with social legislation, will depend for their chances of passing into law in the session of their introduction on the forbearance of the Lords as to privilege. Are the Lords likely to acquiesce in assertions of privilege with the same grace as they have done hitherto? We think it almost certain they will not. The whole conflict will now be transferred from the privileges which are safeguarded by statutory definition in the Veto Bill to the privileges which are not so safeguarded. It is hardly too much to assert that the statutory definition of the one will involve the destruction of the other.

Moreover, the mere consciousness that to insist on their amendments infringing the privilege of the Commons—the proposal to limit the grant of Old Age Pensions to seven years was a notable example—will not, if the Government refuses to give way, throw on the Lords the onus of the ultimate destruction of the Bill (for *ex hypothesi* the Bill under the suspensory veto can become law in three sessions), will make them more reckless in their insistence. If therefore the Government want to get their Bill through at once—and the framing of their Estimates for the coming year may have to wait on the probability of passing whatever Bills involve a charge on the Estimates—they will have to consider all such amendments and let privilege go to the wall. This will mean a great increase in the bargaining power of the Lords. The same result follows from the limitation of ministerial initiative in legislation involved in the condition that a Bill passed into law in its third session under the suspensory veto must be 'the same Bill' as it was in the first session. A Government which—the Education Bills of the 1906-1909 Parliament are a good example—desires to improve upon its first Bill must ask the leave of the Lords to do so: it cannot insert new clauses without the leave of the Lords in the original Bill once it has left the Commons, although

it may 'suggest' them. Moreover, it is more than doubtful whether the Government will, in future, be able to closure discussion in the Commons with the same freedom as before; having the last word in legislation, it will be compelled to consider the Lords' amendments, not *en bloc*, but *seriatim* and with the utmost freedom for discussion. It will also have to send its Bills up earlier in the session than has hitherto been the custom. Altogether it may be pretty safely asserted that while the power of the Lords to reject is abolished, their power to revise will be enormously increased, and whenever the Government is in a hurry to get its legislation through they may be able to dictate what terms they please. The Government will have every reason to agree with its adversary quickly. Under these circumstances we think the pace of legislation is likely to be slow, and its contentiousness inconsiderable. The danger is that the extremists on the Government side, impatient at such small results, will clamour for such an abbreviation of the temporary period as to abolish it altogether. In that case we shall be brought to the brink of a counter-Revolution.

From all that has been said above, we think it must be admitted that there is no finality in the proposals of either party. The only way out of the *impasse* will be, sooner or later, to agree on the substitution of a new Second Chamber for the existing House of Lords. That a Second Chamber is absolutely necessary —unless we can conceive of a large scheme of devolution both within the House and without it (and by devolution we mean devolution not only of legislative powers but of executive powers) —we trust has been sufficiently demonstrated in the first part of this article in which we dealt with the usurpations of the Executive. But we reserve that question for another issue of this Review.

J. H. MORGAN.

GOD'S TEST BY WAR

AMIDST the chaos of domestic politics and the wavelike surge of contending social desires the biological law of competition still rules the destinies of nations as of individual men. And as the ethical essence of competition is sacrifice, as each generation of plants or of animals perishes in the one case, or toils or dares in the other, that its offspring may survive, so with a nation, the future of the next generation is determined by the self-sacrifice or the absence of self-sacrifice of that which precedes it.

The bud flowers and the flower dies, and, dying, flings its seeds on the winds to produce, if it may be, a wider re-creation of itself. And in the animal world the sacrificial impulse of maternal love fronts all peril and endures all suffering that its young may live.

That impulse, in the later manifestations of evolution, is the root source of all human families, and of all human morality. And it finds its crown in patriotism, in the sacrifice which a nation makes to fulfil the trust which it has inherited from its fathers, and to hand down that heritage, not diminished but increased, to the generations that succeed.

If the springs of national action fail; if at a crisis when international rivalry is acute a given generation shrinks from the effort and the sacrifice necessary to self-preservation, then that generation is a traitor at once to its past and to its future. It dishonours the dead, who, in their earthly hour, did make that effort and that sacrifice when the time called for these. To those noble dead it is an ingrate, and of its own children it is the fraudulent betrayer. For what it has, that it has received on the implicit condition that it shall pass it on. The soul is gone out of a people when it recoils from a duty which the claims of its history and of its posterity alike impose. Has the soul gone out of England, or does it still inhere?

England is still the heart and core of the aggregation of nations and of races which owe allegiance, not to her, but to the crown of her sovereign—that crown whose influence the ages have extended into the wide spaces of the world. Considered from the standpoint of the true Imperialist, England is but a province; but

she is a pivotal province, the pivotal province of the British Empire. Upon her shoulders rests the main weight of that Empire's burden. From her long-suffering taxpayers is derived by far the major portion of the revenue which supports the British navy and the British army. By her sons those Services are chiefly manned. Withdraw from their support the wealth of England, withdraw from their ranks her men, and the fabric of Empire must fall like a house of cards. For Scotland and Wales and Ireland contribute but a relatively small part of the money, and—though perhaps in a greater proportion—still far the lesser number of the men. This is a fact inseparable from their inferiority in population and in wealth. As for the oversea dominions of the King, they are but now beginning to awaken to the realities of the world of competing nations of which they are a part. They have but begun to move in earnest, and, with the exception of New Zealand, they have as yet given no contribution to the common defence in the least proportionate to their financial or their numerical power. If England fell suddenly from her place in the House of the British peoples; if the support of the Flag were left with the oversea dominions, plus 'the Keltic fringe,' and the lowlands of Scotland, then there would be a speedy end of the British Râj.

We may ask again, then, what of England? Is the heart that once was hers still strong to dare and to resolve and to endure? How shall we know? By the test. What test? That which God has given for the trial of peoples—the test of war.

Does this mean that with an insanity of action exceeding even the madness of neglected preparation England is to precipitate the unready Empire into conflict with the prepared and watchful foe? It does not imply any such criminal folly.

What it does imply is that victory is the result of efficiency, and that efficiency is the result of spiritual quality. Self-sacrifice, self-denial, temperance, hardihood, discipline, obedience, order, method, organising power, intelligence, purity of public life, chastity, industry, resolution, are some only of the national and individual attributes which go towards producing the efficiency of modern armaments. And the efficiency or inefficiency of its armaments is the determining factor of a nation's success, or of a nation's failure, at that culminating moment of long processes of commercial and diplomatic rivalry—the moment of war.

Thus, then, efficiency in war, or rather efficiency for war, is God's test of a nation's soul. By that test it stands, or by that test it falls. This is the ethical content of competition. This is the determining factor of human history. This is the justification of war.

In the realms of sub-human life, in the world of animals, as in the world of men, this law, perhaps so modified that its working

would have been to us undiscernible, must still have prevailed. At least the tendency must have persisted that the higher organism should conquer the lower. For if there had been no such tendency, how could the higher organism have constantly emerged?

In the sweep of the ages, in the passage of time, the qualities that make for victory have assumed, gradually, nobler hue. In the confused conflicts of earlier times to detect the secret process by which the higher tended ever to supersede the lower must have been hard indeed. Many are the cases recorded in the annals of mankind when might has struck down right. Many more must be the unrecorded instances when the like occurred. But the course of development of human society depends not on exceptions, however numerous, but on the rule. And the rule was, as analysis shows, not that 'might was right,' but that *right always tended to create might*. By 'right' is here intended no artificial conception, and no imagined claim to territory. For supposititious 'rights' of this kind have in history no validity save when based on force. What is meant is a righteousness of national life which included all or most of the qualities enumerated above as producing efficiency in war. This is the only kind of 'right' possessed by a people which has enduring value.

As regards the present, the truth of these statements can hardly be doubted by any reasoning mind. As regards the past, the briefest survey of salient fact will establish their correctness. The triumph of the Greeks over the Persians was the triumph of a higher civilisation and a nobler manhood. Marathon and Salamis were as the swords that kept the gates of Europe against the barbarian, and they were the direct fruit of a lofty spirit inhabiting a great race. When, later, the Macedonian phalanx penetrated the East, that penetration represented the victory of the higher intelligence and the greater discipline. The sequent overthrow of Greek by Roman was the result of an austerer morality, of a deeper devotion to national ends and of a more perfect union. Each one of these three events meant the advance of mankind: each was the product of a military efficiency founded on a higher morale.

But if these instances are in themselves striking; if those scenes in the drama of the development of man exhibit the working, through war, of what Matthew Arnold called 'A something not ourselves that makes for righteousness'; far more impressive, far more awful, is the tremendous tragedy of which they were the prologue, and which bisects the history of the Western world. Towards the close of the fifth century, says Professor Freeman, 'civilisation perished in blood and flames.' It is a brief phrase. Who is there who can realise its full intent? But the question we ask here is, why this gigantic catastrophe occurred—this disaster which flung back the march of human thought and human

science for a thousand years? If there be one thing certain, it is that civilisation tends to become stronger than barbarism. How comes it then that civilisation fell before barbarism?

The answer to that question is to be found in the decay of the military spirit among the Roman people. That decay again was itself the product of the degeneracy of public and private morality. In other words, civilisation perished because its spiritual quality failed. Not all the arts, nor all the literature, nor all the splendour and the refinements of the Roman world saved that world from destruction at the hands of Vandals and of Goths. Ruthless, inexorable, the law of the survival of the fittest trampled on the corrupt. Of that law, war is the supreme instrument, and of war, in the long passage of the centuries, the deciding factor is the soul.

This is not the doctrine of the market place, or of the political pulpit, or of the Radical Party. In the English-speaking world, when the stern virtues which alone lead to national survival are decaying, it is not teaching likely to be popular. But it happens to be the inner truth which analysis of history reveals.

Let those who dispute this conclusion test the validity of their denial by applying it, not to the past, but to the present. Take away from the Japanese their patriotism, their public spirit, their discipline, and their vast capacity for self-sacrifice, and, after these withdrawals, what will then remain of their naval and military power? Only the shell without the kernel; only the material without the moving spirit which gives that material life. Truly the question answers itself.

Let a like subtraction be made from the qualities possessed by the German legions, and how much of their present menace to Europe will remain? Take from the nations which have produced these forces their persevering industry and their resolute thoroughness, and then say whether their navies and their armies will retain their potency. Or fill these countries with debauchery, destroy the sanctities of family life, make sexual immorality in its widest sense not the exception, but the rule, and then consider how long either Germany or Japan would retain its place in arms.

But if it be true, as these and like considerations go to prove, that warlike efficiency at the present time is the price of moral and spiritual quality, and perishes if such quality die, then must not similar attributes have tended throughout history to produce similar effect?

The same causes must always have tended towards the same results, but the purpose immanent in the universe becomes more manifest as evolution proceeds. When the processes of war are crude, and when the scale on which it is waged is small, the effects

are far less evident of those great underlying causes which in the passage of generations have produced, despite all exceptions, their destined ends. But now when armaments are the epitomes of nations, and when the capacity to bear those armaments sums up the progress of a people, those who have eyes to see can at last divine the ethical content of war. Defeat in war is the fruit of naval and military inefficiency, and that inefficiency is the inevitable sequel to moral decay. Victory in war is the method by which, in the economy of God's providence, the sound nation supersedes the unsound, because in our time such victory is the direct offspring of a higher efficiency, and the higher efficiency is the logical outcome of the higher morale.

At the stage of development which mankind has now reached, those great human families which we call nations still constitute in the main the fundamental divisions of the whole race. These nations possess for the most part an intense organic life of their own. They are in fact individual organisms. Each organism, while health animates it, feels the same impulse to grow and to compete with its rivals for increased means of subsistence which all knowledge and all experience present to our eyes in the sphere of biology, of which sphere nations in actual fact form a part.

And just as in the earlier and humbler domains of that sphere the higher type ever tended to survive, so in this later period of biological development the higher and the nobler people tends always to secure victory in that culmination of international competition which we call war. Hence it follows that if the dream of short-sighted and superficial sentimentalists could be fulfilled—that is to say, if war could suddenly be rendered henceforth impossible upon earth (which is at present impracticable)—the machinery by which national corruption is punished and national virtue rewarded would be ungeared. The higher would cease to supersede the lower, and the course of human evolution would suffer arrest.

This is a conception of the function of war which (as I venture to believe) has not been hitherto placed directly before the public. It is a conception which will be profoundly repugnant to those who think that they know better than the Power behind phenomena how the affairs of this, and perhaps of other worlds, ought to be arranged. Ceaseless efforts are being made alike in the United Kingdom and in the United States to destroy what remains of the military spirit in the Anglo-Saxon race. War, and the preparation for war, without which it brings defeat, are represented as barbaric survivals which can be abolished by international agreements.

With such an object Mr. Carnegie has recently invested two millions sterling in a trust, with, it is said, the sagacious proviso

that the balance, after the object has been attained, shall be devoted to some further worthy end. At the present epoch of the world's history, Mr. Carnegie might just as well have created a trust for the abolition of death, with the understanding that after this trifling change in human conditions had been achieved, the remaining funds should be assigned to the endowment of asylums for the imbecile.

For however frightful an evil war may appear, it is at any rate far less fatal to the human race than death, of whose manifestations it is a part. But than the part the whole is greater, and thus is death greater than war. Yet death is essential to human life, as we know it. For if there were no death, how would the existence of mankind upon this planet be thinkable? At all events, the increase of such life would have had to cease thousands of years before the present era, so that none of those who are now shocked by the idea of war would ever have been born. For if there had been no death since life first stirred, far back in the depths of terrestrial time, then long ago, unless soon the growth of that life had ceased, there would have been no more room for vegetation, or for animals, for fishes, or for men. Nay, more—since all life, other than that of vegetation, thrives on other life, ceaseless starvation must have been the lot of all sentient things.

The dream of a planet, traversing space, deep laden with stirless and foodless masses of life, life sentient, life individual, piled in its myriad millions of units into mountains higher than Atlas—life doomed to endure through the æons because it cannot die—this dream exceeds in horror any vision which Dante ever imagined of the innermost hell.

The paradox, therefore, is true that in this globe of ours (as probably in all other worlds throughout space which life inhabits) death is the condition of the increase of life.

But of death war is the scythe. Throughout the periods of biological time war has been the road to food, and since man was developed, war has been the condition of human advance. Men may fear war as they fear death, and shudder as they hear war's footfall (never far removed) encompass the edifice of their house of national being. But as, despite its horrors, death is still essential to mankind, so also is war.

Death and war, those grim twin brethren, ride the rush of this world's tide and put the bit in the mouth of man.

If, therefore, we could conceive that, far on in the ages, that which is mortal should become immortal, in a sense not spiritual but material, then, as we have just seen, this immortality will bring another kind of death—the death of physical increase. For in any limited sphere physical immortality and physical increase cannot co-exist. But if in like manner we dared to conceive the

cessation of war, then we must also conceive the cessation either of sin or else of human progress. For now defeat in war is the punishment of national unrighteousness, but, then, that punishment would cease. Where there was corruption, that corruption would continue; where there was oppression, that oppression would abide. Though infamy brought weakness, weakness would not bring overthrow. Though righteous dealing brought national strength, national strength would not bring national victory. Therefore if, while nations remain, war is to be abolished, then unless the degeneracy of peoples can also be prevented, 'there shall be no more war' must mean 'there shall be no more progress.'

But suppose that we seek to conceive some distant date, some day still in the depths of coming time, when, through intermarriage following intercommunication, all nations and all races shall have been merged into a single whole, when, throughout the bounds of our planet, one tongue is spoken, and nations make no more war because there are no more nations, would what is impossible now become possible then? Since in this our day the operative cause of war is international competition, would the removal of that cause remove war also?

Not necessarily, because as civil war has in the past often been waged within an individual nation, so it might be waged then within the one nation of mankind. In generations not very remote wars have been waged for religion, and wars have been waged for ideas. Even now in Africa, in Asia, and in Eastern Europe great numbers of fighting men exist who are ready to die in battle for their creed. (These are they who believe in one God and in Mahomet as His prophet, and their faith is not waning, but increasing.) Therefore, though, while nations last, the present cause of conflicts must endure, the abolition of nations would not inevitably involve the abolition of war. In such a distant time as that which we are here contemplating, the inhabitants of this world may have arranged themselves in divisions other than national, and, as now between nations, so then between those divisions, competition may produce war. So long as those conditions lasted, the machinery for securing ethical advance would remain. Because righteousness brings warlike efficiency, therefore in the majority of cases righteousness as now would triumph over its opposite. But if those conditions ended; if the possibility of war absolutely passed away; then, *unless in the meantime human nature had radically changed*, the upward march of human morality would terminate, because the terrific punishment which war provides for human degeneracy would be removed. In other words, war will cease to be a necessity only when corruption ceases to be a fact.

If this argument possess validity, then the deduction follows that while human nature remains what it is at present, war must retain its place beside death as a vital and essential part of the economy of God. The Lord of Hosts has made righteousness the path to victory. In the crash of conflict, in the horrors of battlefields piled with the dead, the dying, and the wounded, a vast ethical intention has still prevailed. Not necessarily in any given case, but absolutely certainly in the majority of cases, the triumph of the victor has been the triumph of the nobler soul of man. Though to this rule history may furnish a thousand exceptions; though in history war has been made a thousand times over the instrument of cruel oppression and of diabolical wrong, yet in that great majority of instances which determines general result the issue of war has made for the ethical advantage of mankind. It must have been so; it could not be otherwise, because ethical quality has tended always to produce military efficiency.

With true insight, therefore, did Tennyson write of 'The Battle-Thunder of God.' He has made of war His instrument wherewith to subdue nations who have broken His laws, but those who would read the processes of His Courts in the ages of the past must take for their study, not generations, but centuries, and groups of centuries. They must survey time as from a mountain summit, and then in the vast horizon they can discern the flashing of His lightning and hear the rolling of that thunder of which the discharge has purified, from epoch to epoch, the atmosphere of the world.

But to those whom the exceptions to this law of God appal; to those who can see in former conflict only confusion and purposeless slaughter and evil often triumphant over good—to these the contemplation of the present working of this same law among mankind, as mankind now is, may well bring comfort and assuaging hope.

For, as always with great sequences of cause and effect, the vaster the scale the plainer the connexion. As humanity gathers itself into larger divisions, the instances in which in war the unrighteous smite down the righteous must tend ever to become rarer and yet more rare. A small people, a State of limited extent and insignificant resources, even though of high military efficiency, must always have been exposed to overthrow by overwhelming numbers in a conflict with some greater foe or coalition of foes, even though these were of inferior military virtue to its own. But if in place of a small people we have a great one, and, instead of a little State, one of wide extent and immense resources, and if the people of this State possess military virtue of a high kind, then it is manifest that the probability of their being crushed by the numerical preponderance of inferior antagonists, if not

altogether removed, becomes at least far less than in the former case. Moreover, as has been already partly shown, the relationship between righteousness of national life on the one side, and military efficiency on the other, is incomparably plainer in modern days than in earlier centuries, or, for the sake of example, let us say, eight hundred years ago.

Now, in wars between great peoples, vast and coherent organisation is necessary to secure national victory. Now, immense armaments have to be created, and the power to produce and to sustain those armaments, and to inform them with the spirit of life, is the measure of the whole moral and economic capacity of a people. Moreover, such capacity must be developed on the lines on which human evolution is proceeding—that is to say, on the lines on which the Power behind phenomena is working—or else it fails of effect. For no nation which hides its talents in a napkin, no nation which has not energy and ability can either render efficient, or long support, the vast navies and armies of our time. Preparation for war is the enemy of sloth. Preparation for war is the dissolvent of apathy. Victory is the prize not alone of present self-sacrifice and present energy, but also of previous self-sacrifice and previous energy. Briefly, victory is the crown of moral quality, and therefore, while nations wage war on one another, the 'survival of the fittest' means the survival of the ethically best.

When we examine the past in the light of this truth we have already seen that some of the greatest movements among mankind bear witness to it. But I suggest that there is room here for a new science of history, and space for a new field of human thought. To look back through the vistas of the past upon the struggles of nations and the conflicts of States; to test the law that morality tends to bring victory by the knowledge which historians possess of the social conditions of warring rivals; to judge where and how far the rule has applied and where and how far it has failed—these are surveys calculated to widen the human mind by a new outlook, and to carry lessons vital to our modern world.

When in the fourteenth century the archers of England shot death into the ranks of the chivalry of France; when England alone among the peoples of Europe possessed an infantry which had predominant value in war, was not the prowess of those good English yeomen the direct product of a national life superior in its social state and in its moral quality to that of the French, or perhaps of any other European people of that day? If so, Crecy and Poictiers and Agincourt were the direct outcome of a higher military efficiency proceeding from a higher morale.

Again, when in Elizabethan days the Puritan mariners of our seaports laid the foundation of empire by vindicating at the can-

non's mouth the freedom of the seas, was there not in those men, in their daring, in their initiative, in their stern energy, moral quality of a high kind—of a kind higher than that of the Spaniard whom they vanquished?

These are but instances of that vast and as yet untrodden field of history in which is to be sought the part which moral quality has played in determining the rise and the decline of nations, the moral impulse that has led to victory, and the moral decay that has preluded defeat.

But if study conducted on these lines would illumine the past, far more would it illumine the present. Why is it that now, when their material resources are greater far than any of which in recorded time any people ever boasted, the whole Anglo-Saxon race, alike in the British Empire and in the United States, is in visible peril of overthrow at the hands of rivals far poorer, in the case of Japan, and in that of Germany of dominions incomparably less rich and less extended? Because their women shrink from motherhood and their men from the practice of arms. And of both avoidances the cause is the same, namely, the absence of that spirit of self-sacrifice which is the very essence of spiritual life. If that spirit dominated England to-day, would Englishmen decline the first duty and the first privilege of all who are not serfs—the duty and the privilege of rendering themselves fit to defend that freedom which their manlier forefathers won for them and left to them? If Englishmen were worthy of that bequest, would they hide, as now, careless of the claims of Empire, behind their ships? And would they, while crouching thus, suffer—with a madness of folly to which history affords few parallels—the relative decline even of the very fleet which is their only safeguard, until, within three years from now, they must have either but a bare equality to Germany in the North Sea—twenty-one British to twenty-one German Dreadnoughts—or else surrender the Mediterranean, and with it Malta, Egypt, and the route to the East, to the mercy of Germany's pledged allies?

The truth is that armaments are the reflection of the national soul. The immense naval and military strength of Germany is the reflex of moral and social conditions better than our own. The excess of her birth rate over ours (and still more over that of France) is in itself the proof of that superiority. For the growth of her population involves not the production of degenerates, but of a sound and vigorous race. Patriotism, public spirit, frugality and industry are the essential moral factors which render possible the vast armed force which Germany wields. And in all these factors it must be admitted, with whatever shame and sorrow, that she surpasses England. Therefore, if in the gigantic process of international competition England fall before Germany—which

fate may God avert—then that fall will follow from no other destiny than the destiny inwoven with the universal law which in this article I have attempted to set forth, the law that the higher morality tends to produce the greater military strength.

If in all these considerations any force be admitted to inhere, then clearly the duty of patriotism and of preparation for war is reinforced ten thousandfold. If what has been here advanced is sound, then from every pulpit in the land the voice of exhortation should be heard, urging every man and every woman to serve God in and through service to their country.

The discovery that Christianity is incompatible with the military spirit is made only among decaying peoples. While a nation is still vigorous, while its population is expanding, while the blood in its veins is strong, then on this head no scruples are felt. But when its energies begin to wither, when self-indulgence takes the place of self-sacrifice, when its sons and its daughters become degenerate, then it is that a spurious and bastard humanitarianism masquerading as religion declares war to be an anachronism and a barbaric sin.

Yet this cry of weakness is sporadic only and alters no world facts. War remains the means by which, as between nations or races, the universal law that the higher shall supersede the lower continues to work. From Great Britain and from the United States, whence the military spirit is passing away, this bleat of feebleness is now proceeding. But it is not heard among the two most energetic and efficient peoples now upon earth. It is not heard in Germany, and it is not heard in Japan. The wolf who has lost his teeth does not wish to fight, but the wolves whose jaws are still strong do not share his pious desire.

Even while this article has been penned, a new and astonishing outburst of sentimentality has been witnessed in the Anglo-Saxon world. President Taft has declared himself, according to report, in favour of the application of the principle of arbitration even to questions involving national honour and national independence. One single interrogation is sufficient to display the utter hollowness of this attitude. Is the President of the United States willing to submit the Monroe doctrine to such arbitrament? And if the award of the Jurists of the Hague Tribunal is given against him, are he and the people of whom he is the official chief willing to see, first the inhabitants of Japan, and, in sequent time, the myriads of China, pour into South America and Mexico, found States under their own flag, and establish an immense military organisation on the land frontiers of unarmed, English-speaking North America? Nay, if the Japanese claimed, and the Court of Arbitration allowed, an unrestricted immigration of the yellow race into the Anglo-Saxon area, is this generation of United States

citizens ready passively to submit? If so, then those citizens are potentially slaves already, and they deserve the doom which would inevitably be theirs, for they would be guilty of the greatest act of betrayal, alike of their forefathers and of their posterity, of which the annals of mankind record any trace.

But if, as is of course the fact, the people of the States, even though they appear to have lost all military instinct, are yet not so deeply degraded as to incur this gigantic infamy, then their refusal withdraws an entire continent from arbitral award, it denies to the yellow nations what to them seem their most natural and righteous demands, and it fixes the determination of the latter to achieve by war those great ends which in no other way can they possibly attain.

The real Court, the only Court, in which this case can and will be tried is the Court of God, which is war. This Twentieth Century will see that trial, and in the issue, which may be long in the balance, whichever people shall have in it the greater soul of righteousness will be the victor.

This single instance suffices to show the unutterable folly of all those in this country, or in the States, who imagine that, in any time to which the eye of living man can see, artificial agreements can arrest national growths.

But the full absurdity of this idea becomes revealed only when we reflect upon the nature of the considerations which alone must guide the Board of Jurists who are to decide the destiny of nations and the distribution of races upon earth. They will have to make that decision in accordance with the existing *status quo* and with bits of paper which are written treaties. But the *status quo* is the very thing which, in the case of America, the yellow race claims the right to smash. And in face of such a claim, the bits of paper are bits of paper and nothing else.

The Hague Tribunal would say in effect to the Japanese plaintiff: 'Three hundred years ago the ancestors of some few of the present denizens of the United States went to America, and in the course of these three subsequent centuries their descendants, or other subsequent immigrants, or the descendants of these, practically extirpated the previous sparse population, overran the country, cultivated it, made roads and railways through it, and built great towns. Therefore, it is theirs to do with as they will, and if they choose to say that they will not suffer the unrestricted entrance of your own population, even as peaceful settlers, you must submit, because nothing short of compulsion by force, which is war, could alter this resolve. Recollect that war is wicked, and abandon accordingly your national ambitions. Moreover, you must remember that some eighty years ago, a president of the defendant Republic declared what is called "the Monroe doctrine," by which he asserted the intention of this Republic to prevent

any non-American State from acquiring in future one foot of land in any part of the whole American continent. We are sorry that this intention should so completely frustrate your national desires, but it still holds, and it cannot be broken except by war, which the supporters of this Monroe doctrine, like their kinsfolk in England, consider to be wrong and do not want to have. Indeed they are not prepared for it. Therefore, go away, and be good.'

Japan might say in reply: 'That the defendant Republic is in present possession of the territory which it claims as its own, or that it has long enjoyed that territory, is no reason why we should be kept out of it now. They have had their turn and we mean to have ours. Let them keep us out if they can. As for their Monroe doctrine, it seems to us the most monstrous claim of which we have ever heard. We are driven to desire new territory by the strongest impulses which can animate a nation. Our population is increasing with prodigious speed. Our men are warriors. They have fighting blood in their veins. We love our country and we desire the increase of its power and its dominion with a passion which you pale Westerns seem no longer able to understand. We have made already great efforts and great sacrifices to secure the ascendency of our race in coming time, and we are ready and eager to make greater efforts and greater sacrifices yet. We will win that ascendency, or we will die. At this very moment we are absolute masters of the waters of the Eastern hemisphere of the globe. The waning fleet of Britain is tied to its own shores by the German menace. The Fleet of the United States recently took four months to pass, during peace, from its Atlantic to its Pacific seaboard. It would require time still longer during war, because it could not coal at neutral ports. When it arrived, we think we could treat it as we treated the Russian fleet in the straits of Tsu-shima. At any rate, that issue we are prepared to submit—not to you—but to the God of battles.

'Moreover, we have already taken steps and expended substance in order to make sure in advance of victory against the United States. Many thousand of our troops are already established in the guise of settlers in the Pacific slope and in Mexico, and as we could reinforce them to the full extent of our military strength through our complete command of the sea, it is even now beyond the power of the States to expel them. They have been warned of all this by a book called *The Valour of Ignorance*, and their War Department has reported to their Congress that an army of 450,000 men is required for either seaboard. But they pay no heed, and therefore our chance is now at hand. Their politicians are ignorant of history and of war. Their men are, like women, untrained to arms. They gather wealth without seeing that wealth undefended is wealth that an enemy may seize.

Unless they soon acquire that training, they shall be, ere many years are past, as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the yellow peoples. You tell us that war is wrong. We think it in exact accordance with the nature of man, we are certain that it is in accordance with our own nature, and we see in it the only means by which a virile nation can supersede a nation that has grown soft. Perish your Hague Tribunal, with its old woman's babble, and let Japan go forward.'

This reply is substantially the real answer which is now being made, not in words, but in acts, by Japan to the sentimentalists of England and of the United States.

In a strain not dissimilar is Germany by her acts giving response: 'Our population also, like that of Japan, is still growing fast. We need outlets for it, and because the sense of nationality is strong within us, we desire, and we will have, those outlets under our own flag. But when we look forth into the world, we find all those temperate regions wherein our German folk might live and multiply and flourish already occupied by the Anglo-Saxon race, either in the British Empire, or in the United States, or in the rest of the American continent throughout which the Monroe doctrine forbids us to found our Colonies. Like Japan, we seek ascendency, and we seek dominion, and we seek also the material wealth which we think dominion will bring. Moreover, we too are a nation trained to arms, and we too have shown in the past, and are ready to show again, that we are capable of sacrifice to fulfil what we deem should be our national destiny.

'But the British Isles, and the British Navy based on those Isles, are geographically interposed between us and the attainment of our national ambition. England, with that Navy, is as an armed bastion or outwork of the United States placed far on the east of the Atlantic. We cannot strike at her daughter States, we cannot strike at the great Republic, until we have defeated that Navy, until we have stormed that bastion. Therefore we will remain friends, the best of friends, with the remoter half of Anglo-Saxondom, until we shall have crushed that nearer half of it which lies at our doors. To achieve this end we have been steadily building a great fleet, and we have secured the co-operation of two allies, Austria and Italy, both of whom are now proceeding to build Dreadnoughts. Within three short years the fleets of the Triple Alliance will be a match for that of England, unless in the meantime England awakens to the reality of her situation and makes a great shipbuilding effort. To meet that effort by a similar effort might impose on us a financial strain which we shun. Therefore we must try by our diplomacy to avert the need.

'For this reason we should be more than willing—we should be eager—to agree with England not to lay down during the next two or three years more than the same number of battleships which she lays down herself. Then in three years the gain to us will be immense, and the chance of England will be gone. For in three years her older armoured ships, her pre-Dreadnoughts, will be, like our own, out of date, and as she has now two of these to every one of ours, the resulting advantage to ourselves is as obvious as it will be great. Then she will have either to build against the Triple Alliance, which may be able, without impossible exertion, to lay down eight battleships a year, and other units in corresponding quantity, or else to cede her world position whenever we choose. But in any case (unless immediately she makes her effort) she will have in 1914 but a bare equality to her three united rivals, and if she is forced to fight us, either then, or even in the intervening time, she will be under terrible and crippling disadvantage.

'For in another direction also we have taken steps to secure her downfall. The life of her people depends on seaborne supply, and that supply we have devised measures to intercept. We have at least 128 merchant vessels fit to act as commerce destroyers, and all these we intend to convert into men-of-war on the high seas wherever we see fit to attack England. In all of these we shall have placed guns and ammunition, and by successive transformations from warships to merchantships, and *vice versâ*, they will be able to coal in all neutral ports. England for three years, 1906, 1907, and 1908, almost ceased to build commerce-protecting cruisers, and hence she has now but twenty-seven in all the seas of the world outside Europe.

'But this is not all our advantage. As the relative naval strength of England declines, as her power to defend her own merchantmen passes away, so does the assistance of the neutral become more vital to her. But if only her Government can be induced to ratify finally the Declaration of London, and to submit to the decisions of an International Prize Court, then her doom is sealed indeed. For by Article 34 of the Declaration, the substance of which we drew up, we have made all neutral ships, carrying food or other conditional contraband to English ports, subject to be captured or to be sunk by our cruisers or converted traders. Our object is to be able to create panic prices, and therefore famine, in England, and this object we think we have now secured.

'But now you of the Arbitration Court tell us that war is an infamy. To us it seems the only means of fulfilling national purpose. To us preparation for war seems the first business of a Government. We have not neglected that business. Since Eng-

land, and if the United States have neglected it, let them pay for their supine folly.'

The fleets, the armies, and the diplomacy of Germany are in substance and effect speaking words like these throughout the world. Our forefathers would have heard this warning and met this peril, but now our public men, and many of the organs of our Press, appear incapable of analysis, and bent on nothing but the utterance of popular platitude. In nothing is this mental feebleness more plain than in the prevalent confusion of thought between an Anglo-American alliance, which is indeed a most urgent necessity in the interests of both peoples, and the idea of a universal alliance, precluding future war. This idea is, for the causes given, not only ineffably absurd, but also fraught with the most deadly mischief. Two unmilitary peoples, threatened by the same danger, speaking the same language, and largely even now of the same blood, may well find it expedient to unite such forces as they possess for their common defence against great armed nations. But to infer from the advisability of such a union that the reign of everlasting peace upon earth is about to begin, and that what remains of their military spirit may therefore soon be suffered to lapse, is the very negation of human reason, and the surest method of securing their common downfall. The whole circumstances of the world prove the direct opposite of such belief. Never was national and racial feeling stronger upon earth than it is now. Never was preparation for war so tremendous and so sustained. Never was striking power so swift and so terribly formidable. What is manifest now is that the Anglo-Saxon world, with all its appurtenant Provinces and States, is in the most direct danger of overthrow final and complete, owing to the decay of its military virtue, and of the noble qualities upon which all military virtue is built. Throughout that world, in churches and in chapels, on the platform, as in the pulpit, in the Press, and on the stage, which is our chief temple now, the voice of every God-fearing man should be raised, through the spoken or through the written word, to kindle anew the spark that is dying, to preach the necessity of self-sacrifice for the country's cause, and to revive that dying military spirit which God gave to our race that it might accomplish His will upon earth.

The shadow of conflict and of displacement greater than any which mankind has known since Attila and his Huns were stayed at Châlons is visibly impending over the world. Almost can the ear of imagination hear the gathering of the legions for the fiery trial of peoples, a sound vast as the trumpet of the Lord of Hosts.

HAROLD F. WYATT.

THE NAVY ESTIMATES, 1911-12

The present writer was in former years a frequent contributor to this Review. The associations of the past are not forgotten. It is a privilege to renew them. At the request of the Editor, the following notes have been prepared, dealing briefly with the Navy Estimates now before Parliament. The demands are unprecedented in time of peace. We may look for reductions in the coming years.

The leading figures are given in the Memorandum of the First Lord. The estimates for 1911-12 amount to 44,392,500*l.*, as against 40,603,700*l.* for 1910-11. For the manning of the fleet 3000 more men are required. New construction will cost 15,063,877*l.*, as against 13,279,830*l.*

Let us compare our total expenditure, and our votes for manning and construction, with those of foreign navies. Naval requirements must be measured by comparisons. The total naval expenditure for 1910 is given in the *Naval Annual* as under :—Great Britain, 40,603,700*l.*; Germany, 21,247,588*l.*; United States, 26,515,468*l.*; France, 13,659,820*l.* Amounts voted for new construction :—Great Britain, 13,279,830*l.*; Germany, 11,921,195*l.*; United States, 6,222,100*l.*; France, 5,918,292*l.* Personnel :—The numbers voted in 1910 were as under :—Great Britain, 131,600 (now raised to 134,000); United States, 60,500; Germany, 57,353; France, 57.000; Japan, 47,500; Italy, 31,000; Russia, 15,124.

In aggregate expenditure we are not far below the two-power standard. In number of men we have a large excess. In new construction we have not in recent years attempted to keep pace with the sudden expansion in Germany. If, however, we look back over the ten years 1901-10, the total voted for new construction for Great Britain has aggregated 118,000,000*l.*, as against 58,000,000*l.* for Germany. The naval position does not depend on spasmodic efforts. It is the slow creation of a long period.

The estimates have been criticised as usual by those who think that we spend too little, and by those who think we spend too much. In the sphere of party politics the latter are the more formidable to the First Lord. They threaten defection from the

ranks of his own supporters. The layman, whose judgment is not disturbed by party spirit, will look for guidance to the foot of the estimates. He will find that they bear the signatures of the Naval Lords—Sir Arthur Wilson, First Sea Lord, acknowledged in the Navy as a pre-eminent master of his profession, Sir Francis Bridgeman, lately appointed to the highest naval command, Admiral Briggs, the Controller, and Captain Madden. These officers know the needs of the naval service. They have information beyond what is accessible to critics out of doors as to the state of foreign navies. They have a full grasp of the situation. They would not have signed unless they had been satisfied that the provision which Parliament was asked to make was adequate. If they have not insisted on the full two-power standard in new construction, they must have been satisfied as to the position now and in the near future.

As to leading facts, the civilian may verify for himself. In dealing with Germany, the annuals published in that country—*Nauticus*, and the *Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten*—may be accepted as authorities. They give the strength in Dreadnoughts by the end of 1913 at 13 ships for Germany and 27 for Great Britain; to be increased in 1914 to 17 ships for Germany and 28 for Great Britain. In the spring of 1914, Mr. McKenna's programme will give us 30 Dreadnoughts. During the same year Germany may have 21 ships completed. In Dreadnoughts, if we are not up to a two-power standard, we have a decided superiority. In pre-Dreadnoughts there can be no question as to the advantage on the side of Great Britain.

As we stand to-day, it is well not to begin building ships earlier than is necessary in order to have them ready when they are wanted. Money may be saved, and advantage taken of the newest ideas. The present writer has never been convinced that it is policy to allow a continual growth in displacements and cost of individual ships. As destroyers increase in dimensions, and become more truly sea-keeping vessels, as the range and the power of the torpedo increase, so the big ships must become more vulnerable. At night—and winter nights are long—in fog—and the fogs of an English summer last for days—in misty and rainy weather, slender indeed are the means of defence for Dreadnoughts from the attacks of invisible assailants. Off Port Arthur it was seen how great are the perils for big ships from submarine mines. Nor should the hazards of navigation in narrow and shallow waters be put out of view. We had a recent instance when a division of the Home Fleet recently entered the harbour of Ferrol. Two battleships struck heavily on uncharted rocks. The Dreadnought must have had a close shave. If the three ships had remained on the rocks, a profound impression would have

been produced. The advocates of ever-increasing dimensions would have been silenced. These considerations point to the possibility of reaction from super-Dreadnoughts to the less excessive dimensions of an earlier period. Meanwhile the Dreadnought is the ship of the day. Public opinion will not suffer that we should be outmatched. For the present we must continue to build Dreadnoughts.

By their continuous efforts to strengthen the flotilla, the Admiralty have shown their confidence in the efficiency of the torpedo vessel, as against the heavy ship, under conditions which favour the assailant. *Nauticus*, May 1910, gives the list of torpedo vessels as under :—

	Over 200 Tons.	80 to 200 Tons.
Great Britain	205	36
Building	53	—
Germany	104	71
Building	15	—
United States	25	19
Building	15	—

In submarines we are far ahead except as regards France. The *Naval Annual* 1910 gives the relative strength in these vessels :—

	Built.	Building.
Great Britain	60	24
United States	18	17
Germany	6	6
France	60	28

We may now deal with cruisers. In his speech on the estimates, Mr. Balfour expressed grave doubts as to the provision for the defence of commerce. He saw no adequate plan for preserving those long lines of communication on which our very existence as a commercial nation depends. The *Naval Annual for* 1910 gives the relative strength of the naval powers in armoured and protected cruisers, as under :—

	Great Britain.		United States.		Germany.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
First-class	51	630,000	15	187,000	13	153,000
Second-class	34	202,000	3	21,000	6	34,000
Third-class	34	109,000	14	49,000	32	99,000

In cruisers it has been the continuous policy of the British Admiralty to push construction far beyond the two-power standard. The Admiralty have neglected the mercantile auxiliaries. In the discussions on the Declaration of London, apprehension has been chiefly expressed as to the possible injury to commerce from the conversion of merchant steamers into cruisers on the high seas. The means of defence are ready to our hands in the creation of an effective fleet of auxiliary cruisers. The highest

professional authority may be cited in support of the policy suggested—Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, the late Sir Edward Reed, Sir William White, and Professor Biles. With an effective reserve of auxiliary cruisers the expenditure on unarmoured ships might be reduced. The amount arrests attention. The estimated expenditure in 1910-11 exceeded 1,800,000*l*. It will be somewhat reduced in the coming financial year. Cruiser construction elsewhere has practically ceased. We are building for the British Navy in 1910-11 nine second-class cruisers, 4800 to 5250 tons, and four third-class cruisers, 3300 tons. Five unarmoured ships have been ordered. Canada is about to lay down four, Australia three, New Zealand two ships—all of the Bristol type. In Germany four third-class cruisers only are in hand, and advancing slowly to completion. The *Kolberg*, 4300 tons, which has recently gone through her trials, was launched in 1908. The *Köln* has made little progress. The German programme provides for two such vessels yearly. No second or third class cruisers are building for any other Power.

Third-class cruisers can scarcely be reckoned as fighting ships. On limited displacements, protection by vertical armour is impossible. A single shot might be fatal. The complements—very largely for engine-room duties—are nearly half the number required for the Dreadnoughts. The speed of twenty-five knots is the essential characteristic, and it is dearly bought.

The Bristol class were designed as the scouts of the fleet, and as the depot ships and escorting vessels to flotillas of destroyers. For these services, cruisers have been superseded by destroyers. The latest type exceed 1000 tons. They can keep the seas without escort. They are effective for scouting duties.

As a reserve of escorting vessels to destroyers we have a valuable and hitherto neglected resource in the steamers engaged in the cross-Channel services. We have 39 such vessels, in tonnage ranging from 1000 to 2500 tons, with a sea speed of 20 knots and above. Armed with the torpedo, these swift and seaworthy vessels would give to the Navy an effective auxiliary flotilla for coast defence. Steps should be taken in this matter.

Let us turn to efficiency of administration. Comparisons show that our strength in combatant ships is not in proportion to our vast excess in expenditure. The deficiency in ships is mainly due to the large excess in the numbers of permanent men. The British Navy is manned by voluntary enlistment; the German by conscription. We have to pay for individual freedom. The British expenditure on pay, half-pay, and pensions, aggregates nearly 13,000,000*l*. The similar heads of charge, as given in the German Navy Estimates, summarised in the *Naval Annual*, aggregate less than 2,000,000*l*. This amount can scarcely cover

the whole expenditure, but in any case the excess of charge for the manning of the British Navy is great.

Numbers of men involve a proportionate expenditure on ships in construction, not only on battleships but on cruisers. Of armoured cruisers Great Britain has thirty-five; Germany five. In unarmoured cruisers, destroyers, submarines, mine-layers, attached ships, repairing and hospital ships, despatch vessels, and the many vessels, both harbour and seagoing, employed in the training service, and as tenders to the school of gunnery, the numbers under the British flag are incomparably greater than under the flags of the Triple Alliance.

In Eastern waters we have five first-class cruisers. Germany, France, and the United States have each one vessel of the same class. We have three second-class and twelve third-class cruisers, as against Germany four, France one, United States four. In the surveying service we have eight vessels permanently in commission, Germany three, and that only for the summer months.

Naval training is given in the British service on a scale not approached elsewhere. Battles, as Sir Reginald Custance has said, are won by men and not by ships. That truth has been attested all through the long records of naval history, from Salamis to Tsushima. It is the pride and glory of the British Navy that victories have been gained, not by mere superiority of force, but by that pre-eminence in skill and conduct which it is the aim of the British Admiralty by unsparing efforts to maintain. Our large and highly trained force gives us a telling advantage, ignored in discussions on the state of the Navy. We may carry a policy, sound in principle, beyond the necessity of the case. It is certain that our strength in fighting vessels of an effective type is not sufficient to absorb the full numbers voted for the naval service. For the line of battle, for the manning of armoured cruisers, and for the torpedo flotilla, the Admiralty may be justified in making full provisions for manning without aid from reserves. For the protection of commerce, for the manning of large cruisers despatched to distant waters, a considerable proportion of the complements might be drawn from the reserves.

A few observations as to scrapping. It is not policy to destroy armoured ships and cruisers, not twenty years old, in sound condition, and still fit for certain services. The armoured ships which have been ruthlessly broken up would have been valuable for the defence of ports and harbours in distant parts of the Empire—Brisbane, Melbourne, Adelaide—with approaches through inland seas. These battleships of the elder day need not have been kept afloat. As fixed defences, aground on shoals, adjacent to navigable channels, their heavy and well protected guns would have materially strengthened the means of resistance to attack.

Cruisers have been too freely scrapped. Vessels which from want of speed may have ceased to be effective for the chase and capture of hostile vessels of the latest type might for many years have been valuable for the protection of the coasting trade of Australia if threatened by a stray raider. High speed may be essential in giving chase. It is less essential for the duties of convoy. Let us not repeat these errors of the past. As we continue from year to year to build, as well in the protected as the armoured classes, the earlier ships are falling out of date for naval operations in European waters. They should be put into a state of repair and placed in reserve in the great ports of the outer Empire. They would be valuable as drill ships. In an emergency they could take their part in the defence of commerce. The dispositions suggested would secure considerable economy in our naval expenditure. The charge for repairs would cease; and it is sometimes considerable. The Navy Estimates now before Parliament include, under the head of large repairs to vessels having no protection by side armour, for the *Amphitrite*, 30,866*l.*; *Argonaut*, 91,042*l.*; *Europa*, 72,621*l.* These cruisers, with a displacement of 11,000 tons and a speed of 21 knots, would be more valuable in Australian, South African, and Canadian waters than nearer home. We have eight ships of the same type on our list. The full complement of vessels of the class under consideration numbers 677 men. If these ships were permanently stationed in Colonial waters, and formed part of the Australian Navy, the Commonwealth would provide for manning.

Estimates must be framed by comparisons of naval strength and progress, and at the present juncture mainly with Germany. It is inevitable that we measure ourselves with the power which is making the most strenuous efforts in the reinforcement of the navy. We do not question the policy which Germany has pursued. True it is that a powerful navy is not necessary to secure free access to British possessions, where the door stands open as widely to German traders as to our own subjects. Contingencies may arise however in other regions of the world, in dealing with which naval force might be necessary in support of diplomatic action. Among all responsible statesmen a new sense of the influence of naval power on the course of events has been created, largely through the writings of Admiral Mahan.

Naval weakness in former times was a moving cause of the discontent then universal in Germany. In a memoir on the political condition, written in 1847, Prince Hohenlohe, then Minister at Athens, used these words:—'No one will deny that it is hard on a thinking energetic man to be unable to say abroad "I am a German," and not to be able to pride himself that the German flag is flying from his vessel. And when we study the map

and see how in the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean no German flag commands the customary salute . . . surely the hue of shame will rise into our cheeks. . . . The industry so largely fostered by the Zollverein no longer suffices for our commerce in its present great extension. Our trade seeks extraneous markets and connexions over sea. The outcry at the deficiencies of the German fleet will be handled with fresh vigour by the now emancipated Press.'

The number of ships proposed under the German Navy Law is not excessive, although we might wish that construction had been spread over a longer period. For ourselves, we have no aggressive designs. We desire close friendship with a nation to which we are bound by racial bonds, by glorious traditions, and by the interchange of trade on a vast scale.

Potentially, the United States must be reckoned the first of naval powers. The great republic of the west is unassailable by sea, and has at command resources unmatched elsewhere. The recent declarations of President Taft are of happy augury. They seem to herald the dawn of a brighter day for all English-speaking men. President Taft has declared for Courts of Arbitration. He is ready to negotiate for settlement of every issue, no matter what it involves, by International Courts. Rightly interpreting the sentiment of the country, Sir Edward Grey has said that the advances of President Taft should not go without response. Mr. Balfour has given assurance to the country that he and those with whom he acts acclaim with one voice the noble policy for which President Taft has declared.

Mr. McKenna merits a tribute. He has mastered technical questions. He has fought gallantly for sufficient appropriations. He has deserved well of the Navy and the country. He had the sympathy of all hearts when laid low in the stress of hard work.

BRASSEY.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATIONAL PENSION SCHEME—II

In the December number of this Review a scheme was outlined in which an attempt was made to show how it was possible to remove the great difficulties which lie in the way of establishing a complete and liberal system of subsidised insurance for the industrial classes and for those other persons whose earnings, although sufficient for ordinary needs, are not great enough to make adequate provision for old age, permanent invalidity, sickness, accident, or premature death. The objects of this second article are (I.) to state more fully the proposals of the suggested scheme, (II.) to bring out in clear relief the importance of two fundamental propositions upon which the success of any scheme of subsidised insurance appears to depend, and (III.) to reply to criticisms published and unpublished.

(I)

The following suggestions in regard to the administrative machinery, to the treatment of the minor problems which arise, and to the initial steps for bringing a scheme such as that which is proposed into operation, do not profess to be complete or by any means perfect. They are made with the object of conveying a more complete impression of the scheme as a practical proposition: that they can be improved upon is certain, for the framing of laws upon this complicated subject is known to be the work of years and one which calls for the fullest deliberation:

(i.) A central Pensions Office or Department is proposed, in which the accounts of the insurance fund would be kept and to which all questions of doubt would be referred. A small staff of travelling inspectors would be attached to this office, but no system of local offices or other new machinery is suggested.

(ii.) The enrolment of the persons to whom the obligation to insure applies is in this scheme confined to employed persons under the age of 20, and is therefore a much smaller task than where compulsory insurance applies at all ages. The enrol-

ment of those persons who are over 20 on the appointed day, but elect to come in under the transitory provisions applicable to them, and the enrolment of the voluntary insurers would of course be confined to recording the names and verifying the ages of those who notified their intention to insure. If it be made the duty of each employed person under the age of 20 earning less than 3*l.* per week to notify his or her name, address, age and place of birth certification, and if it be also made the duty of each employer to notify the names of persons in his employ who are, or appear to be, under the age of 20, the roll could be filled without instituting any special census; for there is no reason to suspect any intentional evasion on the part of those who are beginning life and have not yet felt its strain, more particularly in the case of a scheme which is so beneficial to the young. In a scheme where the benefits are lower in comparison to the contributions, and where persons of all ages are to be brought in compulsorily, a census might be necessary. In this matter, and in the building up and perfecting of the administrative processes, there appears to be great advantage in a scheme which does not apply compulsorily to the whole population at the outset.

(iii.) The collection of the obligatory contributions is entirely in the hands of the employer, and it is suggested that, after deducting the proportion due from the employed and adding the share for which he is himself liable, he should discharge himself of the whole amount by affixing the necessary stamp to the current contribution sheet of the employed. Each member of the fund would thus be in a position to check immediately the amount paid on his behalf. The contribution sheets would be periodically transmitted to the Pensions Office. A simpler arrangement than that of stamping each workman's sheet can be substituted in the case of any large employer who is prepared to submit his wage accounts to inspection when required. The contributions of the voluntary insurers would be collected in most cases by the Friendly Societies, but payment through the Post Office would also be permitted.

In order to keep each member informed of the extent of his or her insurance, and in a position to verify the account, it is suggested that a permanent book should be supplied to each member. Upon presentation of this book at the local post office the amount of contribution, up to the date at which it was last recorded in the Pensions Office, *e.g.* the end of the last quarter, would be entered up and also the amount of the existing invalidity insurance and that of the pension claimable on retirement at 60, 65, or 70 if the contributions continue at their existing average. This book would serve the purpose of identification.

(iv.) The suggested scales of premiums and of insurances are set out in the table and notes below. In order to present them in a complete form the division of the contribution between the employer and the employed, which was provisionally suggested in the December number, has been included, and a scale of invalidity insurance and of orphan allowances which, as shown on page 630, will be covered by the income of the fund. (The transitory scales applicable to part-contributors are referred to in xii. below.)

Earnings in shillings per week including emoluments.	Premium in pence per week.			State Supplement	Weekly allowances claimable on retirement or in case of permanent invalidity between 20 and 60.							
	Employed.	Employer.	Total.	Percentage to premium	Invalidity		Retirement at 60.		Retirement at 65.		Retirement at 70.	
					s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
10	½	1½	2	8 %	3	4	3	4	5	0	6	8
15	1½	1½	3	80%	5	0	5	0	7	6	10	0
20	2	2	4	80%	6	8	6	8	10	0	13	4
25	3¾	1¼	5	80%	8	4	8	4	12	6	16	8
30	4½	1½	6	80%	10	0	10	0	15	0	20	0
35	7	—	7	80%	11	8	11	8	17	6	23	4
40	8	—	8	80%	13	4	13	4	20	0	26	8
45	9	—	9	60%	13	4	13	4	20	0	26	8
50	10	—	10	44%	13	4	13	4	20	0	26	8
55	11	—	11	31%	13	4	13	4	20	0	26	8
60	12	—	12	20%	13	4	13	4	20	0	26	8
over 60	14	—	14	3%	13	4	13	4	20	0	26	8

(*a*) The premiums are charged on any earnings received after the commencement of the sixteenth year, and cease on retirement, or in any case at 65. The calculation of their average amount for the purpose of arriving at the insurance is in no case carried beyond the age of 65.

(*b*) For intermediate wages the contribution is to be the nearest penny to 4*d*. in the pound, so that an additional 2*s*. 6*d*. or more increases the contribution by 1d. and raises the scale of insurance proportionately.

(*c*) The suggested employer's share is 75 per cent. on earnings up to 10*s*. per week, 50 per cent. on earnings between 10*s*. and 20*s*., and 25 per cent. on earnings between 20*s*. and 30*s*. As he bears the whole cost of accident compensation, and as a great majority of the members earn less than 30*s*. per week, this division casts upon him the larger half of the combined charge.

(*d*) It will be observed that the pension scales do not advance beyond the level which they reach when the earnings average 2*l*. per week, and that the saving which arises from this fact in the case of higher paid members affects the amount of the State subsidy.

(*e*) The calculation of the allowance is governed by the following simple rule:—For an invalidity claim (which, subject to the prescribed conditions, vests at any time between the ages of 20 and 60) or for a retiring pension claimed at 60, it is twenty times the average contribution—*i.e.* one-third of the average actual earnings including emoluments. For each year that the claim is deferred after the age of 60 this multiple is increased by two: thus at 65 it is 30 and at 67 it is 34.

(*f*) The admission of voluntary additions to the premiums up to the age of 30 (with a limit of 1*l*. per year) enables the insurers to make a material increase in these allowances. An extra payment of twopence per week, or

8s. 8d. per year, throughout this period, which might easily be accomplished by an unmarried person living with his or her parents or employers, would increase the pension claimable at 65 by 1s. 6d. per week and the early invalidity insurance by a larger amount.

(*g*) The proposed arrangement for co-operation with the Friendly Societies (see page 620) would maintain the contribution during the periods of sickness or temporary invalidity, so that the pensions would not suffer by these misfortunes.

(*h*) The proposed orphan allowance is at the rate of ten times the average contribution for each child under 16 years of age, up to a maximum of thirty times; it is also limited to 20*s*. per week. Thus, if a worker who has contributed on 30*s*. a week dies leaving one orphan under 16, an allowance of 5*s*. per week would be made, and for three or more an allowance of 15*s*.

(*i*) For a woman married or single the pension is calculated in the same manner. But a special provision has been included to save her from loss by the cessation of her contributions during married life, viz. as a widow she becomes entitled to include half her husband's contributions during married life in calculating her pension, which in all other respects follows the ordinary conditions. Thus a woman who has contributed on 15*s*. per week while unmarried, and whose husband has contributed on 30*s*. per week, will be entitled to the same pension as a woman who has continuously contributed on 15*s*. per week.

(v.) In connexion with the collection of contributions some of the great administrative advantages of the 'proportionate' system become apparent. It removes the temptation to evade payment and the need for assessment of the earnings, for classification into wage groups with the manifold complications which ensue, for fixing the rate of contribution, for supervision to prevent evasion of full payment, for inquiry into the causes of lapse in contribution, for forfeiture or delay of the pensions on account of lapses not due to sickness, or for reduction of the State supplement in such cases. It also relieves the employer of various tedious duties, *e.g.* ascertaining the position of the contribution account of a new or temporary servant, and adjusting the deductions and additions which he has to make in order that the correct quota for the year or week may be pieced up.

Under the proposed scheme evasion of contribution never robs the pension fund, but carries with it its own punishment—a proportionate reduction in the insurance. This important condition applies automatically to all members earning less than a continuous average of 2*l*. per week, whether they be obligatory or voluntary insurers, *i.e.* to at least 92% of the membership (the conditions in regard to the remaining 8% are dealt with in vii. below). In a great majority of the cases it would also need the connivance of the employer in order to reduce or raise the rate of premium. Under these circumstances it is safe to leave the whole business of settling the actual amount of contribution in the hands of the persons primarily concerned, *i.e.* of the members and of their employers. Over-contribution is a matter

with which the pension administration need not concern itself, excepting that it would be desirable to investigate the facts if any cases of exceptional increase during the last years of contribution are observed. The correct adjustment of fractions may with perfect safety be left to the employers.

(vi.) The independent and intermittent workers are of necessity voluntary insurers : no amount of regulation can impose upon them compulsory thrift or regulate the extent to which they shall insure : any attempt to do so adds enormously to the complications of the system and to the bulk of its regulations, and, moveover, it is certain to fail. Where the whole question of insurance or no insurance is of necessity a matter of choice, there does not appear to be any call to interfere in regard to the extent of the voluntary insurance within its prescribed limits.

The scheme is one of insurance largely enhanced by subsidy, and although it is proposed to apply it compulsorily to all employed persons earning less than 3*l.* per week, it is upon the liberal scale of its benefits as compared with its contributions that it relies for success. The pension fund must be guarded from improper inroad, but the less the insurance is bound round by regulation and obligation, and the more it admits of legitimate variation and discretion—in fact, the more it partakes of the character of an ordinary insurance system—the more will it commend itself to the industrial classes of this country and to those other persons for whose benefit it is designed.

(vii.) *The operation of the maximum limit given to the pension* has a very important bearing upon these questions. This limitation has the effect of giving the full benefit of the State supplement to all insurers, both voluntary and obligatory, whose average earnings are less than 2*l.* per week, and of gradually reducing this assistance when the earnings rise above 2*l.*, until, when they reach 3*l.* per week, the position has approximated to that of a contributor whose earnings exceed the compulsory limit. Thus there is no sudden step of any moment occasioned when that limit (viz. 3*l.*) is reached, no transfer to a separate section of the pension fund is necessary, and the account can run on without any variation in its conditions if the member elects to continue to contribute at the fixed rate applicable in such case, viz. 14*d.* per week. The pension limit is a far simpler security than a wage limit for confining the voluntary insurance to the classes for which it is intended.

All these advantages follow automatically from this simple expedient of the maximum limit. But it cancels the advantages of the proportionate system as soon as the account of the member has reached the average of 8*d.* per week throughout the period of

contribution. This position will not arise in the cases of more than 3% of the members, and it may safely be assumed that 2% of these will be employed persons, for many of the independent workers whose earnings exceed 2*l*. are not in need of the insurance. The employers who are paying wages or salaries exceeding 104*l*. per annum may in general be trusted to deduct the correct proportions; occasional investigation by the inspecting staff would in any case give sufficient security. Thus the difficulty is confined to about 1% of the membership.

In order to remove this difficulty, and at the same time to secure for the poorer classes of the voluntary insurers a full share of the State aid, the scheme proposes that the Pensions Department should have authority to schedule those classes of independent and intermittent workers whose average earnings may be taken to be under the 2*l*. limit, *e.g.* all gardeners, seamstresses, charwomen and laundresses who work by the day, hucksters, chimney sweeps, out-porters, and others; that persons of these classes should be allowed to insure under the ordinary conditions, with full participation in the State aid; and that the other independent workers, viz. *les petits patrons*, should come under the same conditions as the employed persons who earn over 3*l*. per week, *i.e*. be entitled to the maximum insurance upon payment of the fixed premium of 14*d*. per week. It might be desirable to give the Pensions Department authority to deal with exceptional cases upon their merits, in order to avoid depriving any poor persons desirous of insuring of a share in the State aid, and to extend to those whose wages fall from over to under the 3*l*. limit the privilege of averaging their premiums for a prescribed period.

(viii.) To meet the case of persons whose earnings pass from under to over the 3*l*. limit, the following provisions are suggested, viz. :—That they be entitled to retain the insurance they have effected, to continue it with the fixed premium payment of 14*d*. per week, or, when they are able to show that they have been receiving more than 3*l*. per week for a specified period, to reclaim the amount of their contributions without interest. This covers the position which would arise when members of the classes who do not require the insurance come, in their early years, under the obligatory limit; it also meets the cases of persons whose earnings vary about the 3*l*. limit by reason of overtime work, or other cause, and of those who wish to reclaim their contributions in order to set up in trade or independent enterprise. Members who wish to emigrate can also reclaim their contributions, provided they can satisfy the Pensions Office that they are *bona fide* emigrants. Reasonable expectation of life must be certified in each case of reclaim. Obviously retirement

under any of these circumstances is a gain to the fund of the remaining insurers, and would be so even if it were decided to add compound interest to the amounts repaid.

(ix.) The account keeping required is a record of the total amount contributed by or for each member. *That, and the age, are the only data necessary for calculating any claim.* Excepting in the case of insurers at the fixed rate of 14*d.* (in which case no calculation is necessary), all classes of contributions —the voluntary, the obligatory, the additions made by persons under 30 years of age, and the special sums credited to the account of a widow—have equal weight in the calculation. The calculation itself is of the simplest possible order, and can be verified by any member.

Thus the account-keeping, which in any scheme of universal insurance is very bulky, is of the simplest order, and far less complicated than that of the French or German system. There is no call to give different weight to contributions in different wage classes in the calculation of the pensions, or to apply any arbitrary rule for settling the class of the *Grundbetrag.* There is no occasion to take account of lapses in order to ascertain the date at which the claim vests, or in order to settle the question of forfeiture of claim, or of reduction or loss of the State supplement.

The substantiation of an invalidity claim would require a prescribed certification; in the case of members of Friendly Societies the treatment of these claims is simplified (see x. below). A widow's claim would require the production of a certificate of marriage, and of the husband's death; similar certificates would be necessary in the case of orphans' allowances.

(x.) The scheme aims at the greatest possible co-operation with the registered Friendly Societies. It leaves their independence and their responsibility untouched in the whole field of insurance against temporary needs, and offers inducements which should result in making this system of mutual insurance as complete as a voluntary system can ever become. It relieves them of all responsibility in regard to a class of claims which (though no part of their original scheme of insurance) have crept in to a varying extent by force of their pressing nature, viz. the continuous allowances to those who have finally retired from work through age or other cause.

These continuing allowances after contribution has ceased are of a very different financial nature from the other insurances which the Societies offer; and they constitute the chief call for capital reserves in their accounts. Their removal would lead to a considerable strengthening of the financial position of each Society, and make it possible for them to offer their other insur-

ances to members of the National Pension Fund at rather lower rates. This would not only form a substantial inducement to these persons to join a Friendly Society, but would also make the combined contributions press less heavily.

Another very important inducement would be established if the Friendly Societies undertook to maintain the contribution to the Pension Fund at its average rate during the period when a member was on sick pay. The State subsidy necessary to cover this would not be at all large, and periodical returns by the Societies to the Pensions Office of the periods of sick pay granted to the members concerned would suffice to give effect to it without any transfer of money. This arrangement is of great importance to the success of the scheme, whether it be accompanied by the subsidy or not, for it would secure every person who insures against sickness from reduction in his pension claim when sickness causes a lapse in his contribution.[1]

The Friendly Societies would be asked to receive the voluntary premiums of pension insurance paid by their members. Thus a single payment would cover the insurance against both temporary and permanent needs—a fact which might tend to more complete insurance. They would also be asked to disburse the invalidity allowances granted to their members prior to the age of 60. The prior receipt of sick pay from a Friendly Society for a specified period would constitute as great a security against improper claims under this heading as the Pension Fund could obtain.

The scheme aims at retaining that which is good in the existing machinery of industrial insurance; and the excellent work of the Friendly Societies in providing sick pay, medical aid, funeral money, etc. is a part of the system which does not appear to admit of improvement. No other agencies could deal with it as efficiently, and the transfer of any part of the charge to a national fund would probably reduce that efficiency. Obligatory insurance is a new feature in our social scheme, and it may perhaps be wise policy to restrict its first general application to the cases where fuller insurance is most needed, and to confine the compulsory premiums to small amount. If we add to the numbers who are covered by friendly society insurance those whose wages do not cease during temporary sickness and those, such as small shopkeepers, who do not need this insurance, we should probably find that a very large majority are already provided for during sickness. The proposal to leave temporary sickness to mutual effort, to offer incentives to the extension of that voluntary insurance, and to ascertain later whether compulsion is desirable, appears to have much to commend it. It certainly reduces the complicated task of introducing a universal pension and invalidity scheme to much more manageable proportions.

[1] For this suggestion I am indebted to Mr. McLauchlan's criticisms.

(xi.) For similar reasons the proposal to transfer to the pension fund in respect of its members the accident compensation which at present devolves upon each individual employer, and to increase his contribution to an equivalent extent, is not pressed. But this extension of the pension scheme appears to merit earlier consideration, as it would undoubtedly effect a great saving and simplification, and result in providing at the same cost a much more comprehensive insurance.

(xii.) The transitory provisions relating to those who are between the ages of 20 and 60 on the appointed day would require elaboration. The exact benefits offered at each age would have to be embodied in a schedule which could be obtained by any inquirer at the local post office. The arrangement as to the entitling age has already been suggested, viz. 61 for persons between 15 and 20, 62 for those between 20 and 25, and so on up to 69 for persons between 55 and 60. The minimum pension for those who elect to join could be 5*s.* per week; for, as the calculations of the scheme have been made on the assumption that only those who would gain by the change would so elect, this provision does not cast any extra charge upon the fund.

(xiii.) The term 'employed persons' requires statutory definition. To include all employment extending to a day or half-day would involve numerous deductions of sums too small for the coinage, and would cause an immense amount of trouble to all employers, especially the domestic. In order to extend the compulsory clauses to those persons who work for more than one employer, as far as they can be reasonably and effectively applied, the scheme proposes that this definition should include employed persons of every kind who work for the same employer for a whole week or such part thereof as to earn 5*s.* or more.

The term 'earnings' also requires definition. It must, of course, include remuneration in kind as well as in money; and it is proposed that, in order to make the task of the employer easier, the Pensions Department should be authorised to issue an order defining the amounts which shall be included in respect of such emoluments as the lodging, board, or uniform of domestic servants, shop assistants and certain other employees, and to settle the amount to be taken into calculation in any other cases in which the persons primarily concerned cannot agree upon the amount.

(II)

1. The first of the two propositions mentioned in the first paragraph of this article is *that real success cannot be attained if the present system of providing the old age pensions is retained as a permanent part of the scheme.*

(i.) If this one case—extreme old age—is to be adequately provided for upon the system of direct grant at the time of payment, the insurance fund which has to meet the more important needs which come before 70 will necessarily be starved. Many of the present taxpayers will have the unpleasant experience of seeing this free grant reach 24 millions a year or 40 per cent. more than the cost of our Poor Law system, and that with no corresponding increase in the active population who would have to bear the burden.[2] An ample insurance fund capable of meeting all claims can be liberally subsidised at much less cost; but how can this subsidy be provided in addition to the direct free grant?

(ii.) The combination of a system of free grant for one period of life with a scheme of subsidised insurance for other periods involves some very awkward anomalies; for, unless the property disqualification be removed from the old age pensions, the thrifty and industrious persons who have contributed to the pension fund at the maximum rate and have reached the age of 70 without becoming permanent invalids may reap no pension benefit, and may find the contributions simply a hindrance in their efforts to provide more than a bare subsistence for their late years or to leave a little to their children or dependents. On the other hand, a large number of persons who have contributed little or nothing, but have been content to be maintained by the community in one way or other for the bulk of their active years, will draw the full State pension after the age of 70.

(iii.) The retention of a non-contributory system for one important part of the scheme means keeping in operation the baneful influences of that system. The original old age grant was of necessity non-contributory, but it appears to be agreed that the ultimate national system should be one of subsidised insurance.

[2] The annual number of births in Great Britain has been doubled since the birth period of the present pensioners, and almost all this increase arose before the year 1876. Therefore, apart from variations in mortality and migration, the number of pensioners must increase to a corresponding extent by the year 1950. The migration statistics do not give any reason to expect that the pension roll of the future will be reduced in greater degree than the present; and the mortality statistics indicate a heavy increase, for the rate has fallen more or less steadily since 1841 from 21.7 to 15.2, and the average life-time has risen by over five years since the period 1838-1854.

The rates of increase in population of the different age periods, which are shown by the later census enumerations, considered in conjunction with the reduced mortality at ages over 25, fully support the assumption that the charge will be doubled in the next 40 years.

As the births recorded in the United Kingdom do not show any increase since 1876, but only some small variations from the average of 1,146,800 (which is also the number recorded in 1909), we cannot set off against this increase in the charge any corresponding increase in the number of active persons who will have to bear it.

Is it not better that this principle should apply to the whole scheme and that the proof of indigence as a basis of claim should be entirely removed? The latter is an inalienable part of a system which includes a non-contributory grant, unless the taxpayers' money is to go to those who are in no need of help.

(iv.) The old age grant applies to all persons whether they earn or not, whereas a contributory scheme only applies to those who earn. But is not this objection entirely met if the insurance scheme be made to include, not only those whose earnings cease through sickness, accident, or premature infirmity, but also the wives and mothers and those unpaid workers who keep house for the earners? It is certainly not the wish of the industrial classes that their fund should be used to convert into honourable pensions the relief which the rates now give to those who can, but will not, work; and there is no apparent merit in making this change at the age of 70. If the danger of failure of employment can be removed, it cannot be said that the system fails where help is needed.

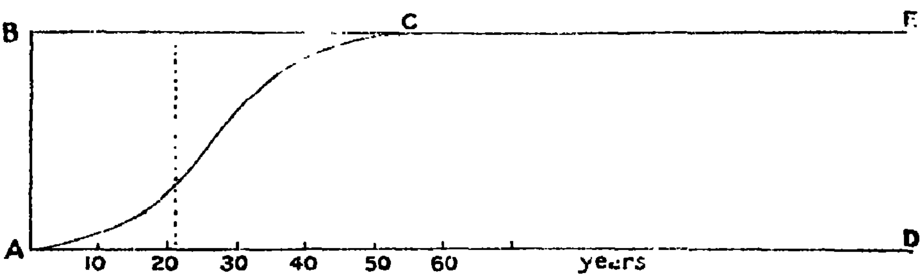
(v.) The proposal to make the subsidised insurance eventually cover the old age pensions does not increase but, on the contrary, *materially reduces the contribution which is required.* For, by gradually freeing the State from this 24 million charge which covers so small a part of the insurance, it places the Exchequer in a position to bear about half the cost of the entire scheme. It is not those who know the industrial classes who think that insurance on these terms will be unpopular.

2. The second and the greater point is *that inadequate benefits, together with excessive premiums and enormous burdens upon the taxpayers, are inevitable if the same, or nearly the same, allowances are given to the last generation of non-contributors and part-contributors as to those who pay the premiums for the full period of the insurance.*

When a system of subsidised insurance is being introduced the claims of those who are at the time too old to pay all or any of the premiums cannot be overlooked. But to them a free grant has already been made which is much greater than the total amount which the present Invalidity and Old Age insurance system in Germany will ever distribute, although it taxes wages to a heavier extent than is proposed in the scheme herein suggested. Surely, therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the free grant of 1908 is all that can be given to those who are too old to benefit by the insurance scheme, and that any further subsidy should be directed to aiding a system of insurance in which those now at work can participate to the extent that their periods of premium payment warrant. Although this would only enable persons now over 40 slightly to improve their

present position, it must not be forgotten that, in order to place the last generation of non-contributors in a better position than the many that have gone before, the State has already voted to them many times as much as is suggested for any other generation.

Bringing the last generation of non-contributors and part-contributors up to a level with the full contributors more than doubles the cost of any pension scheme. This most important fact can be illustrated graphically—the curved line A C on the diagram below represents the growth of the annual charge when the benefits of a scheme are graduated to the part-contributors according to insurance principles—the line B C represents the level course of this same charge when persons of all ages are admitted to the full insurance at the outset: thus B A C is free grant and E A D is insurance.



Paradoxical as it may appear the space above the curved line has a much greater present value than the space below, although the latter is of unlimited duration.[a] In other words, *the free grant to part of the existing generation is a much greater commitment than the whole insurance present and future whether it be borne by subsidy or by contribution.* It is hardly possible to lay too much stress upon the importance of this comparison in regard to the financial treatment of the subject which is under discussion. The free grant which has already been given, even if it be limited to one generation, as suggested in the first proposition, constitutes a permanent charge much greater than the subsidy required by the proposed insurance scheme: *i.e.* it constitutes the greater half of the even annual charge of 17 to 18 millions, which is the estimated cost of meeting the present grant together with the subsidy to the insurance fund.

Obviously the free grant to those who are too old to participate fully in the insurance should be kept quite distinct from the insurance fund, and treated as a direct charge upon the national revenues, as it now is. The State must discharge the largess

[a] The course of the curve is partly dependent upon the weight which is respectively attached to the early and late insurances, but with any distribution the proposition holds true. For present value at 3½% the normal of the year 21 divides the whole figure into two equal parts.

which it votes: to cast even half of it upon the fund of the contributors is hardly a proposal which could be seriously advanced in this country. It would involve a permanent reduction in the benefits to which those who join the fund would otherwise be entitled, to the extent of fully 50 per cent., and, as the membership is chiefly obligatory, such a procedure might justly be described as robbing the workers of all generations to come, in order that full and immediate participation might be granted to those who have a voice in settling the original scheme but do not pay its premiums. It is not at all likely that our national sense of justice would permit any such wrong to be done to the poor persons who are forced to insure; nor would it be necessary to refer to it, were it not that this far-reaching error, which cannot be too strongly condemned, has had a most disastrous result in the country where compulsory insurance was first instituted and in the scheme which is still regarded by many as the principal guide and model.

It is hardly conceivable that any scheme of insurance can be presented to the nation without a clear definition of the extent to which the compulsory and the voluntary premiums are to be supplemented. It is certainly not conceivable that the industrial classes in this country will be asked to accept a stone instead of a loaf—an insurance which is professedly supplemented, while, in fact, its pensions to full contributors are being permanently reduced to a much larger extent by the abstraction from their fund of sums which are applied in free gift to other persons. Such is unquestionably the result of any scheme which follows the German model.

The 'average premium method,' which governs this model, has the effect of giving to those who enter at a certain critical age (say 30 or 35) the exact insurance which their premiums warrant. To those who enter at later ages it gives a greater share in the fund than is their due, but to those who enter at earlier ages it does the reverse. For those who contribute from the start of active life, *i.e.* for the solid mass of the insurers of the future, it provides half or less than half of the insurance to which their premiums entitle them; for a very partial levelling-up of the benefits granted to those who are over the critical age is enough to occasion this far-reaching loss. When we note the fact that in about 35 years from the start the whole mass of insurers will be losers, and that after another 15 years no contributors will ever get from their fund more than half their proper insurance, it becomes obvious that those who inaugurated a fund on these lines will before long have to render to its members a very awkward account of its early stewardship.

The State may decide to spread the cost of helping the last non-contributing generation in such a manner that it, together with the growing subsidy to the insurance fund, may form an equal annual charge for all time, as suggested in the proposed scheme, or it may decide to discharge it gradually in the course of a long period of years. Either of these decisions would be financially justifiable, as it is neither necessary nor right that a single generation should be charged in connexion with this matter at a far higher rate than those which follow. But whatever course be adopted, it is clearly the national revenues which must bear the free gift which the nation votes.

It is by keeping the contributors' fund free of any charge of this nature that the scheme propounded in these articles is able to offer the far greater and more comprehensive insurances which have been described, without imposing any onerous charge upon the insured. (That it can accomplish what it promises is shown on pages 628 to 630.)

It is by limiting this costly free grant to the last generation of non-contributors that it is able to reduce the burden upon the Exchequer to an equal annual charge of 17 to 18 millions, which, though it may be larger than any sum which could have been safely suggested before 1908, must certainly be regarded now as a very great saving in comparison with the burden to which the taxpayers are otherwise committed.

These are the two most important points. There are other principles for which it is the purpose of these articles to contend :—

(i.) The principle of making the contributions and the pensions vary directly with the earnings.

By this means alone can a compulsory scheme avoid overtaxing its poorest members; for, whether there be wage classes or not, the fixed scale contribution always presses far more heavily upon their earnings than upon higher wages. It avoids limiting the benefits obtainable by the well-to-do workers to the relatively paltry scales which are obtainable under the other system. It provides an automatic graduation in far closer relation to the conditions of life and needs of each particular case than can be obtained by any other means; and, in addition to these great advantages, it reduces the cost of administration by removing a great majority of the investigations and complications which the fixed scale system involves.

(ii.) The provision of pensions from the date when age compels retirement, instead of restricting all claim before the age of 70 to invalids, and thus applying to those classes, whose needs come earliest, a harder rule than is adopted in any of our other pension schemes.

In almost every scheme, great or small, claim can be made

at 60: the German is the only national contributory scheme in which the first age claim comes later, and the only pension scheme in which it is not the principal claim.

(iii.) The provision of a large increase in the pension for every year that claim is deferred.

This operates to induce the insurers who enjoy good health to continue at work for reasonable periods, saves the pension fund from maintaining many who are not in need of its help, and avoids creating that unfair competition with unpensioned labour which might otherwise arise. Large as the proposed increase is, it is less than the amount which is saved by the deferment.

(iv.) The principle by which the State aid is made to flow more freely in supplementing the insurances of the poorer and less fortunate members. Wherever fixed scales of contribution and pension exist the penalties for lapse in payment, which necessarily accompany that system, press with greater weight upon the poor, and the State aid often flows more freely to the well-to-do and fortunate.

(III)

The most important point upon which it is necessary to satisfy the critics of this scheme is the question of whether the premiums and subsidy proposed can be relied upon to cover the insurances offered. The three following matters may, *ex hypothesi*, be neglected, as they do not vary the result of this problem: (*a*) the transitory scales applicable to persons over 20; (*b*) the varied distribution of the burden, as between premiums and subsidy, in cases where the earnings exceed 2*l*. per week, and (*c*) the additional premiums voluntarily paid by young members. The problem resolves itself into a comparison between an effective premium income of 7.2 pence in the wage pound starting at the commencement of the sixteenth year on the one hand, and the full insurances offered by the scheme together with the administration expenses on the other.

Now the proportion of the income which is required for the age pensions (*i.e.* for the whole of the benefits which accrue after the age of 60, apart from the special addition to the pensions of widows) admits of actuarial calculation. It was stated in the previous article that, working at 3% on the latest life tables for England and Wales issued by the Registrar-General, these pensions do not absorb three-quarters of the income. The last President of the Faculty of Actuaries, Mr. J. J. McLauchlan, to whom the scheme has been referred for criticism, reports that he 'has made the necessary calculations for the purpose of verifying this statement, and finds it to be correct.'

The life table, which includes all lives, is apparently the most appropriate for a scheme which imposes no test upon its members, and applies universally to all employments—the healthy and the unhealthy, the dangerous and the safe. But 3% is certainly lower than the interest which would be realised upon the insurance funds, especially as there is no occasion for the State to tax itself upon the interest of funds which would not have been liable to taxation if they had not been transferred to the State. The investment would be spread over about 80 years, and in its flood time would reach about 15 millions a year. The most analogous funds have yielded fully 3½% during a long period of years, and this large fund, if it be given a field of investment commensurate with its amount, may reasonably be expected to produce 3½%. Upon this assumption the pensions payable after 60 would not absorb 65% of the income; this calculation has also been certified by Mr. McLauchlan.[4]

The special addition to the pensions of widows is the latest to develop of all the charges on the fund, and, therefore, its result as a charge upon the income from the commencement of the insurance is small. Some of the facts which are necessary for its calculation are available, and reasonable assumption as to the others leads to the conclusion that a 10% increase of the pension cost or an appropriation of 6.5% of the income will safely cover it.

We may put the cost of administration at a considerably lower percentage than the German; firstly, because the income will be several times as large, and secondly, because (*pace* the advocates of that system) the administration of the proposed scheme would be much cheaper and less complicated; for, amongst other reasons, it is a centralised scheme which does not require expensive district offices or large staffs of inquiry officers. A liberal provision would be made by 3.5% of its large income.

There remain the invalidity allowances prior to 60, and the maintenance allowances to orphans under 16. Here the *data* available are too scanty and inappropriate to admit of any real actuarial computation, but there are facts which supply a sufficient basis for estimating what relation they would bear to the claims which come after 60, and make it possible to decide what scales of allowance can be safely covered by an allotment of 25% of the entire income.

The German statistics as to the ages at which the invalidity pensions are claimed, and as to their duration, are of great use. They show that a full half of the persons who claim are in their sixtieth year, or older, and that their pensions are not only of

[4] This certification does not commit Mr. McLauchlan to any opinion in regard to the life table which is most appropriate, or in regard to the rate of interest which may be assumed.

greater amount, but actually of considerably longer duration than those which are claimed early. A major part of the earliest pensions endure for less than a year, and of those granted to persons under 50 years of age 47% have an *average* duration of less than one year. But, when those persons who die soon after ceasing their work, and those who recover or relinquish their pensions are eliminated, the remainder have to be accredited with an average expectation of life; and of these enduring claims a considerable majority arise at ages not far short of 60, so that a large proportion of their pension life extends beyond that age.

A calculation based upon these statistics, which takes all these facts into due consideration, indicates that more than 70% of the invalidity money is paid to persons over 60, and that eventually about 80% will be so paid. It follows from this that a reduction of the entitling age to 60 would cover about four-fifths of these allowances, and that *the invalidity prior to 60, even with a definition which covers partial and temporary incapacity, is but a small matter in comparison to the invalidity after* 60.

Much depends upon the definition of the conditions which give title to these allowances, and apparently much also depends on the interpretation of that definition: for, in the only case where useful experience exists, it is necessary to decide whether we are including the invalidity relieved in 1903 and earlier years, or that relieved in 1910. Although the German membership increased about 20% in that interval, the number of invalidity pensions granted declined by over 25%. An insurance in which administrative manipulation, based no doubt on sound reason, can apparently effect a reduction of 38% is hardly a defined insurance to offer to the industrial classes.

The proposed pensions for invalidity prior to 60 (*i.e.* about 20% of the total invalidity) and the proposed orphan allowances will probably be found to be well within the measure of the remaining 25% of the income: the treatment of partial invalidity is left for settlement after fuller calculation of the cost. It is to be remembered that these insurances do not operate in cases which are covered by accident compensation.[5]

[5] Each decade has been increasing the values of life expectation, and therefore a calculation based on our present life table may under-estimate the charges which the future has in store. This is the only known risk of which account has not been taken in the estimates of this scheme, but it is an important one. An increase in the mean value of life at birth of fully five years appears to demand a heavy allowance for possible further increase, but we must note:—(1) that this increase is chiefly due to decrease in infantile mortality and that variations below age 15 do not concern our calculation, and (2) that reduction in the mortality at higher ages does not represent any extension of the full span of human life, but more successful combat with the chief causes of premature death: expectation of life at ages above 50 has in fact shown a tendency to decrease. Nevertheless the proportion of those who reach the age at which pensions are

Dr. Schuster's criticisms in the February number of this Review are unfortunately of little help, for they do not deal with the scheme which was outlined. In each instance he has either misread the proposal or made a wrong assumption as to its effect or as to its elaboration. His conclusion that 'no serious attempt to study the practical aspects of the subject of universal insurance' has been made, is apparently based upon the assumption that every minor problem or administrative detail which he does not find elaborated in an article of 21 pages has been 'overlooked.' But all the difficulties which he refers to, and many others, have been taken into account, and the design of the scheme has been so arranged as to meet them. There appears to be a conviction on the part of the critic that any departure from the German model must be wrong; but he might in justice remember that this model requires large volumes to expound it, and that the present revision Bill contains 1754 sections, with 784 pages of exposition.

In his section I. he enumerates three points which he proposes to prove, but no effort at proof is made in the case of the third and most important, viz. that it taxes 'adult persons now living for the benefit of those unborn or still in their early childhood.' And no wonder, for no argument, however strained, could so present either of the proposed applications of the taxpayers' money, which are (i.) discharging the free grant to the last generation of non-contributors, and (ii.) enhancing the insurances of the *existing contributors*. The insurance fund is to be subjected to continuous actuarial supervision with a view to keeping the accumulation level with the *existing* liability to *present* members, and to securing for them the full scale of benefit. The criticism, if exactly reversed, would be true, for item (i.) above involves a taxation of the future for the benefit of the present.

This fundamental misconception of the purposes of an accumulation, which, though large, conforms to the laws which govern all pure insurance—this idea that it has something to do with posterity—helps to explain his views about insurance capitalisation on pages 365, 366, and 367, and in footnote 12.

In II. he lightly sweeps away the whole proposal to unify the system upon a basis of subsidised insurance, and gradually to extinguish the non-contributory provision for ages over 70 by the

usually claimed is undoubtedly rising. We cannot calculate the effect of this unknown factor, but we may perhaps take the contrary influences for which allowance has not been made to be of equal weight :—(1) The rural population and women together constitute a large part of the membership, in which the mean value of pension life is specially high and the average pension claim low—probably not more than half of that of the male urban workers. (2) The high earnings and pensions which apply to dangerous and unhealthy employments are linked with the lowest values of pension life. (See also footnote 6, December article.) The consequences of over-estimating the powers of a pension fund are dire, but taxation of the present for the benefit of the future is also bad.

help of voluntary election. His reason is that 'the option proposal is unworkable,' and his 'proof' of this depends on his assumptions, that it would occasion a house-to-house census, and that it would by misleading representations induce some to renounce the old age pension, and later on occasion irresistible appeals to regain that 'birthright.' It has already been shown (pages 615 and 622 [xii.]) that the option would in fact *remove* the need for any special census, and greatly ease the introduction of compulsory insurance; and that under the scheme every member would receive the old age grant and more. The statements that certain specified classes of workers could not acquire any claim to the benefits of the scheme, and that 'persons not subject to compulsion are not to have the benefit of the Government subsidy' are simply instances of misreading (*cf.* December article, pages 967, par. v., and 970 end of par. xiii.).

In III. a version of the scheme is given which omits some of its chief provisions, and mixes up the transitory with the permanent. The result is incorrect, and most misleading. IV. is simply an instance of wrong assumption as to detail having been 'overlooked,' and of misapprehension as to the effect of the proposals (*cf.* pages 617 [v.] and 622 [xiii.]). In V. and in the various foot-notes on pages 353 and 355 the object appears to be to show that the amount of the pensions is entirely misrepresented, and that the statements in regard to them are inaccurate and misleading. Nothing but misconception can explain these criticisms; the pension will not only amount in every case to the proportion of the actual average earnings which is stated, but will exceed that proportion when voluntary additions are made in early life, or when the premiums are maintained during sickness by a Friendly Society.

Before referring in VI. and VII. to the early invalidity and widow and orphan allowances as 'unsubstantial shadows' which 'only exist for the purpose of window-dressing,' or as 'uncovenanted mercies' to be provided out of a 'mysterious' or 'problematical' surplus, he should have considered the facts stated in regard to the large margin of income which is left after providing pensions for all persons over 60. The certified amount of this margin, its ability to cover these insurances, and their covenanted scales have been further dealt with on pages 616 and 629. In VII. there is much more about statements which would mislead 'an unsophisticated mind'; a reference to the paragraph in question and to page 617 will show that the criticism is not justified.

In VIII. another unfortunate misconception of the financial conditions governing a pension fund is disclosed. He asks whether the refund is to be another charge on the mysterious surplus. But

surely it is not difficult to see that the return of contributions to emigrants etc. constitutes a gain, and not a loss to the fund. The liability removed is greater than the refund; and it would still be so if compound interest were paid—the fund would then benefit to the extent of the subsidy released.

IX. The subsidy to Friendly Societies is a separate suggestion, and is not treated as a charge on the pension fund; the amount (if any) would be comparatively small (see page 621). The assumption that the distinctions between the various orders of Friendly Societies have been overlooked is not well founded.

In X. he again takes innocent sails for waving arms and tilts at bricks and mortar. A critic who is minded to describe a suggestion as fatuous would do well to read that suggestion twice. The proposal does not involve the repeal of the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Acts as is asserted, but simply a transfer of liability in respect of the members of the pension fund. Therefore the 'fatuity' which 'must be obvious' to those who know the wider scope of those Acts, remains undisclosed. There is no 'guesswork' about the assertion that the transfer of the corresponding premiums would enable the pension fund to provide a greater and more comprehensive insurance.

In XI. he leads up to the question 'Is it expected that it should be conducted without regulations or without complicated accounts?' Omitting the word 'complicated' the answer is, No.

In XII. and XIII. he elaborates a number of administrative details as he understands the intention, thus:—That the employer is to enter a receipt for each contribution in the member's book, and to pay over the amount at the local post office! That a different 'formula of calculation' would be necessary for the pensions of the voluntary and of the compulsory members; that separate administrations would be necessary for the 'subsidised funds,' and for the 'unsubsidised'; and that the administrators of the former would have to institute the whole list of investigations which are necessary on the fixed scale, but not on the proportionate system, *e.g.* to see that no one whose earnings rise above the 3*l.* limit 'is allowed to continue his or her contributions,' and that the premiums of each member are 'neither less nor more than the prescribed percentage of wages.' He arrives at the conclusion that 'complicated accounts, penalties, wage classes, etc.' are necessary adjuncts to the scheme.

These suggestions are no doubt well meant—their author says that in amplifying the 'somewhat bald statement' he has 'tried to give the most favourable interpretation'; but, as they are entirely unnecessary for the development of the scheme, and much more costly and complicated than the proposals it includes (pages 615 [iii.], 617 [v.], and 620 [ix.]), no more need be said about them.

XIV. Full admission must be made of the error as to the scope of the Austrian law which Dr. Schuster points out. This law did not promise to be of any use as a model, and verification of its provisions and inquiry into its working were scamped. But why introduce this one well-founded criticism with the words 'One of his great battle-horses is the Austrian law'? The only references to it are contained in a few lines at the end of the article criticised, and these lines might be expunged without affecting the scheme or any of the arguments used.

To produce an instance in support of the assertion that there are 'a number of misleading representations' about Germany, he refers to a passage in which it is stated that 'over 92%' of the pensions are claimed on medical certificate as opposed to age, and that 'the age claim is destined to vanish entirely.' He appears to suggest that 'over 92%' is an exaggeration, and that about 90% would be more correct; but the official figures for the pensions claimed and granted in the year to which he refers are 127,980 and 11,003 respectively, so that the actual percentage is 92.08. And as to the vanishing age claim—if only 7.92% of the claims are now based on age, which still in some cases gives the better pensions, how many will claim on age at 70, when the invalidity pension at 65 is 50% to 80% higher?

He objects to the term 'paltry' as applied to the doles which average a little over 3*s*. per week, and may rise in 35 years to about 4*s*. 6*d*.; and to the criticism upon the failure to accumulate the contributions for the benefit of those who pay them. His strange argument is that the present pensions would be still lower if a closer approximation to the accumulation required in a commercial insurance system had been allowed. If it be granted that the proper fund to draw upon to provide largess for non-insurers and part-insurers is the premium fund of the full contributors, it is quite true that a curtailment of this draft would curtail the largess; but it would certainly not curtail the insurance, and before long it will be full insurers only with whom the German scheme has to deal; then will be the day of reckoning.

As in his criticisms, so also in his incidental comments, artillery is turned upon positions which are not occupied, *e.g.* :—

(i.) It is stated in I. that an estimate and comparison of the cost of 'the projected invalidity insurance' is given, and in XV. 'the forecast of the future cost of . . . the supplemental Government measure' is referred to. Had the article criticised presumed to offer any such estimate or forecast, the observations about untrustworthiness and purely arbitrary nature would have been well deserved, for, as Dr. Schuster quite truly remarks, it was at that date impossible to 'know anything about the nature of the Government scheme.' But there is nothing which in any way

justifies these imputations; the figures quoted relate to an estimate of the cost of continuing the present grant to persons over 70, and immediately adding 'earlier allowances half as great as those offered' by the scheme *of the article*.

(ii) It is alleged that the article 'roundly abuses invalidity pensions, and refers to them as one of the specially objectionable features of the German scheme' (footnote 13), and it is suggested that it denies that any scheme has followed the German model in *recognising invalidity as a ground of claim* (footnote 28). The paragraph referred to raises objection to the plan of making invalidity the paramount title covering 'over 92% of the claims,' and denies that any other schemes have followed 'in this matter.' After misrepresenting this correct statement, Dr. Schuster adds: 'Could anything be further removed from the real facts?'

(iii) It is argued in VI. that providing for invalidity is no real part of the proposed scheme: and in XIV. he says 'It is strange that he has no pity for the 90% who become invalided before they reach the age of 70.' But he does not appear to be aware that a reduction of the entitling age to 60 in itself covers about 80% of the German invalidity provision; and that the invalidity pensions which the scheme provides for earlier years are very much larger than the German.

(iv) In footnote 20 he ridicules the proposal to allow voluntary insurance without any wage limit, and asks 'What possible reason can there be for such a course of action?' but he neglects the pension limit, which is a far simpler and equally effective method of confining the insurance to the classes for which it is intended.

When he gives figures they nearly always err in the direction his argument requires; *e.g.* (in I.) that the scheme professes to reduce the charge on the Exchequer to ten millions—*it* says to 17 or 18 millions; (in II.) that the contribution is 'nearly 2%' on wages—had he said 1½% the error would have been exactly half as big; (in III. and elsewhere) that 'it will take 50 years before any person can claim on attaining the age of 60'—in 45 years every member will have this title including those who are then 60; (in XI.) that 'it is assumed that the funds will be invested at 3½%'—as is clearly stated in each case, the calculations are based on 3% and 3⅓%, never on 3½%; that the capitalisation would amount to 1400 millions—it would not be nearly so great; he has omitted to allow for the spreading of the cost of the free grant to this generation.

A. Carson Roberts.

SOME NOTES ON CHATEAUBRIAND

I.

ONE striking characteristic of the age in which we live is its passionate desire to rake up the private lives of famous or notorious persons after their decease. The late Mr. J. A. Froude who, upon a memorable occasion, cast aside the most sacred obligations of friendship and the most elementary considerations of decency to minister to that desire, also applied himself to apologise for it. 'The public,' he asserted, 'will not be satisfied without sifting the history of its men of letters to the last grain of fact which can be ascertained about them. This is not curiosity, but a legitimate demand.'[1] 'Legitimate'? How? ''Tis but right the many-headed beast should know,' we are told. Whence the right? On what ground can it be maintained that any man possesses, that any body of men possesses, a prerogative to exhume the most intimate personal affairs of the dead and to put them on trial before 'the public'—what a tribunal! Right? There is, there can be, no such right. I protest against the prostitution of that august word to veil the prurient cravings of a decadent age. I am well aware that the protest is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness: powerless against the general conviction that all possible details of the doings, and especially the misdoings, of public men—and, I may say, of public women too—ought to be revealed to the world. And so a considerable department of literature has become a sort of private inquiry office.

It is a maxim of the law—a maxim to be applied most cautiously indeed—*Quod fieri non debet, factum valet*. The results achieved by these literary resurrectionists are before us. We could not abolish them if we would. And however repugnant to our feelings their proceedings may be, the matter purveyed by them has to be reckoned with. No one could now write, to any purpose, concerning the subject of this present study, Chateaubriand, without consulting the new information about him thus supplied. His prescient intellect indeed divined the interest which posterity would take in his personality, and for many years he devoted himself to setting down in his *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* what he

[1] *Carlyle's Early Life*, vol. i. pref.

supposed would satisfy it. But the *Mémoires* by no means suffice to slake the prevailing thirst for information about their author. For that, recourse must be had to other somewhat putrid fountains, and the books which lie on my table, as I write, testify how every hole and corner has been ransacked to find out his secrets. I have no wish to be unjust to these works. I cannot but agree with M. de Lacharrière that, although sometimes they merely pander to the public appetite for scandal, they often contain data of value. M. de Lacharrière, indeed, goes further, and remarks, apologetically, that when we have to do with such a nature as Chateaubriand's—'une nature toute de sensibilité—a knowledge of his love affairs is an indispensable commentary on his writings.' [a] Personally, I demur to the adjective 'indispensable.' I think we might have done without this commentary. But, as it exists, we cannot ignore it or put it aside.

And now, in the first place, let us consider a little the net result of these abundant revelations about Chateaubriand which we owe to the untiring perseverance of the new inquisitors. Certainly, so far as the British public is concerned, that net result is unfavourable. The popular conception of him in this country—a very erroneous conception—is that he was a maker of evidences of Christianity: a prophet of righteousness to the dechristianised France of the opening nineteenth century. And I think I shall not be wrong in saying that the impression left upon the minds of most British readers who know anything of the recent literature about him, either at first or at second-hand, is that this Christian apologist, this preacher of religion, as they account him, was, from first to last, a man of loose life, faithless to his own wife, and engaged in a succession of intrigues with the wives of other men. Whence the conclusion is pretty generally drawn that he did not believe in the creed which he professed and whose claims he advocated—that, in short, he was a hypocrite.

It is not an unnatural conclusion for the average British reader; but I am persuaded that it is a false one. It is not unnatural, because the average British reader looks at the matter from the Protestant point of view prevailing in this country. And, in this connexion, I cannot do better than cite certain words of Cardinal Newman's:

> Protestants do not think the inconsistency possible of really believing without obeying; and when they see disobedience they cannot imagine there the existence of real faith. Catholics, on the other hand, hold that faith and obedience, faith and works, are simply separable, and are ordinarily separated in fact. . . . Faith in the Catholic creed is a certainty of things not seen but revealed. . . . It is a spiritual sight. . . . This certainty, or spiritual sight, is, according to Catholic teaching, perfectly distinct, in its

[a] *Les cahiers de Madame de Chateaubriand: Publiés intégralement et avec notes par J. Ledrest de Lacharrière*, Intro. p. ix.

own nature, from the desire, intention, and power of acting agreeably to it. . . . Vice does not involve a neglect of the external duties of religion. The Crusaders had faith sufficient to bind them to a perilous pilgrimage and warfare: they kept the Friday's abstinence and planted the tents of their mistresses within the shadow of the pavilion of the glorious St. Louis.[2]

An unquestioning belief, then, in Christianity—'the faith of a charcoal burner,' as the French say—seems to me quite compatible with the infringement, even the habitual infringement, of some of its positive precepts. But the Protestant, or rather non-Catholic, Englishman does not see this. At all events—to come to one particular instance—he is quite sure that what he calls 'real faith' cannot co-exist with disregard of the prescriptions of Christianity concerning the relations of the sexes. He terms a man guilty of that disregard a *vicious* man—vice meaning for him specially, if not exclusively, sexual intercourse out of marriage. Hence, at the time of the great explosion of the Nonconformist conscience, occasioned by a scandalous episode in the life of Mr. Parnell, an eminent Italian ecclesiastic was led to observe to a friend of mine, 'You English seem to think that there is only one virtue.' So Mr. Mallock's pungent remark: 'The quality of chastity [is] popularly called morality, as though it comprised all the other virtues, or even the chief of them.' Mr. Mallock goes on to observe, no doubt correctly—it is not a subject in which I am specially versed—that 'the physical basis of this quality is the cerebellum.'[4] I suppose, then, we must conclude that Chateaubriand's cerebellum was, in some way or another, unsatisfactory. However that may be, it is certain that his life was unsatisfactory in the matter of his sexual relations. This must be allowed. My present point is that this is no reason for questioning his religious sincerity. Even Sainte-Beuve, whose malice would have neglected no point which might have been plausibly made against him, did not question it.

But there is more to be said on this subject. The principles of the moral law which Christianity consecrates and inculcates are immutable: they are 'not of an age but for all time.' Most of those principles, however, are not of specifically Christian origin. It is certain that Jesus Christ left no code of ethics. He left the record of a life wherein the moral ideal is realised: a supreme example: an all-sufficient pattern. But it is impossible to form from the Gospels, even if we add to them the Epistles, the elements of a scientific morality. So Suarez observes: 'Christ did not deliver positive moral precepts, but rather developed (*explicavit*) those of the natural order.'[5] And in another part of his

[3] *Anglican Difficulties*, pp. 236-246.
[4] *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*, p. 139.
[5] *De Legibus*, lib. ii. c. 15, v. 9.

-reat work he quotes the dictum of Aquinas that the New Law is contained in the moral precepts of the Natural Law and in the articles of the faith and the Sacraments of Grace.[6] This Natural Law does not depend upon the command of a Supreme Legislator, but is a permanent revelation of the reason, indicating what is good or bad for a man as a rational creature: what *should* be as distinct from what *is*. And when in the expanding Christian society the need arose for a scientific synthesis, recourse was had to the philosophers of Greece, to Aristotle and Plato, to the Stoics and the Epicureans. But there was one important title of morals concerning which the teaching of those 'wise old spirits,' as Jeremy Taylor well calls them, was inadequate, the title regarding the relations of the sexes. Looking the other day at a recent work of French fiction,[7] which seems to have 'caught on,' as the phrase is—in a very short time it has gone through a dozen editions—I came upon the following confession of faith made by the hero of the story: 'Je n'ai jamais pu attacher à l'œuvre de chair la moindre importance, et je ne suis pas, de cet égard, infecté de Christianisme.' 'Infecté de Christianisme'! The author spoke wisely, more wisely, probably, than he was aware of. Christianity introduced into the world a new doctrine as to the relations of the sexes, a doctrine resting on its revelation of the virtue of purity. The great moralists of the antique world had barely suspected the existence of such a virtue. We should hardly exaggerate in speaking of it as unknown in ancient Rome or Hellas. A wife was expected, indeed, to be faithful to her husband. But that duty was derived from the fact that she was his property: that her office was to bear his children. No similar duty was regarded as incumbent upon a man. The Greek orator in a well-known passage says, 'We have courtesans for pleasure, female house slaves (παλλακὰς) for daily physical service, and wives for the procreation of legitimate children, and for faithfully watching over our domestic concerns.' And a man's intercourse with all these classes of women was regarded as equally lawful. The view which Christianity introduced rests, of course, upon its doctrine of the Incarnation: 'sanctification and honour' is its new law[8] of the relations of the sexes in virtue of their new creation in Christ. But it is not necessary to pursue that topic here. What I am concerned to observe is that, in the age and country into which Chateaubriand was born, this Christian view was largely inoperative. It had

[6] *Ibid.* lib. x.c. 2, v. 20.

[7] *Daniel*, par Abel Hermant, p. 34.

[8] 'Its new law.' This is clearly enough indicated in the Apostle's words. 'Let every man possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, *even as the Gentiles who know not God.*' (I. Thess. iv. 5.)

fallen into abeyance in the days of the Ancien Régime. Under the first republic it was definitely rejected. The society in which Chateaubriand lived and moved and had his being had not recovered it. And, to quote certain admirable words of Taine, 'We must look at men and things in the environment *(milieu)* which explains them.' For good and for evil, Chateaubriand was of his age, and I may remark, in passing, that it was not as a prophet of righteousness, a preacher of penance, that he appealed to his age. What his message to it was, I shall consider later on. Here I am merely concerned to observe that I do not seek to extenuate, although I quite understand, his conformity to its ways. No doubt he *ought* to have followed a nobler rule. But he did not. Is that any wonder? I suppose the critics who are so ready to throw stones at him would unquestionably have conformed to that severer standard had they been in his place. Doubtless they know themselves to be without sin. For myself I confess I have not that reassuring conviction of my utter whiteness which would warrant my joining them. And I do not feel inclined to usurp the office proper to 'the pure eyes and perfect witness of all-judging Jove.'

So much may suffice to explain why, though personally lamenting Chateaubriand's lapses from chastity, I find therein no argument to support the charge of hypocrisy sometimes based upon them. Indeed, may we not say that they were, in some sort, a manifestation—illicit, unfortunately—of some of the more striking of his psychical endowments? An ancient sage has pointed out that 'Deum amare' and 'mulieribus vinci' are closely related in the highest natures. I suppose David, the 'man after God's own heart,' as he was considered, may serve as an illustration of the truth of this dictum. Anyhow, true it would seem to be. Chateaubriand came of a very noble race, the Breton; a profoundly poetical race; devout Catholics; true lovers. He was first and before all things a poet:[*] a poet of a very high order; and is it possible to deny some force to M. Séché's words?

> N'en voulons donc pas à Chateaubriand d'avoir si bien amalgamé l'amour et la religion qu'on ne saurait pas plus les séparer dans sa vie que dans son œuvre. Il était voué au premier avant d'embrasser la seconde, ou plutôt il avait sucé l'un et l'autre avec le lait maternel, et la morale delâchée de ceux qui ont fait le catholicisme à leur image était incapable de lui imposer, à trente-deux ans, le sacrifice nécessaire. En Bretagne tous les cœurs biens nés sont amoureux dès l'enfance. L'amour, au pays de *Marie* et de *Pêcheur d'Islande*, est aussi indispensable à la vie de l'âme que le pain à la vie du corps. Tout petits, on nous berce avec des chansons dont l'amour est le thème

[*] It may be pointed out that the real antithesis is not between verse and prose, but between poetry and prose. Many of the truest poets have never written a line of verse: many versifiers have been writing prose, and nothing else, all their lives.

unique; c'est sur les bancs du catéchisme que s'ébauchent les premières idylles, et, la mer et le ciel aidant—la mer grise sous le ciel brumeux—vers la seizième année les passions naissantes nous plongent dans des rêveries sans fin. De là notre fonds de mélancolie naturelle, car il n'y a pas d'amour sans trouble et sans chagrin. Et voilà pourquoi aussi, dans l'espèce de prison où son père l'avait pour ainsi dire emmuré à Combourg, Chateaubriand s'éprit d'abord de sa sœur Lucile. Il n'y a qu'une chose qu'il n'ait pas connue en amour, c'est la fidélité—vertu si bretonne pourtant, que sa ville natale s'en est fait une devise: *Semper fidelis*, lit-on sur l'écusson de Saint-Malo. Mais de cela encore il ne faut pas lui faire un grief trop sévère: il tenait de sa caste sa belle inconstance. C'était un vieux reste de chevalerie, la noblesse française ayant toujours mis son amour-propre à marcher sur les traces du roi vert-galant. Et d'ailleurs, s'il fut inconstant en matière d'amour, on peut d'autant mieux l'excuser, de ce chef, qu'il poussa la fidélité jusqu'à l'héroïsme en matière d'honneur.[10]

And now let us go on to consider a little further what those 'esprits passionnés pour l'étude de Chateaubriand,' who have laboured so abundantly, have practically achieved for him. Their books, as we have seen, have brought into stronger relief some of his weaknesses of character and conduct specially odious to the British public, and have done him ill-service in this country. In France it has been otherwise. These matters have there received comparatively small attention, and the general effect of the recent literature about Chateaubriand has been to rehabilitate him, so to speak. The sort of adoration lavished upon him during the latter years of his life was succeeded after his death by a violent reaction, due in greater measure to Sainte-Beuve[11] than to anyone else, which has lasted, more or less, to this present day. But there are indications that a more favourable and, I will say, a juster judgment has now gained ground among his countrymen. The unswerving loyalty of the man to his convictions, his refusal to sacrifice one jot or tittle of them to his personal interests, his elevated conception of public duty, the amplitude and prescience of his political vision, his indifference to money, the firmness of his friendships, his frankness of speech, 'his hand unstained, his uncorrupted heart,' are now more correctly valued. And I suppose most French men of letters would accept the judgment recently formulated by Lord Acton. 'He wrote French as it had never been written: and the magnificent roll of his sentences caught the ear of his countrymen with convincing force.'[12]

[10] *Hortense Allart de Méritens*. Préface, p. 11.

[11] 'I do not know who has better judged Sainte-Beuve's work on Chateaubriand than M. Giraud. After indicating the sort of book which the great critic, endowed with so many fine qualities, might have been expected to produce, he continues: 'Il a mieux aimé satisfaire ses rancunes, et au lieu de l'étude sérieuse et décisive qui seule eût été digne de Sainte-Beuve et de son passé, nous avons eu un livre très intéressant certes, et fort amusant, très habile aussi, mais aussi malveillant qu'habile, livre très superficiel en somme et d'une criante injustice.' *Chateaubriand: Etudes Littéraires*, Avant-propos, p. x.

[12] *Lectures on the French Revolution*, p. 11.

It is not my intention to put before my readers a biographical sketch of Chateaubriand. I shall, however, follow the chronological order in these notes. He came of a very distinguished Breton family. One of his ancestors had fought by the side of St. Louis at the battle of Mansoura (1250), and, like the king, was wounded and taken prisoner. The monarch, touched by his devotion, gave him permission to bear the royal *fleur-de-lys* in his escutcheon and to use the motto 'Notre sang a teint la bannière de France.' Chateaubriand was born in 1768, and spent his childhood in the gloomy ancestral château of Combourg. As a younger son, he does not seem to have received much attention from either of his parents: and the same must be said of his highly gifted sister Lucile, between whom and himself there was a passionate affection. He distinguished himself first at his school at Dol, and then at the College of Rennes, by his application, his extraordinary memory, his rapid progress in mathematics, and his decided taste for languages. It was originally intended to send him into the navy. That intention was, however, abandoned. At one time he imagined himself to have a vocation for the ecclesiastical state, and was sent to the College at Dinan to complete his studies in the humane letters; but he soon recognised that he was not fitted for a sacerdotal existence. At last, as he seemed unable to choose a career for himself, his father chose one for him, addressing him in the following terms: 'Chevalier, you must give up your nonsense. Your brother has procured for you a sub-lieutenant's commission in the Navarre regiment. You will start for Rennes, and from there you will go to Cambrai. Here are a hundred louis. I am old and ill, and have not long to live. Conduct yourself like a man of honour: and never disgrace your name.' Chateaubriand tells us that he was so affected by this address that he threw himself on the paternal hand and covered it with kisses.

And so Chateaubriand left the prison-house of his childhood and went to Paris and thence to Cambrai, where he joined his regiment. He appears to have soon acquired such knowledge of his profession as was necessary, and to have won the esteem of his Colonel. In September 1786 his father died, and he went back to Combourg for a brief visit. During the years 1787-1789 he was in Paris from time to time. He felt inclined to sympathise with the Revolutionary movement, he tells us, but the first head he saw paraded on a pike made him recoil from it. In 1790 the Navarre regiment, then stationed at Reims, mutinied, and he resigned his commission. His brother officers went to join the army of Condé. He decided to go to America with the grandiose project of discovering the North-West Passage.

He embarked at St. Malo on the 8th of April 1791. And

the real date of his arrival at Baltimore appears to have been the 10th of July of the same year. He re-embarked at Philadelphia on the 10th of the following December. I give these dates, which seem to be fully established, on the authority of Mr. Gribble.[13] They reduce the term of Chateaubriand's American visit from the traditional eighteen months to five. The importance of this reduction is, as Mr. Gribble shows, that it proves the impossibility of Chateaubriand having made in America all the travels which he relates. There is unquestionably an element of fiction in his narration. Equally unquestionable is it—the proof will be found in Mr. Gribble's pages—that in writing it he freely borrowed, without acknowledgment, from earlier travellers who had really visited regions which he had not. All which is certainly far from creditable to him. An Elizabethan poet writes:

> We, through madness,
> Form strange conceits in our discoursing brains,
> And prate of things as we pretend they were.

Madness can hardly be pleaded as an excuse for Chateaubriand, notwithstanding Pope's dictum that great wits are near allied to it. Veracious he unquestionably was in provinces where the standard current in his day, and in his class, required veracity from a man of honour. Literature he appears to have considered not to be one of those provinces; and I may observe, by the way, that he made a like exception in the case of love. Further, we must remember that there is a very considerable number of people who must be accounted congenitally incapable of enduring the trammels of reality. To pull the long bow, as the phrase is, seems part of their nature. A master-bowman was the late Mr. J. A. Froude, of whom Freeman observed, with hardly an exaggeration, that his account of any historical matter might safely be accepted as indicating one of the ways in which it did *not* happen. But I should add that this temperament is by no means incompatible with very high moral and religious excellence. One of the best, I would say most saintly, men it has been my privilege to know, was the late Cardinal Manning. At one time I was much surprised, like the rest of the world, by statements, as of fact, which occasionally proceeded from his lips; such as his assertion that the transactions of the Vatican Council were characterised by 'majestic unanimity,' or this: 'In 1800 years there has never been wanting a man prepared in secret by God to rise up to the full elevation of the primacy of Peter; and the election of the Holy Ghost reveals him in due season to the Church when

[13] *Chateaubriand and his Court of Women*, chap. iv.

the appointed hour is come.'[14] Declarations like these—and they were not unfrequent with him—made one stare and gasp. And it was only when towards the close of his life I had the privilege of knowing him somewhat intimately, that I realised the truth of the apology for them which his friends were in the habit of making—that they were not due to any wish to mislead, but were an outburst of the poetical element in the Cardinal's nature.[15] He felt how delightful it would be if the Vatican Council had been 'a vision of peace'; if supernatural influences had been always forthcoming to prepare and to designate the Roman Pontiff; and he could not refrain from announcing these aspirations as truths. Perhaps a similar explanation may apply to Chateaubriand's fictions. They are beautiful: much more beautiful than the plain unvarnished tale would have been. He was before and beyond all things a poet: and 'soaring in the high reason of his fancies' he may have lost sight of humdrum facts. But he is *splendide mendax* when he gives us *Dichtung* for *Wahrheit*.

On Chateaubriand's return from America, his relations appear to have thought it his duty to join Condé's army. But he had no money. So they sought him a wife with a *dot*, in order to provide him therewith. 'They married me,' he says, 'in order to furnish me with the means of going to get killed for a cause to which I was indifferent.' The bride, Mademoiselle Céleste Buisson de Lavigne, was a great friend of his adored sister Lucile, and was quite ready to accept Lucile's brother, although she knew nothing about him. She was an excellent woman, possessed of few personal charms, and, as Chateaubriand found out later on, not gifted with a specially good temper—'*d'une humeur difficile*,' says the editor of her *Cahiers*. He espoused her without enthusiasm, being quite indifferent to her, and feeling no vocation for the married state. A few days afterwards he left her to join Condé's army, with which he served for a few months. Then he was invalided, and after a difficult and perilous journey found his way to England. This was in 1793. He lived in great poverty for some time in London, whither, twenty-nine years afterwards, he was to return as the magnificent Ambassador of the Most Christian King. He went down to

[14] This is a quotation from the *Tablet* report of an Address made by him to his clergy on his return from Rome after the election of Leo XIII. I remember that at the Requiem for Cardinal Newman at the London Oratory, he spoke in the course of his sermon—which, by the way, contrary to his usual custom, he read—of the 'affectionate friendship of more than sixty years' between them. Knowing, as I did, what the relations of the two men really were, and that instead of a lifelong friendship there had been lifelong opposition, fierce and bitter, these words astonished me beyond measure, as they did most of Newman's friends. One of them observed: 'Well, if Manning will say that, he will say anything.'

[15] Or, according to another explanation, of 'theological idealism.'

Suffolk to teach French,[16] and there a scholarly clergyman 'loved him, oft invited him,' and talked classics and travels with him over copious postprandial port. The clergyman's daughter, Miss Charlotte Ives, also loved him, and the good parson and his wife were willing to accept him as a son-in-law, when he remembered that he had a wife already, and confessed it to Mrs. Ives, and fled. No doubt his obliviousness of the fact that he was married is curious. But, as a charitable critic has observed, '*Il l'était si peu.*'

So he went back to London, and in 1797 published his *Essai sur les Révolutions*, which made him almost a personage among the *émigrés* there, and brought him a little badly wanted money. The book has traces of what may be called Chateaubriand's 'regal French'; '*œuvre de doute, de colère, et de révolte, plus sceptique encore qu'impie*,' is the account given of it by a great critic. No doubt it was a correct transcript of Chateaubriand's mind at that period. Shortly, M. de Fontanes arrived in London with news of his mother's death. Then came a letter from his sister Julie, telling him how much that excellent woman had been shocked by the sentiments expressed in the *Essai*, and exhorting him to come to a better mind. He did. 'I wept and I believed,' is his account of the matter. The result of this change was seen in the *Génie du Christianisme*. The work had indeed been begun earlier and laid aside. He now applied himself to it with new vigour. In May 1800 he returned to France, bringing the manuscript with him. He felt, to use his own words, that the publication of the book would decide his fate. But he did not know what changes the book required in order to succeed. Much light was radiated on this subject by Joubert, to whom Fontanes had introduced him. And Joubert presented him to Madame de Beaumont.

Pauline-Marie-Michelle-Frédérique-Ulrique de Beaumont, who belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Auvergne, was born on the 15th of August 1768. She was the younger daughter of the Comte de Montmorin, the well-known and unfortunate Minister of Louis XVI. Brought up, as all French girls of good family then were, in convents, she was told, when she was eighteen, that a husband was waiting for her in the person of Count Christophe de Beaumont, whom she had never seen. The marriage turned out to be most unhappy, which is

[16] Chateaubriand's account in the *Mémoires* is, that he went to Suffolk 'to decipher manuscripts in the Camden Collection.' Mr. Gribble (pp. 48-52) shows conclusively that this was not so, but that he went to teach French at schools and in private houses. It will be remembered that when Chateaubriand wrote the portion of the *Mémoires* dealing with this matter he was in London as French Ambassador. It is intelligible, if somewhat petty, that he should have shrunk from reference to his career as usher and private tutor.

not wonderful if, as the Baron de Frétilly alleges, the bridegroom was *le plus mauvais sujet de Paris*.[17] After a few days the young wife left her husband, and returned to her father, who threatened him with a *lettre de cachet* in case he should molest her. In the year 1800 she divorced him. This proceeding, while effectually protecting her against him, did not, of course, annul her espousals in the eyes of the Catholic Church. That, however, was, in those days, of small importance to her, as she seems to have fallen into a kind of agnosticism.[18] The years of Revolution were terrible for Pauline de Beaumont. First her father was slaughtered, with revolting cruelty, by the Parisian mob. Next her mother, her brother Callixte, and her sister Madame de Luzerne, were arrested in the Château de Passy—they had sought refuge there—and were carted to Paris, where Madame de Montmorin and Callixte were guillotined, and Madame de Luzerne died of fever. Pauline de Beaumont insisted on accompanying them, but was soon expelled from the cart, as she seemed to be on the point of death, and was left by the roadside, in the snow. A poor peasant, Dominique Paquereau, took compassion on her, and sheltered her in his hut for several months. Two old servants of her father's, husband and wife, called Saint-Germain, found her there, and devoted themselves to her for the rest of her life. Then Joubert, who lived in the neighbourhood, and had heard of her misfortunes, sought her out, and in his wife's name and his own—he had been married the year before—offered her an asylum. Later on, she availed herself of the invitation, and from 1794 to the end of the century, she was often an inmate of his house at Villeneuve, where 'your green room' was always ready for her. The subtle penetration of this refined and sensitive soul soon showed him that he had entertained an angel unawares. In truth, notwithstanding his uninviting exterior, and eccentric habits of life, he and she were of the same high intellectual and spiritual lineage. He has been well called 'le plus fin, le plus délicat, le plus original des penseurs.' These adjectives might apply also to Pauline de Beaumont, who had, besides, the charm of a highly bred woman, vexed with all 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.' It is not too much to say that from 1794 to 1803 she

[17] *Souvenirs*, p. 249.

[18] Her biographer writes: 'Madame de Beaumont had been as religiously brought up as one could be in the high society of the eighteenth century. A second education had then come to her through her reading, and through the young and distinguished friends who surrounded her. The confiscations of the Revolution, the triumph of the implacable enemies of her family, the numberless misfortunes with which she was overwhelmed, brought her a third education. She doubted for a time, according to her own expression, of divine justice and of Providence.' *La Comtesse de Beaumont*, par A. Bardoux, p. 250.

was the confidante of his deepest thoughts, the object of his unceasing solicitude; and she knew well how to value the grave and tender friendship of a man 'who could love nothing which he did not respect, and whose respect was an honour.' [19]

In 1799 Madame de Beaumont, who had gone to Paris for the business of her divorce, took an apartment in the Rue Neuve de Luxembourg, where her friends gathered round her, on most evenings, in her modest and dimly lighted salon. One day Joubert took Chateaubriand there, and presented him to her. She was delighted, and more than delighted. 'The Enchanter' was the name which Joubert had bestowed upon Chateaubriand. Pauline de Beaumont altogether succumbed to his enchantments. To see him, to listen to him, was for her to worship him. She confessed it in her inimitable way, after hearing him read some pages of his *René*: 'Le style de M. de Chateaubriand me fait éprouver une espèce d'amour; il joue du clavecin sur toutes mes fibres.' She herself dwelt much among her own thoughts, but Chateaubriand tells us 'Quand une voix amie appelait au dehors cette intelligence solitaire, elle venait et vous disait quelques paroles du ciel.' A new thing had come into her existence: 'la divine douceur de l'amour spontané, naturel, irrésistible'; and now at last she was to find life worth living—the little that remained to her of life. Chateaubriand was then in the full bloom of early manhood, wielding that singular personal charm which he never altogether lost, even in extreme old age, with his Olympian head, his eyes full of mysterious meaning like the sea of whose colour they were, and his irristible smile—a smile, it was said, which belonged only to him, and to Napoleon. She, still young, with tender, grave almond eyes, and a sylph-like figure, though not strictly beautiful, fascinated Chateaubriand as instantaneously as he fascinated her. As M. Beaunier puts it: 'Il aima Pauline de Beaumont, certes imparfaitement; il l'aima de son mieux.' [20] She threw herself, with all the ardour of her impulsive temperament, into his literary work; her great delight was to minister to it. He resolved to publish *Atala* separately from and in advance of the *Génie*—it originally formed part of that work. Madame de Beaumont was full of anxiety about its success. Joubert, who, as M. Bardoux finely says, loved her so well that he loved Chateaubriand also, calmed her fears. 'The book,' he told her, 'is like no other: it has a charm, a talisman

[19] M. Bardoux writes: 'Madame de Beaumont doit beaucoup à Joubert; il lui doit beaucoup aussi: et cet empire qu'il exerçait sur les autres, une femme qu'un souffle pouvait renverser, un être tout de grâce, de faiblesse, et de langueur, l'exerça, à son tour, sur le penseur ingénieux et fort.' *La Comtesse de Beaumont*, p. 210.

[20] This reminds me of a profound remark of Bourget—'Pour les hommes la vanité fait le fond de presque tous les amours.'

which it owes to the fingers of the workman.' Joubert's judgment was soon amply vindicated, and Chateaubriand suddenly found himself famous not only in France, but throughout Europe, English, Italian, German, and Spanish translations of *Atala* quickly appearing. And now the great thing was to finish and publish the *Génie*. But for that, as Pauline de Beaumont saw, quiet was necessary. Inspiration would not come to Chateaubriand in a Parisian crowd. She herself provided the refuge required. She took for seven months a house at Savigny. Thither she and Chateaubriand betook themselves. Pauline de Beaumont's delight was unbounded. 'I shall hear the sound of his voice every morning,' she wrote to her friend Madame de Ventimille: 'I shall see him at work.' 'Her enthusiasm,' her biographer writes, 'was as boundless as her tenderness. And Chateaubriand had never been more gay, more boyish. They were like two truants running away.'[21]

In that still retreat the *Génie* was finished, and much that is best in it is unquestionably due to Pauline de Beaumont's[22] keen perception, delicate sympathy and subtle intellect. 'I wish,' she wrote to Joubert, 'he had critics bolder and more enlightened than me; for I am under a spell, and am much less severe than he is: it is detestable.' Her biographer observes that it was not detestable at all, since it was just that spell which he had cast upon his tender companion that made him write his most eloquent pages; that hers was that voice divine of which every poet has need. The time went on all too quickly for them both. Chateaubriand was in a fever of composition. 'He is working like a nigger,' she wrote to Joubert. She sat at his table copying his extracts, arranging his notes, making her diffident suggestions. It is notable as a sign of the times that no one seems to have been shocked by this irregular *ménage*. Joubert, who with his wife and child came to see them occasionally, rejoicing in the happiness of a woman so deeply interesting to him, blessed it and approved it, if not with a text, at all events with an aphorism. Chateaubriand's sister Lucile, now Madame de Caux, Madame de Chateaubriand's greatest friend, came too; and became the greatest friend of Madame de Beaumont also. 'So passed the days.'

When the seven months at Savigny had expired, Madame de Beaumont returned to her apartment in the Rue Neuve de Luxembourg, where her friends gathered around her once more. The *Génie du Christianisme* appeared on the 14th of April 1802,

[21] Bardoux, *La Comtesse de Beaumont*, p. 317.

[22] M. Beaunier writes—and I agree with him—'J'attribue à Pauline de Beaumont la délicate et la mélancolique poésie, qui est le plus subtil parfum du *Génie de Christianisme*.' *Trois Amies de Chateaubriand*, p 76.

in five octavo volumes. The moment was opportune. Bonaparte had concluded his Concordat with the Holy See. The Churches, long closed and desecrated, were opened, and purged from their defilements, and Mass was again said in them. Sensible people, throughout France, were sick alike of atheism and of the fantastic tricks played by various sectaries who had tried to provide substitutes for the Catholic rites. The first edition of the *Génie* was exhausted in less than a week. The second was dedicated to the First Consul. Chateaubriand was absent a great deal from Paris in those days; in Avignon, where he had to take proceedings in respect of a pirated edition of the *Génie*, in Brittany to see Madame de Chateaubriand—he had not seen her for ten years—and elsewhere.[23] Meanwhile Pauline de Beaumont was ill and unhappy. 'La société m'ennuie,' she wrote, 'il n'y a plus qu'une société pour moi; la pauvre Hirondelle [24] est dans une sorte d'engourdissement.' She was, in fact, slowly dying of pulmonary trouble.

The success of the *Génie* was doubtless largely due to its intense vitality. It was the true transcript of the author's mind, or, in Madame Récamier's words, 'a revelation of himself.'[25] It certainly took the world by storm, and secured for Chateaubriand at once a foremost, I might say *the* foremost, place among contemporary men of letters in France[26]—a place which he never lost as long as he lived. Moreover, it accomplished his object, which was to show that the Christian religion was the source of many most precious elements of modern civilisation. The book is not, what it is often called, an apology for Christianity. It is rather, as the sub-title of the first edition indicates, an exposition of certain beauties[27] of that faith, very generally

[23] 'Elsewhere.' At Madame de Custine's Château de Fervaques, among other places. This very attractive woman had thrown herself at Chateaubriand's head, and he, like a lady in one of Oscar Wilde's plays, could resist everything except temptation.

[24] 'The Swallow' was a pet name given her by her friends.

[25] 'Le lendemain elle [Madame Récamier] s'embarqua pour La Haye, et mit trois jours à faire une traversée de seize heures. Elle m'a racontée que pendant ces jours, mêlés de tempêtes, elle lit de suite *Le génie du Christianisme;* je lui fus révélé, selon sa bienveillante expression.' *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe,* vol. iv. p. 397.

[26] M. Giraud has well expressed this: 'Si jamais écrivain a du premier coup séduit et ravi et conquis le public, c'est lui: et cette royauté, sans précédent, devait durer près d'un demi-siècle. Il n'est pas un Maître, il est le Maître.' *Chateaubriand,* Avant-propos, p. 6.

[27] *Le Génie du Christianisme, ou Beautés de la religion Chrétienne.* The title which Chateaubriand thought originally of giving to his book was 'Des Beautés poétiques et morales de la religion Chrétienne, et de sa supériorité sur tous les autres cultes de la terre.' On the first page of every volume of the original edition was the following epigraph taken from Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*:—'Chose admirable! La religion chrétienne, qui ne semble avoir d'objet que la félicité de l'autre vie, fait encore notre bonheur dans celle-ci.'

ignored or overlooked when Chateaubriand wrote. It is a vindication of the religious sentiment in man as being, like the sentiment of love or art, an ultimate irreducible fact of our nature. It is really a poem. Joubert's mellow wisdom anticipated its mission in words which are worth quoting. 'We shall see what a poet will arise to purify France from the mess of the Directorate, even as Epimenides, with his sacred rites and poems, purified Athens from the plague.' This is precisely what the *Génie* did. It addressed to a frivolous, sentimental, worldly generation just the considerations most likely to weigh with them. 'What an awakening!' writes Madame Hamelin in one of her letters; 'what a clatter of tongues, what palpitations of the heart! "What! is *that* Christianity?" we all exclaimed. "Why, Christianity is perfectly delightful!"' A revolution was worked in the dominant sentiment of French society, and, to use Talleyrand's *mot*, impiety became the greatest of indiscretions. But the success of the book in the salons was the least of its triumphs. It brought back into French life and literature what may be called a Christian note; it repaired, and set flowing anew, fountains of emotion which had been supposed to be ruined for ever. Am I asked, Well, does anyone read it now? I suppose, notwithstanding the fine things in it, few do, except professed men of letters. The generation for which it was written has long passed away. *We* look at things with other eyes. The book did its work—a beneficent work—for the age to which it was addressed. To our age it has no message. For us it is a document of history.

The *Génie* had its effect upon Bonaparte. It led him to offer to its author the post of Secretary of Legation at Rome. Chateaubriand, after some hesitation, accepted the appointment, and set out to take it up in May 1803. In September, Madame de Beaumont followed him thither. The doctors had sent her to Mont-Dore, where she became worse; she could not rest there; so she determined to go to Rome that, at all events, she might see Chateaubriand once more. It was a terrible journey, in those days, for a woman in her delicate, her moribund state. Her excitement kept her up; but her great fear, as she expressed it, was that the drop of oil which still remained in her lamp of life should burn out too soon. At Florence, Chateaubriand met her; she had just strength enough left to smile, she writes. At Rome he installed her in a little house at the foot of the Pincian Hill, standing in an orange garden. For a day or two, she felt better. The Pope, and the Cardinals resident in Rome, sent to inquire after her, and the Roman nobility followed their example—a curious instance of the tolerant spirit then prevailing, for her relations with Chateaubriand were perfectly well known.

The doctors told him that nothing but a miracle could save her. And soon the end came. Chateaubriand, weeping, broke the news to her. She took his hand and said 'Vous êtes un enfant. Est-ce que vous ne vous y attendiez pas?' She told him to send for the Abbé Bonnevie,[28] the Chaplain of the French Embassy, to whom she made her confession, and who was greatly edified by her patience and good dispositions.[29] When Chateaubriand returned she said 'Eh! bien, êtes-vous content de moi?' Later on in the day they brought her the last sacraments with the solemnity and pomp—and crowd—which accompanied them at Rome, in those days. She saw, without the least tremor, 'le formidable appareil de la mort,' and, then, when she found herself alone with Chateaubriand, they had their last talk—of the past, with its tender memories, of their plans for the future, never to be realised. She begged him to promise her to take up his married life with Madame de Chateaubriand, and he gave his promise. They buried her in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi, Chateaubriand being the chief mourner. In a most touching letter,[30] giving an account of her last moments, he begged of M. de Luzerne—the husband of her dead sister—two favours: that he might be allowed to raise a monument to her, and that he might take into his own service the two Saint-Germains who had served her so faithfully, and her father before her. Both requests were readily granted. The bas relief[31] in San Lugi bears these among other words: 'F. A. de Chateaubriand a élevé ce monument à sa mémoire.' The graceful bit of statuary has already suffered from the hand of time. But another monument, which time cannot touch, has been dedicated to her by Chateaubriand in some exquisitely tender and pathetic pages of the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*.

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[28] M. Biré tells us: 'Une étroite intimité s'établit entre l'auteur du *Génie du Christianisme* et le très spirituel abbé, qui ne tarda pas à conquérir l'estime et l'affection de Madame de Chateaubriand. Jusqu'à leur mort il resta l'un de leurs plus fidèles amis.' *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, vol. ii. p. 335 note.

[29] M. Séché observes: 'N'est-ce pas aux pieds d'une jeune païenne que fut écrit le *Génie du Christianisme*, et n'est-ce pas aussi par la vertu de ce livre que cette jeune femme mourût chrétienne?' *Hortense Allart de Méritens*, Préface, p. 11.

[30] Joubert wrote of it: 'Rien au monde est plus propre à faire couler les larmes que ce récit. Cependant, il est consolant; on adore le bon garçon en le lisant, et quant à elle, on sent pour peu qu'on l'ait connue qu'elle eût donné dix ans de vie pour mourir si paisiblement et pour être ainsi regrettée.'

[31] In erecting it Chateaubriand spent all the money he had—and more. He mentions in one of his letters that it has cost him about nine thousand francs, and that he had sold everything to pay a part of this sum.

THE MAKING OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION

There is in human nature a pious tendency to regard whatever is the object of a long-standing veneration as having come all at once by a special providence into the world in a perfect state, like 'the image which fell down from Jupiter' at Ephesus in the *Acts of the Apostles*, without any ascertainable origin or ancestry. The Prayer Book was so regarded by many Churchmen a short while ago, until liturgiologists began to explore and describe its manifold sources. The Authorised Version of the Bible is so regarded even to-day among Christians who have not made a study of Biblical translation.

Yet the genesis of the present Authorised Version is easily learnt. It may be traced backwards to the labour of Tyndale in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, if not to the labour of Wickliffe in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Tyndale indeed it is, and not Wickliffe, who has been justly called 'the Father of the English Bible,' partly because he was the first person who made his translation of the Scriptures into English from the original Hebrew and Greek languages, rather than as Wickliffe made his from the Latin Vulgate; partly because, as Wickliffe's translation was not printed, it never caught the popular taste, and its language had already become in a large measure obsolete a century and a half after its appearance, when Tyndale set to work upon the Bible. The translators of the present Authorised Version made no use of Wickliffe's translation; but his translation was known to Tyndale and has exercised through Tyndale a considerable indirect influence upon the Authorised Version.

Tyndale published a translation of the whole New Testament, but in the Old Testament only of the Pentateuch and the Book of Jonah. At his death, however, in 1536 he left in manuscript a translation of all the books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles—a translation which, like his printed work, was practically incorporated in Matthew's Bible.

Next to Tyndale came Coverdale, whose version of the whole Bible was published in 1535, with a dedication to King Henry the

Eighth. It was therefore in a sense the first Authorised Version of the Bible. But it was not a direct translation from the original languages. Coverdale himself described his Bible on the title-page of his first edition as translated 'out of Doutche and Latyn into English.' But it possesses a special interest, as the popular version of the Psalter in the Prayer Book is Coverdale's translation with a few changes which were brought into it in the Great Bible. The Psalter in the Prayer Book exhibits both the strength and the weakness—the forcible style and the defective scholarship—of Coverdale's work.

The Bible which bears the name of Matthew was really the composition of John Rogers. It was printed at Antwerp in 1537. As it appeared in English soon afterwards, with the royal licence, it may fairly be called the second Authorised Version. Matthew or Rogers affected no claim to originality. He followed Tyndale as far as Tyndale's translation went, and where it was impossible to follow Tyndale he followed Coverdale. His Bible was reprinted in 1549, and he died in 1555.

Two years after the first appearance of Matthew's Bible, *i.e.* in 1539, was published the English Bible which is commonly known as the Great Bible from its size, or as Cranmer's Bible from the prologue which Archbishop Cranmer contributed to its second edition. It is sometimes described, too, by the name of one or other of its firm of printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. It was the third Authorised Version. Cromwell, at whose instance it was issued, ordered that a copy of it should be set up at some convenient place in every church throughout the kingdom. It was, however, no more than a revision of Matthew's Bible.

The Geneva Bible, as it is called, was published in 1560 at Geneva, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth. Its first English edition appeared in 1575. More than ninety editions were printed in England before the end of Elizabeth's reign. It was an original translation, except so far as it depended upon the New Testament published a little time before by Whittingham. It was the first translation in which the text was divided into verses.

The Bishops' Bible, so called because the scholars by whom it was composed were principally Bishops, was a revision of the Great Bible carried out in the early part of Elizabeth's reign under the auspices of Archbishop Parker. As copies of this Bible were ordered by royal authority to be placed in all cathedrals and, 'as far as can conveniently be done in all parish churches,' it deserves to be regarded as the fourth Authorised Version. It was published in 1568. A corrected edition of it was published in 1572, and it continued to be reprinted from time to time for fifty years. The last edition of the whole Bishops' Bible appeared in 1606; the last edition of the New Testament in the Bishops' Bible so late as in 1618.

There was yet another translation made from the Vulgate at the instance of Cardinal Allen in connexion with the English Roman Catholic College at Douay. It is generally known as the Rheims Bible. The New Testament was published at Rheims in 1582; the complete Bible at Douay in 1609-10. In 1589 Dr. Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall in the University of Cambridge, published the New Testament of the Rheims Bible, with the New Testament of the Bishops' Bible in parallel columns; and he added to them a severe commentary, written in a Puritan spirit, upon the text and the notes of the Rheims Bible. It was probably through Fulke's work that the translators of the present Authorised Version came to study the Rheims Bible. There can be no doubt that they made some use of it in the New Testament, as in their preface headed 'The Translators to the Reader' they make unmistakable reference to the principles laid down in the preface of the Rheims New Testament. What was the actual influence of the Rheims Bible upon the Authorised Version has been fully discussed by Dr. Carleton in his monograph, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible.*

The Authorised Version of 1611 was the outcome of the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. It was the answer of the Church of England to the objections urged by the Puritan party against the existing translations of the Bible. The translators in the interesting preface which they addressed to the reader—a composition far better worth reading than the fulsome dedication to King James the First—use the following explicit language:

> 'The very Historical trueth is that upon the importunate petition of the Puritanes at His Majesties comming to his Crowne the Conference at Hampton Court having been appointed for hearing their complaints; when by force of reason they were put from all other grounds, they had recourse at the last to this shift, that they could not with good conscience subscribe to the Communion Booke, since it maintained the Bible as it was there translated, which was as they said, a most corrupted translation. And although this was judged to be a very poore and emptie shift, yet even hereupon did His Majestie beginne to bethinke himself of the good that might ensue by a new translation, and presently after gave order for this translation which is now presented unto thee.'

The Authorised Version was produced by six different companies of translators sitting at Westminster, at Oxford, and at Cambridge. It was begun in 1607, and finished in 1611. It was not issued upon the authority of any royal proclamation, or Act of Parliament, or injunction of the Privy Council or even Canon of Convocation; nor was it officially stated to be 'authorised'; but according to its title-page it was 'appointed to be read in churches,' and it became, as it has ever since remained, the standard translation of the English-speaking Christian world.

The translators, as they themselves declared, entertained no idea of 'making a new translation or even of making a bad trans-

lation into a good one.' All that they aspired to do was 'to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against.'

It may be well to quote some of the instructions or rules laid down by the King, as is generally believed, for the guidance of the scholars engaged in preparing the Authorised Version of the Bible.[1] The following seem to be the most notable :

1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, and commonly called the Bishops' Bible to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.

3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as the word Church not to be translated Congregation &c.

6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz. (1) Tyndale's, (2) Matthew's, (3) Coverdale's, (4) Whitchurch's (*i.e.* Cranmer's, or the Great Bible), (5) The Geneva.

Such were the instructions or rules; and a comparison of the Authorised Version with its predecessors, especially with such of them as are mentioned by the King, shows, I think, that the translators were faithful to the royal command in their adherence, as far as possible, to the language of the Bishops' Bible; but that, where they saw good reason for departing from the Bishops' Bible, they exercised a free discretion either in adopting phrases from some other version or in coining phrases of their own; and that in this exercise of their discretion they displayed a keen sense of literary grace and rhythm.

It has seemed to me that the procedure of the translators in composing the Authorised Version of the Bible might be not unsuitably illustrated by comparing more or less fully the earlier renderings of some few salient passages in the Old and the New Testament with the renderings in the Authorised Version.[2] The

[1] Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii. p. 377; Eadie, *The English Bible*, vol. ii. p. 191.

[2] N.B. The subjoined table gives the dates of the several translations after Wickliffe's :

1. Tyndale's New Testament, 1525-6. Bible in part, 1530.
2. Coverdale's, 1535.
3. Matthew's, 1537.
4. Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, or Whitchurch's Bible, 1539-40.
5. Geneva, 1560.
6. Bishops' Bible, 1568.
7. Rheims New Testament, 1582. Bible, 1609-10.
8. Authorised Version (A.V.), 1611.
9. Revised Version. (R.V.) New Testament 1881, Old Testament 1885.

The dates are those of the earliest editions; but it is the latest editions which are generally quoted in the article, as they were presumably the editions in the hands of the translators.

Revised Version is quoted only as showing what is held by modern scholars to be the accurate translation of these passages.

Genesis xlix. 4 : 'Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel' (A.V.).

'Unstable as water, thou shalt not have the excellency' (R.V.).

It is curious that the phrase 'unstable as water' goes back to *Tyndale*. It reappears in *Matthew*, and it is repeated in the *Bishops' Bible*. The other translations are : 'Thou passest forth swiftly as the water' (*Coverdale* and *Cranmer*) ; 'Thou *wast* light as water' (*Geneva*). In the latter half of the verse 'thou shalt not be excellent' (*Geneva*) comes nearest to the A.V. and R.V. In the other translations, and notably in the *Bishops' Bible*, the phrase is 'thou shalt not be the chiefest.'

Deuteronomy xxxiv. 7 : 'His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated' (A.V. and R.V.).

All the translations give 'his eyes were not dim,' except the *Bishops' Bible*, 'His eye was not dimmen.' But *Geneva* and the *Bishops' Bible* alone are identical with the A.V. and R.V. in the words 'nor his natural force abated.' *Cranmer* gives 'nor hys naturall coloure abated.' In *Tyndale* and *Matthew* the Hebrew words are rendered 'nor his chekes abated'; in *Coverdale*, 'and his chekes were not fallen.'

2 Samuel i. 23 : 'Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided' (A.V. and R.V.).

The translation is the same as in *Cranmer* and the *Bishops' Bible*, except that in the *Bishops' Bible* the plural 'deathes' takes the place of the singular 'death'; and the *Bishops' Bible* is only a repetition of *Geneva*.

The other successive translations before the *Bishops' Bible* were : 'Saul and Jonathas louely and pleasaunt in their lyfe, and in their death were not parted asunder' (*Coverdale*), and 'Saul and Jonathas louely and pleasaunt in their lyves were in their deaths not deuided' (*Matthew*).

2 Kings viii. 13 : 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing?' (A.V.).

'But what is thy servant, which is but a dog, that he should do this great thing?' (R.V.).

A.V. differs little from the *Bishops' Bible*, 'What is thy servant a dogge, that I should do this great thing?'; and here again the *Bishops' Bible* reproduces *Geneva*. R.V., on the other hand, returns very closely to *Matthew* : 'What is thy servant, which am but a dogge, that I should do this great thyng?' *Coverdale*, like A.V., suggests not so much impotency as ingratitude in the words 'How so, is thy servaunt a dogge, that he should do such a greate thynge?'; so too *Cranmer*, perhaps, 'What is thy servaunt a dogge, that he shulde do such a great thyng?'

Job v. 7: 'Man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward' (A.V. and R.V.).

This is practically the translation of the *Bishops' Bible* and *Cranmer*: 'Man is borne unto labour, like as the sparks flee (or 'flye') up,' or *Geneva*, 'Man is borne unto travail, as the sparkes flye upward.' The other translations (*Coverdale* and *Matthew*) give a different turn to the sentence: 'It is man that is borne unto mysery, lyke as the byrde for to fle.'

Let me come to the critical passage, *Job* xix. 25, 26: 'I know *that* my redeemer liveth, and *that* he shall stand at the latter *day* upon the earth: And *though* after my skin *worms* destroy this *body*, yet in my flesh shall I see God.' (A.V.)

'I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth: And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God.' (R.V.)

Here A.V. agrees almost verbally with *Geneva*, 'I am sure that my Redeemer liveth and that he shall stand at the last on the earth, and though after my skin *wormes* destroy this *bodie*, yet shall I see God in my flesh.' But the *Bishops' Bible* is widely different: 'I am sure that my redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day, And shall be covered againe with my skin and shall see God in my flesh.' It is almost the same as *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*, except that in them the word is not 'covered' but 'clothed.'

Psalm xc. 9: 'We spend our years as a tale *that is told*' (A.V.).

'We bring our years to an end as a tale *that is told*' (R.V.).

The phrase 'We spend our years' is common to the *Bishops' Bible*, 'We spende our years as [in speaking] a word,' and to *Geneva*, 'We have spent our yeres as a thoght.' The other rendering, 'We bring our years to an end' occurs in *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*. 'As a tale that is told' is the phrase of *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*. It is evident then that the translators of the Authorised Version chose what they felt to be best from the two groups of translations lying before them.

Proverbs vi. 6: 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise' (A.V. and R.V.).

The interest of this passage is that the rendering is 'Go to the Emmet' in all the antecedent versions, except *Geneva*, where it is 'Go to the pismire.' The word 'ant' reverts to Wickliffe's translation: 'O thou slow man, go to the amte *ether pissemire*.' The latter part of the verse is translated in *Geneva*, 'beholde her waies, and be wise'; but elsewhere 'consider her wayes, and learn to be wise.'

Ecclesiastes xii. 6: 'Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern' (A.V. and R.V.).

The translation of this verse in the *Bishops' Bible* is : ' or ever the silver lace be taken away, and or the golden well be broken, or the pot be broken at the well and the wheele broken upon the cesterne.' The meaning is equally obscure in both translations; but the translators of the Authorised Version have given it a poetical or rhythmical force which it seems to lack elsewhere. Thus *Coverdale* and *Matthew* read : ' Or ever the sylver lace be taken awaye, or the golden bande be broken, or the pot be broken at the well, and the whele upon the cisterne.' So, too, *Cranmer*, except that it gives, possibly by a mistake, ' or the golden well be broken ' for ' the golden bande.' The word ' pitcher,' instead of ' pot,' is taken from *Geneva*, where the verse is translated ' Whiles the silver corde is not lengthened, nor the golden ewer broken, nor the pitcher broken at the well, nor the whele broken at the cistern.'

Ecclesiastes xii. 13 : ' Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter : Fear God, and keep his commandments : for this is the whole *duty* of man ' (A.V.).

' *This is* the end of the matter ; all hath been heard : fear God, and keep his commandments ; for this is the whole *duty* of man ' (R.V.).

It is well known that the Hebrew here is obscure. It contains no word answering to 'duty,' nor does the word 'duty' occur in any antecedent translation except *Geneva* : ' Let us heare the end of all ; feare God and kepe his commandements : for this is the whole *duetie* of man.' The translators of the Authorised Version have slightly modified and amplified *Geneva*. The initial phrase : ' Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter ' is peculiar to A.V. ; but ' Let us heare the conclusion of all things,' in *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, *Cranmer*, and the *Bishops' Bible* approaches it more nearly than ' Let us heare the end of all,' in *Geneva*. Once again then the translators have seen fit to exercise their selective or discriminating faculty.

Isaiah liii. 5 : ' He *was* wounded for our transgressions, he *was* bruised for our iniquities ; the chastisement of our peace was upon him ; and with his stripes we are healed ' (A.V. and R.V.).

The translation most nearly follows *Geneva*, where the only difference lies in the second clause ' he was broken (instead of ' bruised ') for our iniquities.' The *Bishops' Bible* is more widely removed : ' he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickednesse ; for the paine of our punishment was laied upon him, and with his stripes we are healed.' But the *Bishops' Bible* agrees with the other antecedent translations, except that the uncertainty of the Hebrew tense has led to the use of the future tense in *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*, *e.g.* ' he shall be wounded ' instead of ' he was wounded,' etc. It may be noticed that Wickliffe makes use of the past tense.

Isaiah lv. 1: 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price' (A.V. and R.V.).

The first clause, 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters' is taken from *Geneva*. Everywhere else it is 'Come to the waters all ye that be thirsty.' Similarly the second clause, 'Come ye, buy and eat' is very close to the 'come, bie and eat' of *Geneva*, closer than to the 'come, buy that ye may have to eat' of the other translations. But they all give 'he that hath no money,' whereas *Geneva* gives 'he that hath no silver'; and in the third clause, 'Come, buy wine and milk without money and without price' is nearer to 'without silver and without money' in *Geneva* than to 'without any money or money worth' in *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, *Cranmer*, and the *Bishops' Bible*. This is a case where the translators have deliberately altered the *Bishops' Bible*, and approximated to *Geneva*, though not without making some slight improvement even in *Geneva*.

Jeremiah xiii. 23: 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?' (A.V. and R.V.).

It is strange that Wickliffe is the only translator who gives 'the Ethiopian,' or, to be quite accurate, 'an Ethiope' in his earlier, and 'a man of Ethiope' in his later version. In all the other versions except *Geneva* the phrase is 'the' (or in the *Bishops' Bible* 'a') 'Woman of Inde.' In *Geneva* it is 'the blacke More.'

'The leopard' is peculiar to A.V. and *Geneva*. In all other versions, including the *Bishops' Bible*, it is 'the catte of the mountaine.'

Micah vi. 8: 'He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' (A.V. and R.V.).

The antecedent translators vary between 'I will shewe thee' (*Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*), and 'he hath shewed thee' (*Geneva* and the *Bishops' Bible*). It is only in A.V. and R.V. that the second half of the verse assumes an interrogative form, 'and what doth the Lord require of thee?'; elsewhere it is 'and what the Lord requireth of thee.'

The final words 'to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God,' are slightly varied from 'to do justly, to love mercy, and to humble thyself to walk with thy God' (*Geneva* and the *Bishops' Bible*). They depart a little further from 'to do right, to have pleasure in lovynge kyndnesse, to be lowly and to walk with thy God' (*Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*).

In the New Testament it is natural to begin with the Lord's Prayer; and I will take the Prayer as it appears in St. Luke's Gospel.

St. Luke xi. 2-4 : 'Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth. Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil' (A.V.).

'Father, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we ourselves also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And bring us not into temptation' (R.V.).

It may be added that the clauses of the Prayer omitted on the ground of textual criticism in the Revised Version are translated in the margin 'which art in heaven.' 'Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.' 'But deliver us from the evil one' or 'from evil.'

The Lord's Prayer begins with the words not 'Our Father' but 'O our Father' in all the antecedent versions except *Rheims*, which gives simply 'Father,' and *Geneva*, which agrees with A.V. in giving 'Our father.'

'Hallowed be thy name' is the rendering in all the versions, except *Rheims*, where it is 'sanctified be thy name.' The preference for a Latin to an Anglo-Saxon word is everywhere characteristic of *Rheims*.

'Thy kingdom come' is universal. But the clause 'thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth' is not found anywhere before A.V. In the *Bishops' Bible*, it is 'Thy will be done even in earth also as it is in heaven'; in *Tyndale*, 'Thy will be fulfilled even in earth as it is in heaven,' and *Tyndale* is followed by *Matthew*, by *Coverdale*, except that *Coverdale* substitutes 'upon earth' for 'even in earth,' and by *Cranmer*, except that *Cranmer* gives 'even in earth also as it is in heaven,' and by *Geneva*, with the initial alteration 'Let thy wil be done.'

The clause 'Give us day by day our daily bread' is in the order of the words similar to the 'Geue us this daye our daylie bread' of *Coverdale*. Elsewhere it reads 'our dayly breed geue us evermore' (*Tyndale* and *Matthew*), or 'our daily bread give us this day' (*Cranmer*, *Geneva*, and the *Bishops' Bible*).

There is no variety in the words 'and forgive us our sins'; but *Geneva* alone agrees with A.V. in the translation 'for we also' (or 'even we') 'forgive everyone' (or 'everyman') 'that is indebted to us.' *Coverdale* also preserves the idea of indebtedness in the words 'for we also forgeue all them that are detters unto us.'

In the other translations from *Tyndale* downwards there is a different idea introduced by the words, which are practically the same in all, 'for even we forgive every man that trespasseth us,' *i.e.* trespasses against us.

Finally the words 'And lead us not into temptation' are the same in all the versions from *Tyndale* downwards; so too are the words 'but deliver us from evil' except in the *Bishops' Bible*, 'but deliver us from the evil.' *Rheims*, however, omits 'but deliver us from evil.'

The following passages chosen almost at random from the New Testament will perhaps serve as evidences of the literary or artistic spirit underlying the composition of the Authorised Version:

St. Matthew vi. 34: 'Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself' (A.V.).

'Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself' (R.V.).

It is remarkable that the phrase 'take no thought for the morrow,' although its meaning in the seventeenth century would be more emphatic than it is now, is not found in any one of the earlier versions. They all read 'Care not for the morrow,' as *Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer, Geneva,* and the *Bishops' Bible*. It is only *Rheims* which gives the more suitable, although still inadequate rendering 'Be not careful for the morrow.' The translators of the Authorised Version would seem to have regarded all the previous renderings as defective. In the second part of the sentence the translation of *Tyndale*, 'But let the morrow care for itselfe,' is exactly followed only in *Matthew*. The other translations are 'the morrow shall care for it selfe' (*Coverdale, Geneva,* and the *Bishops' Bible*); 'Let the morow care for it selfe' (*Matthew*); 'To morowe day shall care for it selfe' (*Cranmer*), and 'the morrow day shall be careful for it self' (*Rheims*).

An important passage is: *St. Matthew* xix. 6: 'What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder' (A.V. and R.V.).

The earlier translations invert the clauses, except *Rheims*, which gives 'That therefore which God hath joyned together, let no man separate'; but they all read 'Let not man therefore put asunder that which God hath coupled together.' 'Joined together' is the phrase of Rheims alone; but Wickliffe's translation is 'that thing that God hath joyned.' The translators then took 'put asunder' from the *Bishops' Bible*, 'joined together' from *Rheims*, and by inverting the order of the clauses gave new point or force to Our Lord's command as a whole.

St. Luke xvi. 8: 'The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light' (A.V.).

'The sons of this world are for their own generation wiser than the sons of the light' (R.V.).

The superior rhythm of A.V. as compared with R.V. is evident enough. The phrase 'the children of this world' is traceable in an unbroken line through the several translations back to *Tyn-*

dale. It is curious that Wickliffe used the phrase 'the sons of this world,' which reappears in R.V. The translators owed the phrase 'in their generation' to *Rheims* and *Geneva*. In the *Bishops' Bible* it is 'in their nation' as also in *Cranmer*, but elsewhere 'in their kynde' (*Tyndale*, *Coverdale*, and *Matthew*).

St. John xiv. 2: 'In my Father's house are many mansions' (A.V. and R.V.).

This is *Tyndale's* translation, repeated by *Matthew*, *Cranmer*, and *Rheims*. In *Coverdale* it is 'dwellynges'; in *Geneva* and the *Bishops' Bible*, 'dwelling-places.' It seems that the translators of the Authorised Version preferred the statelier term 'mansions' to 'dwellynges' or 'dwelling-places.'

Acts xvii. 5: 'Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort' (A.V.).

'Certain vile fellows of the rabble' (R.V.).

The translation in A.V. is original. It is *Rheims* which comes nearest to R.V. in the words 'of the rascal sort certaine naughtie men.' The translation in *Geneva* is 'Certeine vagabondes and wicked felowes.' The word 'vagabondes' occurs in all the other translations from *Tyndale* downwards, the phrases being everywhere 'evyll men which were vagabondes,' except in the *Bishops' Bible*, where it is 'Certain vagabondes and evil men.'

Romans vi. 23: 'The wages of sin is death' (A.V. and R.V.).

This is Wickliffe's translation, repeated in *Geneva*. In *Tyndale*, *Matthew*, *Cranmer*, and the *Bishops' Bible* it is 'the reward of sin is death,' but in *Coverdale*, 'death is the reward of sin.' In *Rheims* there is the curious phrase, 'The stipends of sinne, death.'

1 Corinthians ix. 22: 'I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some' (A.V.).

'I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some' (R.V.).

In the earlier part of the sentence, 'I am made all things to all men,' A.V. agrees with the *Bishops' Bible* and *Geneva*. Wickliffe's translation is 'to alle men I am made alle thinges'; but in *Rheims* the translation is 'To al men I became al things.' There is in *Tyndale* a curious variant, 'In all things I fassioned my selfe to all men'—a variant followed exactly by *Matthew* and *Cranmer*, and less exactly by *Coverdale*, 'I am become of all fasshions unto every man.'

The latter part of the phrase, 'that I might by all means save some,' is derived by A.V. from the *Bishops' Bible* and *Geneva*. The other translations are 'to save at the lest waye some' (*Tyndale*, *Cranmer*, and *Matthew*); 'To save some at the lest' (*Coverdale*); and 'That I might save al' (*Rheims*).

1 Corinthians xiii. 1: 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal' (A.V.).

'If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become sounding brass, or a clanging cymbal' (R.V.).

The rhythmical superiority of A.V. to R.V. will scarcely be disputed; but it is curious that the only authority who translates ἀγάπη 'charity,' rather than 'love,' in this famous chapter of St. Paul's writings is Wickliffe, except indeed *Rheims*, which, as usual, prefers the Latin to the Anglo-Saxon word. Everywhere else the translation is 'love.' It is curious too that the phrase 'sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal' is universal in the translations, until it is altered, not perhaps for the better, in R.V.

1 Corinthians xiii. 12: 'Now we see through a glass, darkly' (A.V.).

'Now we see in a mirror, darkly' (R.V.) with the marginal note, 'Gr. "in a riddle."'

There is no antecedent authority for the exact phrase of A.V. It is an alteration of the *Bishops' Bible*, 'Nowe we see in a glasse, even in a dark speaking'; but the *Bishops' Bible* agrees with all the other translations from *Tyndale* downwards, except that *Coverdale* gives 'thorow a glasse,' and *Rheims* 'by a glasse in a darke sort.'

It can scarcely be held that the translators of the Authorised Version made an improvement when they turned 'in a dark speaking' into the adjective 'darkly,' as the equivalent of the Greek ἐν αἰνίγματι.

2 Corinthians xii. 7: 'There was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me' (A.V.).

'There was given to me a thorn (marg., 'stake') in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me' (R.V.).

Whether 'thorn' or 'stake' is the more accurate equivalent to the Greek σκόλοψ, neither the one word nor the other appears in any translation before A.V. The rendering wherever it is literal is 'a pricke in the fleshe' (*Geneva*), or 'a pricke of my flesh' (*Rheims*), or 'a pricke to the flesh' (the *Bishops' Bible*). But *Tyndale* adopted the metaphorical rendering 'unquyetnes of the flesshe,' and it was followed exactly by *Matthew* and almost exactly by *Cranmer*, 'unquyetness thorowe the flesshe.' In *Coverdale* the rendering is still less literal, 'There is a warnying geuen unto my flesh.'

It should be added that the phrase 'to buffet me' is universal in the translations. It goes back to *Tyndale*, and even to *Wickliffe*.

Philippians i. 21: 'To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain' (A.V. and R.V.).

This is almost exactly the translation of *Rheims*, 'unto me to live is Christ, and to die is gaine.' Nowhere else is the word 'gain' used. It is everywhere 'advantage.' Thus the *Bishops' Bible* reads, 'Christ [is] to me life, and death is to me advantage,'

nor is there any variety of translation, except in *Geneva*, 'Christe is to me both in life, and in death advantage.'

1 Thessalonians v. 21 : 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good' (A.V. and R.V.).

Once more A.V. approaches most nearly to *Rheims*. 'Prove all things, and hold that which is good,' but it derives the expression 'hold fast' from the *Bishops' Bible*, 'examine all things; hold fast that which is good.' Elsewhere the translation is always 'examine all thinges, and kepe that which is good'; except *Coverdale*, 'prove all thinges, and kepe that which is good.'

Hebrews xi. 1 : 'Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen' (A.V.).

'Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen' (R.V.).

Here again A.V. is evidently superior in rhythm to R.V. Wickliffe's translation 'faith is the substance of thinges that ben to be hoped' is practically repeated in *Rheims*, 'faith is the substance of things to be hoped for'; but in no other translation is the word 'substance' used. The *Bishops' Bible* gives 'faith is the ground of things hoped for'; *Geneva* 'faith is the grounde of things which are hoped for.' *Tyndale* is followed by *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*, in the translation 'Faith is a sure confidence of thynges which are hoped for.'

In the latter part of the verse the words 'the evidence of things not seen' are taken from the *Bishops' Bible*, with which *Geneva* nearly agrees, 'the evidence of things which are not sene.' The other translations are 'a certayntie of thynges which are not sene' (*Tyndale* followed by *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*), or 'the argument of things not appearing' (*Rheims*).

James iii. 5 : 'Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!' (A.V.).

'Behold, how much wood is kindled by how small a fire!' (R.V.).

A.V. borrows its translation from the *Bishops' Bible*. 'Matter' is the word used only in A.V. and the *Bishops' Bible*. Elsewhere it is 'thing' (*Tyndale*, *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, *Cranmer*, and *Geneva*), except in *Rheims*, 'behold howe much fire what a great wood it kindleth.' The translation 'wood' reappears in R.V. 'How much fire' is peculiar to *Rheims*. 'A little fire' is the rendering of all the versions earlier than A.V., as it is in A.V.

Revelation xxi. 22, 23 : 'I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof' (A.V.).

'I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple thereof. And the city hath no need of

the sun, neither of the moon, to shine upon it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the lamp thereof is the Lamb' (R.V.).

The unhappy translation of R.V., 'the lamp thereof is the Lamb,' finds no parallel except in *Rheims*, 'the Lambe is the lamp thereof,' and even there *Rheims* is more rhythmical than R.V. It is easy to see that A.V. reverts almost verbally to *Tyndale*, 'There was no temple therein. For the Lord God Almighty and the lambe are the temple of it, and the cite hath no nede of the sonne, neither of the mone to lyghten it, for the bryghtness of God dyd lyght it, and the lambe is the lyght of it.' The *Bishops' Bible* is practically the same as *Tyndale*, the only difference being the substitution of 'the glorie of God did lighten it' for 'the bryghtness of God dyd light it.' 'The brightness of God' is also the translation in *Coverdale*, *Matthew*, and *Cranmer*, but 'the glorie of God' in the *Bishops' Bible*. *Rheims* characteristically gives 'the glory of God hath illuminated it.' But it is because the Authorised Version, like the *Pilgrim's Progress*, owes so much of its popularity to the use of simple homely Anglo-Saxon words and phrases, that the influence of *Rheims* upon its translators, although happily it was limited, has not, so far as it went, been beneficial.

It is hoped that the instances thus cited will be enough to prove the literary care and skill of the scholars by whom the Authorised Version of the Bible was composed. The Authorised Version is indeed a revision of successive revisions. As has been shown, it is not the only version which may be said to have been authorised; rather is it the fifth or sixth authorised version; nor indeed is its own authorisation beyond dispute. But there can be little doubt that it has been the most powerful of all instruments in shaping the thoughts and moulding the characters of the English-speaking peoples, and in uniting them all the world over by a strong and subtle tie which can never be broken. That there is an Authorised Version of the Bible which is universally accepted by all denominations of Christians in the Reformed Churches throughout the English-speaking world is a matter of profound and intense thankfulness. For some three centuries it has ruled with unchallengeable sway. No Bible of equal importance ever existed before, and it is more than doubtful, as the fate of the Revised Version suggests, whether any such Bible could be produced at the present time or will ever be producible in the future. How the Authorised Version by its matter and its phraseology has permeated not the language only but the life of the Anglo-Saxon race will be the subject of a second paper.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

HUMOURS OF ENGLISH ELECTIONS

It is counted by foreigners as a virtue to the credit of the people of Great Britain that, although they take their politics seriously, party differences are not allowed to interfere with private friendships. Over and over again visitors of other nationalities have expressed to me in the past their surprise at meeting leading statesmen of opposing parties at the same London dinner-parties; at the obvious friendship existing between men, in the lobbies and smoking-rooms of the House of Commons, who have but recently taken violently different sides in debates within the Chamber; at the curious and remarkable evidences of the *esprit de corps* which obtains among the rank and file of our representatives even though their political objectives may demand the maximum of reciprocal hostility during the actual hours of business. Such an *aperçu* of our political temperament has certainly been both merited and just during the past generation—a period which has seen the acerbities of party hostility sensibly diminished and the rigid formalities of party address almost universally foregone. It is now quite usual for *politesses*, of quite other than a perfunctory character, to be exchanged between the two front benches both in the Commons and the Lords; the Leader of the Opposition may indulge without remark in praise of 'the lucid and brilliant speech' of his most formidable antagonist; whilst the Prime Minister may return the compliment, and express his full appreciation of 'the eminently fair and impartial survey of the situation' just completed by the champion of those who are hourly anxious to sit upon the Government benches, without fear of reproach from his own side. I believe, however, that these friendly habits of speech are of comparatively recent birth, and did not exist in the days of Mr. Disraeli, who once soundly rated a junior supporter for referring to a Liberal as 'my honourable *friend*,' and who, when Prime Minister, never dined with a political opponent if he could possibly avoid it. Those were the strenuous days when parties were only two in number and they were sharply separated the one from the other; when political feeling ran at fever heat through Senate and Salon alike;

when the language of the hustings and the lampoons of the tavern were as highly flavoured as the ale which accompanied them; when no one thought of referring to the serious tactics of party warfare merely as 'playing the game.'

Let me note, in passing, how keenly Dr. Creighton, the late Bishop of London, used to resent the use of this last phrase when applied to the real businesses of life, and especially to politics; for, although he admitted that in England adherence to the 'rules of the game' was of the essence of our island character, and so gave the words a certain symbolic value when applied elsewhere, yet he shuddered at the possible growth of a triviality of thought which, confusing the greater with the lesser issues of life, might endeavour to attach to all the graver adventures of national existence the importance, not so much of the rules, as of the spirit of a 'game.'

It seems to me that this attitude of outward carelessness for party ties and formalities is disappearing surely, if not swiftly, as must be the case when men are no longer occupied in debating the details of minor measures, but are engaged in mortal combat for first principles, dear to one side or the other. We have seen something of this change in our social life of the past year or two: we have heard of interrupted friendships, and of society ostracism; and I think that the bitterness of certain contests during the recent elections goes to prove that the electorate is once more ready to fight out its differences according to the sterner canons of the camp, rather than by the amateur regulations of the football field.

But I admit that we have not yet gone so far in this direction that our party fights are already shorn of their gaiety (although our wall posters during the elections of December last were deplorably free from humour), or that our rival demonstrations have become tame and colourless affairs. No; so long as canvassing is permitted to continue, and 'the voice' is still audible at our meetings, so long we may be certain of pleasant oases in the droughty wilderness of an election campaign.

Being myself one of those who cannot count effective canvassing among his natural gifts, this duty is one that seldom falls upon my shoulders; but I envy the good canvasser his or her experiences, which seem only to increase in variety and entertainment as the contest proceeds. It is due to such invaluable supporters that their labours should not go altogether unrecognised, nor the lighter incidents of their unobtrusive vocation pass completely out of sight; wherefore I would respectfully suggest to the literary editors of those weighty tomes known as *Election Handbooks* or *Hints to Canvassers*, that they should include in their forthcoming volumes a chapter dealing with the quaint experiences which have befallen their myrmidons in previous campaigns;

such an addition would add not only to the sale of their literature, but also to the information of us all. Who, for instance, among the Unionist party is not relieved to know that one of the towns comprised in the Ayr Burghs is irreclaimably Tory? This delectable spot appears to be as conservative in its Toryism as the rest of Scotland seems conservative in its Radicalism. This fact is stated on the authority of an experienced Liberal canvasser, who toiled for days at the dreary work of conversion in the aforesaid town, but without result. He will, I trust, allow me to reproduce this disappointing dialogue:

Canvasser.—Surely you will give us your vote this time, sir? (he said to a poor man standing at the corner of the street).

Voter.—Na, na; I'm voting Tory, as my faither and grandfaither did before me.

Canvasser.—But surely you don't want your food taxed, and six hundred peers to dictate to forty millions of people? &c.

Voter.—I dinna ken and I dinna care about thon; my faither and my grandfaither were Tories and I'm a Tory, too.

Canvasser.—Well, I must say that is a most unintelligent answer. If your father and grandfather had been thieves, what would you have been?

Voter (pensively).—If my faither had been a thief and my grandfaither had been a thief? . . . (brightening) likely I'd have been a Liberal!

This ancestor-worship flourishes nowhere more than in North Britain, as the following story, which was going the round of the Edinburgh clubs, clearly proves. A certain school inspector noticed that in one class-room a good many of the children were wearing party colours, and he thought he would question them on the point. 'Why are you a Liberal?' said he to one boy. 'Because my faither is a Liberal,' came the prompt reply. 'And why are you a Tory?' to another. 'My mither sweeps out the Conservative Club,' was the answer unabashed.

The use of colours to express a political faith is very confusing; I know of several streets in England which divide constituencies where on one side of the street blue stands for Tory as, on the other side, it implies a Liberal. In these districts the resident does not use the word 'colour' to denote creed, for fear of misapprehension; a new comer, however, may do so at his own risk, like Mr. X., who was sent to canvass one of these boundary lines. He rang the door-bell of a small house, and was answered by a diminutive child, who said that her father was out. 'And what "colour" is your father, my dear?' After a short pause she replied, 'Well, I think he used to be ginger, but he's very bald now.' But children apart, it would be an excellent thing if a representative symposium could be convened to settle upon distinctive colours for the various political parties in the State, although I am convinced that no decision would be arrived at (or

adhered to) without a great deal of heart-burning—so conservative is the country at large in certain respects. As it is, those who do a large amount of speaking during election time are under the constant danger of sailing under false colours. One passes from a platform where 'true blue' is synonymous with a Unionist, only to find that rosette filched from us the following evening and a pink and white emblem substituted for it; on the next night we are tricked out in scarlet, or it may be in purple and orange ('Purple for the King, Orange for the Faith'), or other delights. It ought not, however, to be difficult to ascertain which are the oldest or the most convenient political colours, and to advise Liberals and Tories to wear them; leaving the later organisations, such as the Nationalist and Labour parties, to make a distinctive choice of uniform for those who serve in their ranks.

But I must return to the canvasser for a moment, if only to recount the sad interview between a certain noble lady in the South of England and one of her tenants' wives. Her ladyship was most anxious that Gaffer Hodge should vote for her son, but learned from his wife that he had already promised his vote to the opposition candidate—*for a consideration*. On hearing this the lady of the manor, scenting bribery within her gates, demanded to know what form this corruption had taken, but the faithful wife kept her secret well. Then, changing her tactics, some golden coins appeared in the canvasser's palm: 'I will give you these,' said she, 'if you will tell me what induced your husband to vote against my son.' The good dame took the money and replied, '*I* promised him a warm winter coat; and your ladyship's kind present will more than pay for it.'

I often wonder whether the intervention of canvassers really makes much difference to the vote which a man intends to give; of course the minds of the undecided and perplexed are sometimes confirmed by a well-timed visit from an expert, but I doubt whether fixed intentions are often changed thereby. Certainly the resolve of one Irish elector last winter remained adamant under the strain of severe trial. He had determined to vote for an O'Brienite against the Nationalist candidate, and every sort of pressure was put upon him to make him reconsider his decision. At last his wife, almost in tears, assured him on the morning of the poll that, if he carried out his intention, she had high ecclesiastical authority for warning him that he would be turned into a rat. The elector, not believing for a moment that the parish priest had been to canvass, nor that he had said anything so ridiculous, rejoined: 'Ye may tell his Riverence that, whatever his spiritual power, he has no zoological influence over me'; then he left the house to record his vote. But he turned back, and called to his wife: 'Biddy, ye'd better kill the cat . . . just *in case*.'

It will be noticed that, in nearly every case where canvassers and electors are engaged in controversy, the latter generally come off best. It was, therefore, with a feeling of some satisfaction that I heard one candidate tell the story of a visit which he paid in order to solicit a vote. He had been warned on no account to see that elector's wife, who was a regular Fury at election time, but to insist on an interview with the man himself. So, duly cautioned, he proceeded to the house and knocked. Nobody answered; then he rang the bell, then shouted. At last a window on the first floor was flung open in a passion, and he beheld the half-dressed form of a dishevelled and grey-bearded female, who screamed at him, 'Who the devil are you?' Calmly he replied, 'Madam, I am the barber; don't you want me?'—and passed on.

At the outset of this paper I wrote that I believed the last election was, at any rate in certain parts of England, rather more bitterly contested than of yore. A good many meetings were broken up by rowdies, some were carried on under something like a state of siege from without, and others were enlivened by flights of sparrows, or a plague of rats, each bedizened with party colours, let loose within the schoolroom. Most candidates remain comparatively unmoved by such demonstrations as these, which seldom have any significance of personal hostility, and find their compensations elsewhere. One man told me that he was greatly heartened by a surprise ovation which he received on entering the principal street of the chief town in his constituency on the eve of the poll. He was late for a midday meeting, and was driving very fast in his motor car down the street. Suddenly he espied a funeral coming towards him, and therefore put on all his brakes, bringing the car to a sudden standstill. The *cortège* advanced, the hearse passed him, and the mourners on foot approached. My friend was bare-headed, and easily recognisable; what was his surprise when one and all of them began to wave and shout 'Good old Z.; good luck to-morrow,' and proceeded on their way. Such is election fever at its height; it detaches men from every other preoccupation, as a certain postscript to a letter, written to a candidate by a broken-hearted widower, whose wife was to be buried on polling day, shows; it ran: 'If you get in to-morrow, I shall be the happiest man in the three Kingdoms.' My sequence of thought will perhaps be obvious if I mention here, before passing on to the subject of meetings, the case of the gentleman at Exeter who was convinced that Mr. St. Maur would be returned to Parliament, giving as his reason for the faith that was in him the fact that he was an undertaker, and had buried fifteen more Conservatives than Liberals since the New Year. That was in a part of the country where the dead do not attend the poll, as they have the inconvenient habit of doing (by proxy) in some consti-

tuencies within our knowledge; but it was not very far from a certain registration court where a vote was disputed on account of the demise of an elector who, however, turned up to claim his privilege, mentioning incidentally that he was the corpse in question! The foregoing anecdotes show that there is a *macabre* side to electioneering, as well as a merry one, little as one might have been inclined to think so.

The main source of entertainment during our political campaigns is still the public meeting, large or small, where the candidate has every opportunity of showing his mettle. If he is a man of capacity or experience, he is seldom silenced unless his audience is wholly hostile, which is rarely the case. The 'voice' is generally to be heard; it may be a help or a hindrance, as chance dictates, but eloquence and relevant stories can generally command both attention and applause. Personally, I did not hear many good anecdotes told in the course of the election speeches, but perhaps that was my misfortune. One of the best was *à propos* to the speaker's wish that Mr. Asquith would clear his party of the imputation of being synonymous with the Labour party and the Socialists; the orator was 'reminded' (this is the classic way of introducing an illustration) of Andrew Kirkaldy, the golfer of renown, who was asked in the luncheon interval between two important matches whether he would care to wash his hands. 'Na, na,' he replied, according to the story, 'that wad spoil ma grip.' But, before we pass to dialogues with the 'voice,' let us confer temporary immortality upon an episode connected with the name of Mr. F. E. Smith. It is reported that, at one meeting, he closed an eloquent speech with a peroration suggested by the season of the year: 'As I came to this great gathering I heard the church bells ringing, and they seemed to give me a message for you. "Ring out the old, ring in the new,"'—an apposite quotation which was cheered to the echo. So popular became the phrase that it was soon in everybody's mouth, and passed into current use; but with a most unfortunate result for him who had first uttered it. A few nights afterwards, in another northern constituency, a local politician closed his observations to an election crowd with the words: 'As I came to this great meeting, I heard bells ringing from the old church tower, &c.,' and the famous phrase made its telling effect. The speaker concluded, and the meeting waited for the arrival of the orator of the evening, Mr. F. E. Smith, the patentee of this piece of applied poetry. His speech was an uninterrupted success until the very end, when the image of Lord Tennyson crossed his mind. 'As I was driving into the town just now, your church bells pealed out, and seemed to give me——' The rest was drowned in delighted

laughter and friendly cheers: 'We've had that message once already to-night,' cried the 'voice' above the din which prevented the repetition of the suggested meaning of the music.

Finally, let me try to make good my theory that political gatherings without the 'voice' would be drab affairs indeed. Remember, the 'voice' artist is not a heckler; his qualities are of quite a different order. The heckler appears at your meeting, primed to the larynx with puzzling questions, or with interruptions of a more or less brainy character. Such an one it was who goaded the G.O.M. to his famous retort, which was heavily criticised at the time. Said the heckler, at the end of his long catechism, 'Am I to understand——?' . . . 'YOU?—UNDERSTAND?' thundered Mr. Gladstone, as he sprang from his chair to the table, 'I am responsible for the understanding that the Almighty has put into this skull of mine, but I am not responsible for the understanding that may be in that skull of yours.' It will be remarked that the veteran Prime Minister did not suffer hecklers gladly. But our friend 'the voice' is a breezier feature altogether. What Redmond *cadet* and Mr. Macveagh supply to the House of Commons, the 'voice' purveys to the public meeting; his is no sustained effort, it is 'hit or miss' every time. If he hits, he is the popular hero of an hour; if he misses, he becomes the village 'butt' for a much longer period.

The Constitutional question was perhaps his happiest hunting-ground in last December, though he occasionally met his match. To one peer, who was explaining somewhat sharply that he was taking part in this campaign because he was 'the lord of the manor,' the voice retorted 'then you ought to have the manners of a lord.' And there was another peer, anxious to prove to his audience that he was descended from some civic dignitary who held office in the City of London centuries ago; he began, 'You have all heard, I suppose, of Dick Whittington—thrice Lord Mayor of London (*loud cheers*); well, I am not descended from *him*, but——' 'From his cat,' piped out the voice at the back of the hall, and the ensuing tumult of laughter denied us the pleasure of learning what post his ancestor had occupied. Such are the victories of the 'voice'; let me now instance one or two of its defeats. I heard of one charming young peer, just starting in public life north of the Tweed, who was being rather roughly handled at a meeting, until a voice yelled at him, 'Where did you get your —— title from?' To which he quietly rejoined, 'From the same place that you got your —— face; from my father,' and the meeting cheered this personal score, which immediately secured him a friendly hearing to the end of his speech. And another colleague of mine relates his perpetual gratitude for the help rendered

by an unknown presence in the crowd; my friend was dilating upon the iniquities of the present Government in respect of their treatment of the licensed victualler:

'In life he is harassed by restrictions and duties; his trade is crippled, he is taxed almost out of existence; and when, finally, he dies—what do they do then?'

'Bury the bloke,' cried the voice.

'Right,' said the speaker; 'that is the first and only time they treat him like other men.'

Such are the vicissitudes, now of gaiety and now of humiliation, through which I suppose we all pass on our pilgrimage to the House of Commons, if we are fortunate at the polls; lucky enough, indeed, if we can appreciate the humours and discount the failures as they cross our path. Then follows the far easier task of thanking our supporters, and doing the best we can to bury the hatchet with our enemies. 'Now is the moment to be generous to those who have worked against us,' cried a victorious candidate in the market-place, after the declaration of his election result; and on the morrow he received a letter from a lady opponent who said that she had heard of his benevolent intentions, and invited him, therefore, to subscribe to her fund for a new set of false teeth! This was embarrassing enough, but I declare I am almost more sorry for the new M.P. who was congratulated by a confidential and enthusiastic worker in a very poor constituency, as follows: 'We are so glad to have you for our member; it will all be so different now. Mr. X., your predecessor, was too much of a gentleman for us.' Poor man, he could only promise that he would never give his constituents reason to complain in that direction again.

Here let us leave the candidates, conquerors and fallen, for the present, to enjoy the labours or the leisure which Fortune has dealt out to them. Enough has been said to show that the lighter side of an election campaign has not yet wholly disappeared from our ken; but I doubt whether it will stand the strain of two General Elections every year. We must wait and see.

IAN MALCOLM.

THE STORY OF THE 'CROWN DOMAIN'

'Lest we forget, lest we forget!'

In the ceaseless struggle between the elements of good and evil which dispute their hold upon humanity and mould the destinies of mankind, there stands out here and there some transcendental episode illustrating the momentary triumph of one or other of those elements in a given set of circumstances. From it there springs a whole category of inter-related consequences affecting profoundly the current of contemporary thought and action, acting and reacting in a thousand unsuspected ways. And we recognise that only the touch of a master-hand can do justice to the theme, can draw from it the lesson we should learn and, whether in prose or verse, in the trappings of fictional presentment, or in the more sober garb of historical exposition, point the true moral to a puzzled world.

The story of the 'Crown domain' of the Congo constitutes, so it seems to me, such an episode, and I set down the facts here in the hope that at some future time the master-hand may be found to gather them together, sift them, and provide us with the key to the enigma. To the average individual they must appear, at this close proximity of time, irreconcilable with the general belief which attributes, through much groaning and travailing of body and spirit, a steady advance of man towards higher idealism and wider culture. That a tragedy so dreadful as this tragedy of the 'Crown domain' of the Congo, so protracted, concealed in the folds of so colossal an hypocrisy, pursued with such impunity for ends so essentially commonplace, and provoking so little emotion, could have taken place in the present generation induces a feeling of mental bewilderment. We are thrust back with violence into an atmosphere which we can no longer breathe without acute discomfort.

Very shortly after investigation into what was going on in the Congo was taken seriously in hand—*i.e.*, some ten years ago—it became clear not only that the Congo Free State was the scene of deeds unsurpassed in horror, but that those deeds

were the direct outcome of a financial scandal of great dimensions. The Congo Government published no balance-sheet of revenue and expenditure: it merely issued annual estimates. This in itself was singular. Suspicion became certainty when, not without considerable difficulty, the figures of the sales by the Government's brokers in Antwerp of the rubber and ivory secured from the native under the guise of taxation, and indicated in the *Official Bulletin* as the product of the *impôt en nature*, were obtained. A comparison between the sales and the published estimates of receipts disclosed a difference of many millions of francs annually. Further inquiry led to the discovery that the actual quantity of rubber brought to Antwerp by the Congo steamers was enormously greater than the figures publicly issued in Belgium. These and other inquiries, extending over several years, placed beyond doubt that the official estimates of revenue published by the Congo Government were grossly inaccurate, and that, far from being unable to make both ends meet, as was constantly asserted and readily believed, the Congo Free State was yielding enormous returns to some one. To whom? The data even then to hand justified a direct charge being levelled at King Leopold of personally abstracting large sums from the public revenues of that so-called State, and of acquiring them by methods which would have raised a blush to the cheek of a sixteenth-century *conquistador*. The charge was, of course, furiously repelled by the mouthpieces of the Belgian King in the Chamber and in the Press, and by his friends in this country. The Congo Government issued a positive denial. Every centime yielded by the *impôt en nature* was paid—so ran the official statement—into the State's Exchequer. Several Englishmen who then posed in public as the persistent apologists of the Sovereign of the Congo denounced the accusation as both abominable and scandalous. Newspaper offices in this country began to be flooded with communications, mostly anonymous, in which the accusers were represented as agents of a financial conspiracy aiming at the organisation of a sort of Jameson Raid against the African dependency of a blameless monarch, or working in the interests of Liverpool merchants. The *Times*, reviewing *Affairs of West Africa* (1902),[1] remarked: 'The accusations the author does not hesitate to bring personally against King Leopold II. are so grave that . . . we hesitate without further investigation to give currency to his assertions.' But a corner of the veil was soon to be raised, and complete avowals were to follow.

Towards the end of 1902 the existence in the Congo of a mysterious 'civil personality' known as the 'Crown domain' was

[1] E. D. Morel (Wm. Heinemann).

revealed to an astonished world. In the Royal Decree announcing the fact, the simple-minded had an opportunity of appreciating that an area one-sixth of the Congo territory, or just twice the size of England and Wales, had, by a series of secret *Arrêtés*, the first of which dated many years previously, been declared the property of the Congo 'Crown,' together with six mines unspecified as to locality, and had been converted into a sort of trust. In the course of the debate in the Belgian Parliament which followed, in the ensuing year, this remarkable revelation, the Belgian Premier felt no embarrassment in declaring the appropriation to be in every sense worthy of the 'social, literary, and artistic' objects with which it had been conceived and carried out. He admitted, as it were in passing, and as a matter of no particular importance, that the revenues from the 'Crown domain' were not included in the public revenues of the Congo Free State, but were dealt with separately by a committee of three persons, whose names he gave—viz. the King's personal aide-de-camp, a steward of his Civil List, and the Finance Secretary of the Congo Government. As Sovereign of the Congo, the Premier declared, the King was the master of its revenues. 'It is an abuse, it is a danger, it is a thing contrary to our constitution that the King, to whom is allotted emoluments by the nation, should become a merchant and a speculator,' was the indignant comment of the veteran Liberal leader, M. Janson.

Thus was established that for many years past the proceeds from the rubber and ivory extracted as 'taxes in kind' from the natives in one-sixth of the Congo had *not* been paid into the public revenues, but had been abstracted therefrom and credited to a *Fondation* of which the Sovereign was the creator and three of the Sovereign's creatures the trustees. Thus was admitted, after two years' fierce denials, that the published returns of the Congo's revenues *were* fraudulent, and that a country in tropical Africa as large as two Englands and Wales was being run by one man for his own ends, who disposed in secret of its revenues.

With this disclosure the full hideousness of the situation became apparent, for although the purely artificial boundary of the 'Crown domain,' as then revealed, stopped within about a hundred miles of the extensive stretch of river bank running parallel with the boundary, that stretch was now seen to form the natural water-frontage of the domain on the main river, the ingress and egress for its mysterious depths. *And it was precisely from this intermediate and more readily accessible region that the most terrible reports of inhuman cruelties had been received.* Of the interior region nothing was known at the time of the disclosure. All that we did know was that in 1899 a party of English mis-

sionaries had ascended the Ruki, a great central affluent of the Congo which drains a portion of the mystic domain of the Crown; that the stewards of the African Galahad had displayed a modesty so earnest lest unhallowed feet should foul its soil and unhallowed eyes observe its 'social, literary, and artistic' evolution; that the missionaries had been pursued by some of the chivalry of the region, and under a strict guard of thirty rifles barred off from all intercourse with the regenerated heathen. They had not been allowed to speak to, or even to buy food from, their nearest native neighbours, and had had to descend the Ruki in canoes in a state of semi-starvation. 'That divinity which doth hedge a king' had evidently set a thicket of bayonets around this sacred enclosure in which the master philanthropist, from his far distant palace in Brussels, devised peace for the benighted African.

Since 1903 much ink has been spilled in the Chancelleries of Europe and much human blood has fertilised the territory of the 'Crown domain'; and it is possible to evolve something like a connected narrative which shall illuminate the African side of the 'social, literary, and artistic' creation, imagined by that 'restless, ardent, vivifying, and expansive sentiment'[2] which sought to 'brighten with the flow of civilisation the dark places of sad-browed Africa,'[3] and whose exquisite disinterestedness Stanley, who, like almost everyone else at the time, readily believed in King Leopold, assured a Manchester audience twenty-six years ago the average man might not fully appreciate, 'since there were no dividends attaching to it.'[4]

The first definite public intelligence of the awful tragedy of the 'Crown domain' was supplied by the Rev. J. B. Murphy[5] and the Rev. E. V. Sjöblom, an Irishman and a Swede respectively, both of the American Baptist Missionary Society, in 1895 and 1897. As here explained, it only transpired seven years later that the experiences they recounted had actually occurred in the Crown domain. Sjöblom, passing through England in May 1897, delivered a public address, and immensely impressed all who heard him. Sir Charles Dilke, who was not prejudiced in favour of missionaries, described him as an 'apostolic figure.' But these men and their colleagues, Banks, Clarke (of whom we shall hear more presently), and Randall, had furnished the British Consul on the Congo, Mr. Pickersgill, between 1895 and 1897 with similar information. It was communicated to the Foreign Office; but the Foreign Office suppressed it, as the Foreign Office did all reports which reached it from the Congo, and from the British

[2] Stanley, speaking on behalf of King Leopold at Manchester in 1884.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] See the *Times*, the 18th of November 1895.

Vest African dependencies about the Congo, until compelled to epart from that shameful attitude by the public agitation.[6]

For nearly eight years a sinister pall of silence hung over the Crown domain.' It was rent asunder in 1904 by the Rev. A. E. Scrivener,[7] of the British Baptist Missionary Society, and by the ritish Consul, Roger Casement,[8] when much that had appeared ncredible in Murphy's and Sjöblom's reports was fully substaniated. The process was continued with the publication of the vidence furnished in 1905 to King Leopold's Commission of nquiry by Scrivener and Clarke[9]; by the Rev. W. Cassie Murdoch[10] in 1907; finally by Vice-Consul Armstrong in 1908.[11] n addition to the testimony of these nine witnesses a certain mount of information has been available from Belgian sources.[12] Vith this evidence, which is abundant and detailed and covers a eriod of some eleven years, the story of the sack of an extensive ortion of the 'Crown domain' can be reconstructed in its main ines.

But let us glance for a moment at this region before the advent f King Leopold's rubber-hunters.

In the 'eighties and early 'nineties the western part of the Crown domain' appears to have been densely populated. The left ank of the Congo from Kwamouth to Equateurville, forming the iver frontage of the domain, sheltered some of the most active entres of native life and trade in the whole of the Congo Basin, uch as Bolobo, Lukolela, and Irebu. Bolobo with its 40,000 nhabitants was a great market for the ivory and camwood-powder rade.[13] Lukolela rejoiced in a population of 5000.[14] Midway etween Lukolela and Equateurville the Congo curves inwards

[6] 1904. These old reports have never been published: *vide Great Britain nd the Congo* (Smith, Elder & Co.).

[7] Over twenty years' experience in the Congo. Spent July, August, and eptember 1903 travelling in the 'Crown domain.' Sent me his journal.

[8] Interviews with refugees from the domain and other evidence. Over twenty ears' experience of Africa. Knew the Congo in 1887. *Africa*, No. 1, 1904.

[9] His diary and copies of his letters written at Ikoko in the years 1892-99, anded to the Commission of Inquiry at Ikoko at the end of 1904: sent me opies, certified by a Congo magistrate: evidence, together with all other vidence taken by Commission, suppressed by Congo Government. This applies lso to Scrivener's evidence before Commission at Bolobo.

[10] Journey of 450 miles into the 'Crown domain' in the summer of 1907. Sent ne his notes, which were communicated to the British Government and pubished (in 1908) in the *Times* and other papers.

[11] Entering the 'Crown domain' from the Kasai side: travelled to Lake eopold II. and north of it in the autumn of 1907. *Africa*, No. 1, 1908.

[12] Debate in Belgian Chamber in 1903 known as 'le débat des mains coupées': ater debates: Laurent's report in the *Bulletin Officiel* of the Congo State for 897: private advices.

[13] A crimson cosmetic obtained from the bark of a species of camwood, used or rubbing into the skin, for religious ceremonies, &c. A very large native ade used to be done in the article.

[14] 1887: Casement and the missionaries.

and then outwards, forming an extensive triangular *enclave* known as Lake Mantumba. On its south shore stood Irebu, the 'Venice of the Congo,' with its 8000 to 10,000 human souls, the home of the Bayanzi, the champion traders of the Upper Congo who travelled hundreds of miles up and down the river, middlemen in the ivory and cloth trade between the riverine tribes south and north, knowing every landing-place on the river banks for a distance of 1000 miles.[15] All round the lake dwelt an enterprising, muscular, and numerous fishing and trading people; their towns, ranging from 4000 to 300 inhabitants, surrounded by plantations of palms, cassava, and tobacco; their huts, well thatched and trim, each with its little adjoining square patch of tobacco plants carefully tended[16]—goats and poultry abounding in the straggling main street which traverses these centres of Congo life from end to end. Here is a village smithy, busily turning out hoes and knives, spears and copper anklets; there the carpenter fashioning canoes and paddles; the weaver; the maker of fishing-nets, mats for roofing purposes, twine, baskets—the materials for which, and for many other things, are supplied by the bountiful forest.

And so, northward from the lake along the great river to Equateurville and the Ruki, the affluent of the Congo which forms the fluvial highway into the northern portion of the 'Crown domain.' Along the banks of this considerable artery penetrating deep into the Continent, and known in its higher reaches as the Busira, then as the Tchuapa, dense masses of natives crowded, gazing open-mouthed at the earlier pioneers,[17] before the bloody dawn of 'moral and material regeneration' rose upon their horizon. Here, too, the villages are prosperous and well cared for, live stock especially being very plentiful. As the Ruki is the northern highway, so the Kwa or the M'Fini forms the southern, running up into the southern apex of Lake Leopold the Second, then branching eastward for many hundreds of miles under the name of the Lukenie. 'No other length of equal waterway that I know has so many people,' wrote Grenfell in 1888. Being so much more distant from the main river, out of touch with the more active centres of commercial dealing, the native communities round the inland lake are of a different stamp—milder, quieter, more peaceably inclined; but energetic withal, excelling in pottery-making and the smelting of ore; great fishermen[18] for their own needs and for purposes of barter with neighbouring tribes; makers of

[15] Stanley.

[16] Delcommune, &c.

[17] Grenfell, von François; Delcommune, 'Ces rives sont bordées d'une population très dense.' (89).

[18] Involving 'an immense amount of labour.' Grenfell.

large quantities of salt from the potash obtained by burning a kind of water-reed, large stacks of which lie piled up in every village; maintaining, too, large and flourishing plantations of bananas, cassava, and tobacco. In short, throughout the region over which was impending so awful a fate, was presented the picture of a primitive people, with the virtues and vices of natural man, destined under just government to increase, multiply, and advance rapidly in arts and crafts, because a people to whom trade and barter was the dominating passion of existence. Their timidity once conquered, their confidence once gained, what might not be made of them?[19] But for some inscrutable reason they were fated to build up with their life's blood the fortune of a Christian monarch; to be lashed, starved, murdered, and bestially mutilated that Belgian undertakings in China and South America might prosper; to provide with their tears the funds required to subsidise a Press bureau that their plight might be concealed from the world; to see their homes go down in flames and ruin, while in Brussels, in Antwerp, and in Ostend were raised public buildings, open spaces were cleared and beautified, racecourses were laid out, and museums were lavishly embellished.

In 1893 the rubber hunt began along the river frontage of the domain, and packs of black, fierce human hounds, armed with the *Albini* rifle and led by Belgian officers, swept inwards. Round Lake Mantumba they settled down steadily to their fell work with Bikoro as base; then, by degrees, working more into the heart of the domain, moved on to Lake Leopold the Second, up the Ruki, the Busira, and the Momboyo.

By the end of 1894 the river frontage and the Lake Mantumba district had been stricken as by a pestilence. The people of Irebu had abandoned their homes and crossed in thousands to the French bank. The 'Venice of the Congo' was dead. Bolobo was shattered. Ikoko, beautifully situated in a bay at the south end of the lake, where the American missionaries had founded a station amid a 'fine-looking, bold, and active population of 4000 souls within one and a half mile radius,' was virtually destroyed. The sudden compulsory demand for large quantities of rubber as tribute, enforced by a brutal soldiery commanded by officers stimulated to every species of excess by the promise of lavish bonuses, had driven the natives first to futile resistance, then

[19] 'Le trafic est la pensée dominante de toutes ces peuplades. Elles ne sont guerrières que pour leur défense, agricoles que pour leurs besoins propres : elles ne sont pas pastorales. Elles sont commerçantes toutes, et c'est par le commerce que se fera leur rénovation. Afin de pouvoir commercer librement et en sécurité elles accueillent et attirent ceux qui leur promettent protection.' Wauters in 1893.

to panic-flight into the bush. Everywhere fighting, incendiarism, murder, and universal exodus. And mutilation of the—not always—dead as an organised system, serving the double purpose of a check upon cartridges expended by the soldiery and of an engine of terror. The cartridges dealt out to the raiding bands of soldiers entrusted with the care of driving the villagers to the forest for rubber, and punishing those that refuse or are behindhand in their supply, are carefully counted. The corporal is made responsible for wastage, and for each cartridge used a severed hand must be brought in.[20] Baskets are furnished the soldiers for the purpose, which, by a refinement of ingenuity, the women are required to weave. Before the eyes of the horrified missionaries the soldiers return from their forays with well-filled baskets of hands smoked and dried 'on a little kiln.'[21] These are placed in rows before the representative of the most Christian King and carefully counted.[22] Nine years later the world is to be edified by the jocular admission of one such representative that 1300 hands were brought him.[23] But this is a merely trifling number, for on the Momboyo cartridges are expended at the rate of 1000 a month in the process of making rubber, which means that in six months '6000 people are killed or mutilated.'[24] Sometimes the victorious troops return with bunches of these severed members swinging up sticks thrust upwards in the bow of their canoes. Hands of men only? Nay—of women and little children also.[25] Indeed, so numerous become the latter that the Belgian inculcators of moral and material regeneration hurl taunts at their savage allies. 'You kill women only! You cannot kill men! Show me that you can kill men!' So, in certain districts, the necessary proof is supplied. Nor has the supreme degradation yet been reached, for a Belgian official has still to hit upon the happy idea of feeding his dog upon the hands which are brought him.[26]

Of the fact of this mutilation and the causes inducing it there can be no shadow of doubt. It was not a native custom prior to the coming of the white man: it was not the outcome of the primitive instincts of savages in their fights between village and village: it was the deliberate act of the soldiers of the European Administration, and these men themselves never made any concealment that in committing these acts they were but obeying the positive orders of their superiors.

In which, both as to the first and to the second portion of this statement, Consul Roger Casement is supported by unimpeachable evidence, apart from the fact that mutilation of enemies slain in war—not as an incidental act of hatred, but as a systematised

[20] Casement. [21] Sjöblom. [22] Murphy.
[23] Belgian Debate, 1903, and, again, March 1910.
[24] Casement. [25] Clarke, Sjöblom.
[26] Clarke, before the Commission of Inquiry.

practice—is unknown in native custom from one end of Africa to another. The diplomacy which knew of these infamies and tolerated them proposes to-day to wash its hands both of the past and of the future. But they must be recalled, lest as we stand before the Triumphal Arch commemorating Belgian independence in Brussels, and wander in the halls of the Colonial Museum at Tervueren, or admire the coat of arms of the city of Antwerp,[27] we forget this maimed and tortured black humanity—these men, women, and children whom the British people and their Government committed 'in the name of Almighty God' to the tender mercies of Leopold the Second.

Already by May 1895 Clarke, writing to a friend in Ohio, can say of his own immediate neighbourhood that 'rubber has cost hundreds of lives. The scenes I have witnessed while unable to help the oppressed have been almost enough to make me wish I was dead.' His reiterated appeals to the supreme collector of the King's revenues on the spot are vain, and in March 1896 to a friend in Boston he unburdens his soul:

> This rubber traffic is steeped in blood, and if the natives were to rise and sweep away every white person on the Upper Congo into eternity there would still be left a fearful balance to their credit. . . . The lake is reserved for the King, and to collect rubber for him thousands of men, women, and children have been shot down.

By 1899 the neighbourhood of the lake is 'finished.' It is drained dry of rubber. Moral and material regeneration has come. Its light has been too blinding for these backward folk. Of Ikoko's 4000, 600 remain: they are smitten with disease, their huts are crumbling into ruin, not one chief of importance is left to them.[28] In 1903 Consul Casement tours the region. The population has gone down 60 to 70 per cent. since he visited it fifteen years before. But the Belgian King is not even yet satisfied. His 'social, literary, and artistic' ideals are not sufficiently fulfilled. The still mysterious coffers gape widely as ever. And so, rubber being exhausted, the miserable remnants of a once splendid population must pass its time in collecting the precious resin known as 'copal.' Consul Casement found that the total *annual* 'pay' of an adult male copal-worker worked out at 1*s.* 4*d.*, exactly the local price of an adult fowl.

And, as with the region of Lake Mantumba, so with the region of Lake Leopold the Second, so with the north-eastern region of the domain round about the head-waters of the Tchuapa, worked for the King since the early 'nineties by the agents of the A.B.I.R. Concession Company, in addition to that Company's exploits upon

[27] Upon which there figures, appropriately enough, a severed hand.
[28] Clarke.

its own territory; so along the Ruki and the Mamboyo. The tragedy of Lake Mantumba is the tragedy of the 'Crown domain' everywhere whence information has filtered through. The tale of death and desolation, of murder, rapine, and violence, of pillage and plunder, is almost monotonous in the all-levelling horror of its sameness.

'The soldiers shot so many we grew tired of burying,' remarks a survivor in 1903 to Scrivener, as the latter turns over the half-covered skeletons which strew the ground where once stood a large town, counting thirty-six skulls within a radius of only a few yards from his camping-place. For weeks he has pursued his way without encountering a human being, passing on every hand vestiges of a once abundant population, plantations merging again into bush, bananas rotting in erstwhile groves that supplied the wants of vanished communities, long miles of mouldering ruined huts. Over this wasted desolation creeps the all-merciful gloom of the tropical forest, blotting out the traces of a tragedy unparalleled in modern history, concealing within its ample bosom the blood which has been shed, the crumbling bones, the decaying homes and farms, swallowing them up, absorbing them within itself, covering all with the pall of darkness and oblivion, its silence broken only by the occasional trampling of the buffalo and elephant, the chatter of the white-maned monkeys, the scream of the grey parrot. 'Men of stone would be moved by the stories that are unfolded as the Commission probes into this awful story of rubber collection'—wrote Scrivener to me from Bolobo in 1905. The Commissioners were instructed from Brussels not to violate the sanctuary of the 'Crown domain,' but they could not well avoid Bolobo, where Scrivener had collected many native witnesses—refugees from the lake district.

In 1907 Murdoch finds that between the river frontage and Lake Leopold the Second rubber there, too, has disappeared. The few natives left round the lake must travel enormous distances to secure their fortnightly toll. But it is still imposed—that and copal collection. An unemotional person Murdoch, a level-headed young Scotchman whose narrative moved even an impassive Secretary of State. It closes thus:

> One man said to me, 'Slaves are happy compared with us. Slaves are protected by their masters. They are fed and clothed. As for us—the soldiers do with us what they like. We are not even slaves.' And he is right. It is not slavery as slavery was generally understood. It is not even the uncivilised African's idea of slavery. There never was a slavery more absolute and its despotism more fiendish in its tyranny.

By this time—1907—there is no longer need for the awe-inspiring example of systematic mutilation. The tribes are

broken, virtually annihilated. The lesson has been learned. With the death of hope the need for ceaseless 'military operations' has almost ceased. The lash of the hippopotamus-hide whip and the hostage-house have replaced the raiding bands. Every station has its hostage-house, where the wives and children of the defaulting 'taxpayer,' and often the taxpayer himself, are thrust. Their feeding is left to their relatives, and sometimes the latter fear to approach lest they, too, shall be seized. So the inmates of these dens just rot and die in indescribable filth and misery passing human grasp.[29] No longer are soldiers required to bring in the rubber. Long files of trembling wretches parade in front of the Government stations at appointed intervals. To those whose tale is complete a few spoonfuls of salt or a yard of worthless cloth is thrown. For those whose tale is short, the lash and prison. For twenty to twenty-five days in every month they scour the forests in search of the ever-dwindling vines, wading knee deep in putrid swamp, unarmed, exposed to attacks of wild beasts, shelterless, homeless—their wives and children unprotected and terror-stricken in the far-distant villages.[30] And so they perish.

In August 1908 the 'Crown domain,' as such, ceased to exist. The territory has become since then part and parcel of 'Le Congo Belge.' And, by way of reducing 'that fearful balance' to the credit of its partially extirpated and wholly ruined people, the most Christian Belgian Government proclaims to the most Christian Powers, guarantors of the rights and liberties of that people, that it intends to go on compelling the survivors to gather copal and rubber as tribute to the Belgian Administration until July 1911. Their past record being such, the Powers naturally applaud. It has been estimated,[31] and the estimate has not been seriously disputed—indeed, as will presently be seen, it is probably below the total figure—that the royal rubber hunt in the 'Crown domain' produced in the ten years 1896-1905 11,354 tons of indiarubber alone, the average profit upon which, at the comparatively low prices then obtaining and after deducting expenses, works out at 280*l.* per ton, amounting, therefore, to 3,179,120*l.* In 1906 the 'Crown domain' yielded 200,000*l.* of rubber and ivory.[32]

To what purposes has this money, wrung from the unspeakable anguish of a whole people, been put? The possession of these vast sums, and the happy speculations he conducted on the Paris, London, Antwerp, and New York Stock Exchanges with the aid of them, and his investments in China and elsewhere,

[29] Scrivener. [30] Armstrong, Murdoch, Scrivener.
[31] Professor Cattier.
[32] Official statement by the Belgian Premier.

enabled King Leopold to give full rein to his ambitions and his pleasures; also to buy up a portion of the Belgian Press,[33] to keep the truth from the Belgian people, and to oppose to the efforts of those who were engaged in the laborious task of forcing his African crimes into the light of day a rampart of corrupting gold. Moving, in the main, behind the scenes save when in a furious excess of temper he would descend from the steps of his throne to wage open battle with men whom he could neither buy or break,[34] the Sovereign of the Congo Free State became a colossal power of entrenched evil, with *la haute finance* at his feet—for England an active and implacable enemy, felt from Washington to Cairo, taking Algeciras, Berlin, Paris, and Rome on the way. A well-known statesman who has few rivals as an expert in international affairs, to whom I was lamenting one day the impunity with which King Leopold was permitted openly to flout the British Government, remarked: 'That is easily explained. The Foreign Office are frightened of him; they never know what he will be up to next.' And there can be little doubt that the timidity of our mediocrities when faced by an unscrupulous genius for intrigue like that of Leopold the Second has been the key to the pitiful figure cut by the British Foreign Office in its handling of the Congo question, what Emile Vandervelde calls 'the lack of precision, the softness, the evasions of British diplomacy.'

It would require a paper in itself to deal at all adequately with the uses to which the Secret Service moneys of the 'Crown domain' were put in the long struggle waged between its possessor and the reformers. It is merely necessary to remark here that the sums spent in France, Germany, the United States, Italy, and elsewhere must have been considerable. A French friend of the writer's was offered 4000*l.* to hold his tongue; an English writer was presented with 600*l.*—and probably with much more—but that much was revealed; the Congo State Consul in Italy told a well-known Italian journalist that he had several thousand pounds at his disposal to influence the newspapers; a Parisian organ received 1000*l.* a year for several years; the revelations of the Press Bureau's operations in Germany some three years ago disclosed the fact that every Belgian Consul in Germany had sums at his disposal to 'work the Press,' and this system, of course, was not confined to that country. During my visit to the States six years ago money was poured out like water by the Leopoldian agents, and it was subsequently established publicly that one of these agents had received, in one year, 45,000 dollars. But this, of course, only touches the fringe of an agency of corruption whose

[33] *Le Patriote*, the great lay Catholic paper, being a notable exception.

[34] As an example, his open letter to Kowalsky, one of his American agents.

ramifications were endless. The mere cost of the literary output must have been very large. Expensive books, profusely illustrated, defending the Congo State appeared in almost every country and were given away in large numbers; 'impartial publicists' went to the Congo and reported everything as of the best in the best of all possible worlds; for years the Press of every country was flooded at intervals with letters from writers animated merely by a passionate 'love of fair play,' anonymous and otherwise. A fortnightly publication in three languages was circulated by the tens of thousands all over Europe, strewn on the seats of the *wagons-lits* from Madrid to Constantinople, despatched to every member of the British, German, French, and American Legislatures, to the Press, &c. In Britain and elsewhere periodicals suddenly appeared—such as the *New Africa*, printed in Edinburgh—and, having served their turn, as suddenly disappeared. As for Belgium, the lavish distribution of Crown domain funds there, and the situation arising therefrom, cannot be better described in brief than by quoting the words used by M. Colfs, one of the Catholic Deputies for Brussels in the Belgian Chamber: 'From 1895 onwards the conspiracy against truth has been organised from top to bottom under well-nigh unbelievable conditions.'

During the last ten years of his life the Sovereign of the Congo State was obsessed with the *folie des grandeurs* on the one side, and, on the other, with the desire to place the monarch in a financial position which would confer upon him powers sufficiently extensive to enable him to do without Parliamentary sanction for his schemes, and to strengthen his personal prerogatives at the expense of constitutional boundaries. His ideas of the monarchy were feudal rather than modern, and his harsh and autocratic temper rebelled against Ministerial checks. These aims he pursued with singular tenacity, literally, it may be said, to the hour of his death, and the funds of the 'Crown domain' provided the indispensable means he required. The particular kind of megalomania which he developed took the form of raising monuments, embellishing sites, improving and extending his palaces, purchasing residences: his ambition being to go down to posterity as the transformer and beautifier of his European capital. And so in the furtherance of these distinct and correlated plans we find the 'Crown domain,' as buyer, making enormous purchases of real estate in the *arrondissements* of Brussels and Ostend, in Brabant, West Flanders, Namur, and Luxemburg. Between 1897 and 1905 the 'Crown domain' purchases vacant land and house property round Brussels and Ostend to the value of 720,000*l.*[18]

[18] Cattier. Belgian Parliamentary Debates, &c.

In 1909 the 'Crown domain' compacts with a well-known building contractor of Brussels for the erection of a Congo museum, an over-seas museum at Tervueren, a Chinese restaurant and a Japanese tower at Laeken, at a cost of 600,000*l*.[36] In 1904 the 'Arcade du Cinquantenaire,' commemorating the fiftieth year of Belgian independence, is constructed at a cost of 200,000*l*. with the funds of the 'Crown domain,' the Chamber having refused the credits. Enormous improvements are started at the Laeken Palace involving an expenditure of more than one million sterling. Extensive properties are purchased on the Riviera, but French law having some difficulty in appreciating the position of this mysterious entity the 'Crown domain,' the property is acquired in the name of the King's physician. At Ostend and neighbourhood further contracts are concluded by the 'Crown domain'; these include a covered way between the Royal châlet and Ostend racecourse, the grand-stand itself, a promenade, a golfing link at Clumskerk, and a châlet at Râverseyle. The picture is complete with the erection of a luxurious *annexe* to the Laeken Palace, the notorious Villa Vander Borght. But I am wrong: the picture requires just one finishing touch, which is provided in the erection, always from the same funds, of an exquisite chapel, also in close proximity to the palace, where, doubtless, prayers are offered up for the repose of the murdered Bakutus and Basengele in the far-distant equatorial forest, and whose incumbent varies his spiritual duties with incidental trips to London, where, in consultation with others, he instals himself in an obscure office and—all within the space of forty-eight hours —founds a bogus 'Congo Missionary Society,' and issues to the British Press on a Sunday evening a garbled account of the Commission of Inquiry's report.[37]

It has been said that the evils wrought by the Sovereign of the Congo State in Africa are to some extent mitigated by the grandeur of his outlook. Singularly constituted must be those who can detect aught but criminal buffoonery in carrying fire and sword through the Congo forests in order to lay out grand-stands, Japanese towers, and Chinese restaurants in a European city.

But the depths have not yet been fully plumbed. The next chapter opens with the disappearance of the 'Crown domain.' To the last the King endeavours to retain his domain, even after the annexation by Belgium. His subservient Ministers agree, and the Treaty of Cession ensuring its perpetuation is duly signed by a docile Cabinet. But this is too much even for the Belgian

[36] Wouters-Dustin's lawsuit against the 'Crown domain': Belgian Parliamentary Debates, &c.

[37] This extraordinary incident was exposed by the *Daily Chronicle* and afterwards corroborated by the Belgian Press.

Parliament. The King is forced to give way. In appearance he does so, and as he has tricked the Powers and pillaged the natives, so he prepares an elaborate plan for both deceiving and robbing Belgium. A *traité additionnel* is drawn up. The King is to be bought out. All the existing assets—it is distinctly so stated in the treaty—of the 'Crown domain' pass to Belgium. They total, the treaty states, 1,200,000*l.* of real estate. In return, Belgium will take over all the 'Crown domain's' liabilities, amounting to 1,820,000*l.*, for the completion of a multiplicity of public works in course of construction or actually contracted for. In addition she will vote as 'a token of gratitude' to the man who has devastated one-sixth the area of her future colony and to his descendants, a sum of 2,000,000*l.* in fifteen annual instalments—to be found by the colony, *i.e.* by the natives![38] The colony will also pay an annuity of 4800*l.* to Prince Albert until he ascends the throne, 3000*l.* to Princess Clementine until she marries, 2600*l.* to the Roman Catholic missionaries of Scheut, 24,000*l.* for the upkeep of colonial museums and tropical greenhouses in Belgium, and 2400*l.* to the ex-officials of the domain's central staff in Brussels. The deal is done. The treaty is signed and passes the Chamber by a small majority.

And now the final chapter opens. The author of the Congo's woes has gone to his account,[39] and the very evening of his demise, the newspapers publish his last will and testament, which opens thus:

'I inherited from my parents fifteen millions (600,000*l.*). These fifteen millions, through many vicissitudes, I have always religiously preserved. *I possess nothing more!!*'

'I possess nothing more.' Royalty living had paid respect to royalty deceased. Official religion had paid its amazing tribute.[40] Order had done tribute to Order, for Order is above morality, beyond human judgment and legal tribunals. What, outside 'our Order,' would have led to the gallows, or at least to public prosecution, or, perhaps, a criminal lunatic asylum,

[38] It should be stated that King Albert has decided not to retain this stipend, but to devote it to various public ends connected with the Congo. However excellent the uses to which it may now be put, the money is obtained from the Congo budget.

[39] The 17th of December 1909.

[40] Cardinal Mercier, preaching from the Cathedral of S. Gudule, Brussels, on January 9, 1910, said: 'We have a Christian conviction that God has already granted to this great man the reward which is his due for the good he did for Christian civilisation. Just as, thinking of the great malefactors who have fought our beliefs or our morality, we tremble as we estimate the number of souls they have turned from God; so think, I beg you, by way of contrast, of the good which Leopold II. did to that mass of souls out in Africa, and tell me if we can doubt for one instant that he whom God has pardoned will receive great rewards for his civilising work.'

within 'our Order' indicated merely the *incartades* of the superman. The farce has been played . . . and then the revelations begin. '*I possess nothing more.*' Swiftly, day after day, the official mouthpieces of an accomplice or duped Cabinet disclose the truth piecemeal. First are published the statistics of the *Compagnie pour l'embellissement des sites*, founded by the King and certain men of straw; then the statistics of the *Société de la Côte d'Azur*, founded by the King and his medical attendant; finally the statistics of the *Foundation of Niederfulbach*, similar in origin. This is merely by way of preparation. A few days later it is announced that among the assets brought by the King to these institutions, whose main object is the continuance of new or unfinished sumptuary works by which the royal memory may be commemorated, *are Congo State bonds and stock amounting to between one million and two millions sterling in value belonging to the 'Crown domain'*! Avowing that he had been misinformed when he previously assured the Chamber that all the assets of the 'Crown domain' had been made over to Belgium upon annexation, the Belgian Colonial Minister is only saved from defeat by six votes. The lawyers of the Belgian Government, of the trustees of these various institutions, and of the princesses, have been struggling over the spoils wrenched from the natives of the Congo. What a spectacle for gods and men!

In pleading that, if the Belgian Government succeeds in recovering the moneys which ought to have accrued to it when annexation was voted, it shall devote them to alleviate the burdens it still imposes on the wretched Congolese, M. Vandervelde declared in the Belgian Chamber last March:

> When I think of these millions of Niederfulbach, of these sumptuary works for which they were designed, I cannot but recall the abominable methods by which they were acquired. It is said that money does not smell. I am tempted to say, on the contrary, that the money drawn by the King from the Congo does smell. It smells of blood.

Such is the story of the 'Crown domain,' so far as it can be told. A nightmare of disordered ambitions, illimitable egotism, moral putridity, set in a background of burning towns and ruined wastes across which flit distracted figures rushing madly from the sleuth-hounds of death. No pen will ever tell *that* tale in full. As for the Augean stables in Brussels—when appealed to to disclose the whole truth, thus permitting of a process of purification which shall be final, the Belgian Government is forced to reply that everything has been destroyed. The accounts of the Congo State, the accounts of the 'Crown domain,' the accounts of the King's Civil List, the accounts of the King's personal fortune—one and all have been committed to the flames.

Last year *The Times* published an article from its Brussels Correspondent describing the magnificent Colonial Museum at Tervueren near Brussels, built by King Leopold out of the revenues of the 'Crown domain.' The article contained the following passage:

> One of the characteristically great ideas of the late Sovereign of the Congo was the foundation of the Colonial Museum at Tervueren.[41] He raised the money by detestable means, but I was almost tempted to forget the blood-stained past when, at a recent visit, I saw the happiness of thousands of excited children enjoying an enormous school-treat in the beautiful grounds.

That is the note of the hour. Against it this article registers a protest. The ghosts of a vanished people haunt the forest glades with the sap of whose accursed rubber vines the walls of Tervueren are cemented, and African children have sunk in heaps amidst their shades that Belgian children might fill the air with shouts of innocent laughter in its stately grounds. Diplomacy which permitted the crime cannot bring back the dead to life. But at least diplomacy can insist that the Congo shall not be treated as a *chose jugée*, that the book shall not be closed until guarantees, as binding and as explicit as the humiliating experience of the past can suggest, are secured in order to ensure that the promised work of reparation and reconstruction shall bear in its comprehensiveness some comparison with the work of destruction and devastation which preceded it. The national honour of Britain which Parliament (on numerous occasions), which the Premier, the present Foreign Secretary and his predecessor, as well as the heads of the Established and Free Churches of this country have declared to be involved, can surely demand nothing less than this.

E. D. MOREL.

P.S.—Last month an interview with M. Renkin, the Belgian Colonial Minister, appeared, also in *The Times*. In the course of it, M. Renkin expressed his belief that there might, after all, be no deficit in the Congo Budget for the current year! The Colony, he is reputed to have stated, had in hand 'a stock of produce valued at 640,000*l*.' 'It is, of course, possible,' the account continues, 'that if there was a heavy fall in the prices, a sale of this produce might not fetch its estimated value, but at all events he (M. Renkin) hoped to have a very comfortable margin.'

This language, which would be more fitting in the mouth of a company promoter appealing to his shareholders than in that of a Minister responsible for the regeneration of a dependency bled with unparalleled ruthlessness for twenty years, should give food

[41] Built from the funds of the Crown domain.

for thought, one would imagine, to the most complaisant of critics. It shows how fundamentally unchanged is the mental outlook of such among the ruling classes of Belgium who, like M. Renkin, served and defended the old Congo régime. The irony in the contrast between official Belgian protestations and this revealing interview is the greater when it is borne in mind that this 640,000*l.* of produce consists of rubber, admittedly obtained since annexation by the Belgian officials from the compulsory labour of the natives. The only effectual test of the sincerity of Belgium's proclaimed intentions would consist in the candid admission, as expressed by a national grant-in-aid, that in a deficit lies the one possible means of proving to the world that the policy of the past has been rejected. But the Belgian Colonial Minister rubs his hands together at the thought that if only the price of rubber will keep up, the product of this enforced labour may prevent a deficit and leave him 'a very comfortable margin !'

E. D. MOREL.

OUR DEBT TO LATIN POETRY AS DISTINGUISHED FROM GREEK

I

Pre-Augustan and Augustan Poetry.

It is satisfactory to observe that the veering flaw of opinion is now blowing in favour of classical training as against 'the modern side.' Oxford has recently declared by a respectable majority for the maintenance of Greek in the examination for Responsions. The headmasters are almost unanimous in support of classics, and the cry for modern studies is sensibly weakening. The modern languages have been found wanting. They lack the qualities essential for discipline which the classics have given and still give. They must be acquired by residence in a foreign country, and, as regards mere facility in the use of an alien tongue, the best University prizeman will be fortunate if he can emulate the proficiency of an ambitious waiter. The student of modern literature, whether English or foreign, must be born, not made, if his studies are to be fruitful of genuine delight and of real intellectual expansion. Unless he can sincerely say 'dulces ante omnia Musae,' his study will result in mere acquisition, with little training of thought. Cheap thought, like cheap claret, is dear at any price. In the classics we have the immortal vintages ripened by many happy summers and full of body and bouquet. The student of classics has before him the two greatest literatures which the world has seen. The study of them, though it does not make him a better specialist in this or that other branch of learning, makes him fitter to approach them all.

The object of the two papers which I am privileged to contribute to this Review is to estimate our indebtedness to Latin poetry as distinguished from Greek, to ask how far the Latin poets have given us something essentially non-Hellenic. It would be superfluous to remind readers of this Review that Hellas showed the way in all the arts and sciences, and that the great boast of Rome was that she saw and recognised the primacy of Greece, and was content to tread in her footsteps, until at last

in the codification of Law she gave the world a gift which was all her own, and which has been practically unbettered.

A remarkable deficiency in Latin literature, as compared with Greek, is the absence of dialectical varieties. There seem to have been suburbanisms and provincialisms, like the Praenestine vulgarism, to which Plautus alludes, of dropping the first syllable of a word, and calling *ciconia*, 'a stork,' *conia*. This is a strange freak of mispronunciation, and hard to parallel in other languages, but it is not a dialectical variety; it is a vulgarism or archaism, like *'lectric* for *electric*, *sparrowgrass* for *asparagus*, *visnomy* for *physiognomy*. We miss wholly in Latin the dialectic richness of Greek poetry.

The mind of Rome is well seen in her early gropings after the ideal epic of Greece. It is indeed the dwarf assuming the giant's robe, but the dwarf never struts, as he does afterwards, when he pulls over his stunted shoulders the *syrma* of Attic Tragedy.

The comic poets may be dismissed with a few words. They are professedly Greek, the scene is laid in a Greek town, and Latin poets, like Naevius, are referred to as *barbari*. In view of the recent and disappointing discovery of plays by Menander, we may doubt whether we have not in Plautus, and especially in Terence, something quite as good as the Greek source from which they were drawn. The astonishing thing is that we do not find in these writers, humorous and elegant as they are, the lash which should play round the anomalies which characterised the social life of the Roman Republic. So dazzled were they by the brilliance of the Athenian New Comedy that they could not see the streets of Rome or the varied panorama of Italian life, which they were content to leave to infinitely inferior writers of mimes and farces, while they themselves had eyes only for phases of social life such as the Greek New Comedy presents, phases which never appeared in the Roman world, and which, in the time of Plautus and Terence, were defunct in Greece and Asia Minor. Surely this must be set against the debt of Rome to Hellas. Here, for once, Hellas held out a misleading light. Here, Rome lives on borrowed resources, though she has abundant means of her own, far richer than those of the effete societies to which the pre-eminent Latin dramatists had recourse. Terence was a far better writer than Wycherley; but Wycherley was true to his function as a comic poet and Terence was not.

One little phase of social life in Rome emerges in Latin Comedy. It is the husband's mother who is the target for its slings and arrows, not the wife's mother, who was not then held up, as she is now by cheap humorists, to ridicule and contempt. Juvenal, however, long afterwards found out 'dearest mamma.'

against whom he launches one thunder-line in the sixth satire:

Desperanda tibi salva concordia socru.
(Abandon hope while your wife's mother lives.)

It was well said by Quintilian, 'In comoedia maxime claudicamus.'

Catullus is largely modelled on the Alexandrian School. But there is one poem which has no ascertained Greek source. This is the celebrated 'Attis,' with its wonderful orgiastic measure, most of the lines ending in words consisting of five short syllables like *nemorivagus*, *ederigerus*, *sonipedibus*, *columinibus*. It is strange if there was no Greek model for the 'Attis,' that passionate outburst of lyric frenzy; it is strange if the exquisite tale of 'Cupid and Psyche' in Apuleius and the fairy music of the 'Pervigilium Veneris' owe nothing to an Hellenic prototype; but none has been discovered.

When we come to Virgil we find that his obligations to the Greek are obvious, but equally obvious is the fact that he can give us something which the Greek does not offer. Virgil has great moments, haunting phrases not to be paralleled even in Homer. We do not meet in Homer such Wordsworthian and Keatsian cadences as:

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt,
Quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta,
Securos latices et longa oblivia ducunt,
Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros,

The last line breathes the very spirit of modern romance. Not even the verses culled by Matthew Arnold in his essays as typical of the Homeric spirit have the haunting magic of lines like these.

Virgil gives us flowers of poesy—undying flowers, blooming in undying lines. His monument should be flowers; and it is pleasant to think that such his monument will be. The Royal Academy of Mantua, at the suggestion of Commendatore Boni, has resolved to dedicate to Virgil as a monument the Grove at Pietole on the banks of Mincio:

tardis ubi flexibus errat
Mincius,

to be planted only with the flowers and shrubs which Virgil loved and which his immortal *Georgics* have made evergreen. Such a wish was expressed by the poet himself in the third Georgic. Flowers and woods and streams are lovelier than effigies in brass and stone. Nature is a more cunning artist than man. Wordsworth's true monument is the Lake Country.

But we shall not find in Virgil the wonderful *dramatic* inspiration which animates Homer and Shakespeare beyond all poets

ancient or modern, which startles us by a sudden flash of insight into human nature, or by a leap of imagination wholly unconventional and unexpected.

I have often wondered that Matthew Arnold did not call our attention to an inspired passage in the 24th book of the *Iliad*, where Hecuba (Ω 756) tells how Achilles dragged the body of Hector round the tomb of Patroclus whom he loved; 'but thou, my dead son,' adds the savage old Queen, 'thou didst slay Patroclus, and Achilles for all his harrying could not raise him up again from the dead :

ἀνέστησεν δέ μιν οὐδ' ὥς.

Achilles might wreak his fury on the body of her dead son, but he could not bring back to life Patroclus, whom that son had slain. The vindictive old Queen gloating over her son's victim is perfectly true to life, and yet we are struck dizzy at the sudden leap of inspiration, as when Macduff says of Macbeth, 'He has no children'; when Antony cries, 'I have lost my way in the world!'; when Othello bursts out with 'Damn her, lewd minx!' in a place where we should have looked for an elaborate indictment of the female sex in any other dramatist from Euripides to Tennyson. Most startling of all is the terrible wail which is wrung from Othello when he is convinced of his wife's unfaithfulness, the most appalling cry of agony that any poet ever put into the mouth of a suffering hero :

I had been happy if the general camp,
Pioneers and all, had tasted her sweet body,
So I had nothing known.

Ovid holds a torch which ever and anon gives us a glimpse of the Silver Age. He is far less Roman than Tibullus, who of all the elegiac poets comes nearest to Virgil in his Romanism. Tibullus is almost free from Alexandrianism, and, like Horace, draws from the old sources, probably from Mimnermus rather than Callimachus. His view of the passion of love is very unlike that of Ovid, the soft pleasure-loving singer of intrigue, not love; unlike the fierce passion of Catullus, who strives to rend his chains, and of Propertius, who, though he draws his inspiration not from Lesbos but from Alexandria, yet chafes with a fervour almost Sapphic under the cruelty of Cynthia, whom he would forgive gladly if he could by some miracle be convinced of what he knows to be false.

Tibullus is a willing slave. For Nemesis, a woman crueller even than Cynthia, he would give up fame. He would part with his old home at her bidding :

Quin etiam sedes iubeat si vendere avitas,
Ite sub imperium sub titulumque Lares (ii. 4, 53).

Nay, even when he beseeches Nemesis to be kind to him, adjuring her by her love for her little sister who is dead, he suddenly stops with the words:

> Desino ne dominae fletus renoventur acerbi,
> Non ego sum tanti ploret ut illa semel.
> (I am not worth a single tear of hers.) (ii. 6, 41.)

How different is the spirit of Catullus and Propertius, who remind their mistresses of the time when they will be *passées* and neglected, and when the looking-glass will reproach them with their wrinkles.

The influence of Hellas is less felt in the elegiac poets, in whom the personality of the poet emerges in quite un-Hellenic fashion. Ovid vulgarises his Greek models. His Penelope and Laodamia lack the dignity of their Greek prototypes, and even of the Catullian Laodamia and the Propertian Arethusa. In spite of Virgil's obvious debts to Greek poetry, the *Aeneid* is a far more Roman poem than Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Propertius is the most successful reproducer of Alexandrine art.

We have glanced, then, at the relations between early Latin literature and Hellas, relations which are obvious and unmistakable, and we have endeavoured to point briefly to the really Roman elements in the greatest of the Roman poets. We shall have little to say about Roman satire. Persius will interest us only as a stylist. Satire is the only branch of art in which the Romans were absolutely original and practically independent of Greek literature. No one disputes the truth of the dictum of Quintilian, 'Satira tota nostra est.' I must, however, have one word about the greatest of the Latin satirists. I must protest against a view which finds in Juvenal a spirit of homely manhood, a poet whose standard is that of the Gospels and St. Paul. If we could imagine the Apostle asking a friend to dine, I think we can feel sure he would not have gone on to say, 'Banish all business cares and troubles, especially the audacious infidelities of which, of course, your wife will be guilty in your absence.' This is what Juvenal does (xi. 186-189), and he depicts a hateful scene in words of terrible vigour and frightful realism. Throughout Juvenal betrays a tendency to suggest impurities rather than to hold up vice in its native ugliness. I should not have touched this subject were it not that the view which I combat is championed by the very highest authority.

I will ask leave to dwell chiefly on those poets about whom I have hitherto written little or nothing, passing over those of whom I have attempted to make some estimate, except in a very few cases, notably that of Lucretius, whose relations towards modern science have been exciting so much interest of late in

the writings of Giussani, Guyau, and Brieger on the Continent, and Masson and others in England. In asking leave thus to treat my subject, I am not so arrogant as to assume that any of my previous attempts have come into the hands of my readers. But, for my own sake, I prefer to avoid as much as possible paths trodden before by me, however sequestered and unnoticed those paths may have been. I have nothing new to bring to light. I have not discovered a washing-bill of Virgil's or a water-rate from *semper udum Tibur*. I desire to contemplate the poets rather in their singing robes than in their habit as they lived.

In Lucretius we meet with (perhaps) the only world-poet in Latin literature except Virgil. Mrs. Browning gives him the first place among the Roman poets, in verses which show a characteristic insight into the sombre depths of the mind of this high priest of scepticism, who rails against religion, yet betrays a spirit so profoundly devout :

> Lucretius—nobler than his mood,
> Who dropp'd his plummet down the broad
> Deep Universe and said 'No God,'
> Finding no bottom : he denied
> Divinely the divine, and died
> Chief poet on the Tiber side,
> By grace of God ! His face is stern,
> As one compell'd, in spite of scorn,
> To teach a truth he could not learn.

The delightful and inspiring side of the genius of Lucretius is what Statius calls his soaring frenzy, *furor arduus Lucreti*—the solemn dignity of the imagery and language which illustrate and glorify his scabrous speculations, and reveal the mind of a true poet deeply sympathetic with Nature and her children. It is to the illustration of a very abstruse point in the 'atom-dance' that we owe his tender feeling for the frightened child when left alone in the dark, and the pathetic episode of the cow deprived of her calf and seeking with plaintive lowings the tracks of its cloven hoofs. It is to his *furor arduus* against religion that we are indebetd for the terrible picture of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, which wrings from him the oft-quoted exclamation,

> Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum !

These delightful episodes do not come from the Greek. There is no trace of Aeschylus, and very little if any of Euripides, in the Iphigenia passage; and the human sympathy with brute feeling is alien from the Greek mind. The plague in the sixth book is his most direct debt to the Greek, and he even heightens the pathos of the Thucydidean original, as when he tells how the most high-minded rushed most resolutely on their fate,

because their sense of chivalry enjoined on them tendance on the sick, as an unwelcome but imperative call of honour. The passage is taken from Thucydides, but Lucretius adds an exquisite touch in his reference to the weak plaintive accents of those who are sinking in death :

Blandaque lassorum vox mixta voce querellae.

These are the qualities in which the Thucydidean description of the plague transcends all modern efforts in the same direction. The narratives of De Foe in *The Plague of London*, of Bulwer-Lytton in *Rienzi*, and of Shorthouse in *John Inglesant*, give us to sup full of horrors. We have boils and blains, wounds and bruises and putrefying sores and garments rolled in blood. These Thucydides introduces sparingly. What interests him (as well as his imitator Lucretius) is the effect of the terrible visitation on the mind of man, and on the portrayal of this he lavishes his art.

So much for the debt of Lucretius the poet to the Greek. The debt of Lucretius the Epicurean is much greater, but not so great as the Roman poet thought. I will now turn to Lucretius the Epicurean, and call attention to his amazing anticipations of modern scientific research. I know it may be urged that all the philosophy of Lucretius has its origin in Greece. But that hardly diminishes our debt to the Latin poet. Were it not for Lucretius we should scarcely know more of the system of Epicurus than of the system of Panaetius. The late Professor Masson, whose admirable work is indispensable to students of Lucretius, has remarked that the *De Rerum Natura* is the only book dealing primarily with science which still remains a poem. This work on science is a poem, and a religious poem too, though its author is virtually an atheist. For most readers the grand roll of the hexameters, inferior to Virgil only in the less copious variety of the cadence and the solemn music of the digressions on the ironies of life, 'the boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,' will make nine-tenths of the pleasure to be derived from the poem. But students of Dr. Masson's book will see how deeply interesting it is to compare the Epicurean of the Roman Republic with the scientific thinkers of the last three centuries, from Gassendi to Clifford and Herbert Spencer. Dr. Masson writes :

Modern speculations regarding Evolution and the Origin of Life, and in particular the famous controversy between Tyndall and Martineau concerning the Potency of Matter, furnish a parallel which enables us to realise more clearly how the Atomic Theory of Lucretius led him to a new conception of Nature as a self-working power, and how it developed into a naïve Theory of Evolution.

The theory of the potency of Matter, which is closely related to Professor Clifford's hypothesis of Mind-stuff, is a corollary to the

Declination (*clinamen*) of Atoms from the right line, which is called by M. Guyau the central and most original doctrine of Epicureanism, as implying a power of spontaneity and modified Free Will residing in all matter, and by its operation producing what we call Chance. By this declination only is Free Will secured, and through it Lucretius escapes the slighting name of a 'mere materialist' which Buchanan applied to him. This did not elude the profound insight of the greatest of England's poetesses, when in the verses above quoted she spoke of the poet

> As one compell'd, in spite of scorn,
> To teach a truth he could not learn.

But we cannot embark on the thorny subject of Free Will, which is secured to the Atomic Theory by the *clinamen* alone. This *clinamen* must imply some kind of free will residing in all forms of matter. There have been sportive essays on the apparent malignity of inanimate things—the half-sovereign which rolls under a distant fender, the stud which hides itself under the looking-glass. Perhaps the perversity of matter is not, after all, a mere fancy; perhaps inanimate things hate us and love to thwart us.

We must return, however, to the debt which science owes to the Lucretian theory. The debt amounts to nothing less than modern chemistry, which is founded on the Atomic Theory of Democritus, developed by Epicurus, preserved by Lucretius, and revived by Gassendi in the seventeenth century.

According to Lucretius, Law prevails throughout Nature. There is nothing but Atoms and Void. The atoms are of many different shapes, but the number of shapes is finite. They are *inconceivably minute*, but they have parts. Compare the results of modern speculation. Sir William Thompson says:

> If a drop of water could be magnified to the size of our globe, the molecules composing it would appear to be of a size varying from that of shot to that of billiard balls.

According to Clerk-Maxwell:

> Two million molecules of hydrogen placed in a row would occupy the thirty-nine-thousandth part of an inch, and a million million million million of them would weigh something more or less than 70 grains troy.

Consider the passage in Bk. I. 628-634, where Lucretius argues that if matter were infinitely divisible nothing could be produced, because particles which are infinitely small

> cannot have the properties which begetting matter ought to have; that is, the various entanglements, weights, blows, clashings, motions, by means of which things severally go on.

We are struck by the close similarity of this to the teaching of the last-named scientist, Dr. Clerk-Maxwell, who writes :

> We do not assert that there is an absolute limit to the divisibility of matter: what we assert is that after we have divided a body into a certain finite number of constituent parts called molecules, then any further division of these molecules will deprive them of the properties which give rise to the phenomena observed in the substance.

Again, Balfour Stewart, almost in the very words of Lucretius, writes :

> A simple elementary atom is a truly immortal being, and enjoys the privilege of remaining unaltered and essentially unaffected by the powerful blows (*plagae* is the Lucretian word) that can be dealt against it.

This at once brings to our minds the discovery of radium, and the statement which one often meets that it involves the downfall of the Atomic Theory. In answer to a question how far the Atomic Theory is affected by the discovery of radium, the distinguished chemist Professor F. R. Japp replied that if we could stop at the radio-active elements, the Atomic Theory would not be maintainable. But we cannot stop there, and he sums up thus :

> To chemists and physicists the essence of the atomic theory does not lie in the unchangeableness of the atoms, but in the fact that the phenomena dealt with by chemistry and physics can only be interpreted satisfactorily on the assumption that matter consists of discrete particles—that it is discontinuous. No chemist or physicist of standing that I have heard of suggests that these recent discoveries involve the abandonment of the atomic theory. We have only to go a little further down for our ultimate particles. At present they are electrons—if there is anything ultimate in science.

Before leaving Lucretius I must protest against the very unsound critical method which Dr. Masson (following more than one foregoing critic) applies to the celebrated criticism of Cicero on the poem of Lucretius, when the greatest of *littérateurs* gives his judgment on one of the greatest (some would say the very greatest) of Roman poets. Writing to his brother Quintus, Cicero says :

> You are right. The poem has great flashes of genius, but shows great art withal.

How do Professor Masson and many other critics deal with this passage? Professor Masson writes :

> In the MSS. a ' not ' is clearly wanting, which must be supplied before either ' genius ' or ' art.'

What! Must not the great critic be allowed to say what he has said because Dr. Masson and others think that genuine *afflatus* is incompatible with perfection of execution? Cicero thought they could co-exist, though they rarely do. Therefore,

he wrote 'multæ tamen artis.' To me it appears that the criticism of the Ciceros is very just. Tennyson and Milton show much genius, and, besides, much of that careful execution which is not often found with it. Even now some deny genius to Tennyson on account of his perfect art, and ascribe it to Browning because his execution is so careless. But even were the judgment highly questionable, it is a *crime* in criticism to change the logical quality of a proposition, unless that proposition is demonstrably an impossible one, and unless it can be shown whence the error in the manuscripts arose, how the *non* fell out of the *codex*. Those who advise the insertion or omission of a *non* in manuscripts to suit their own opinions are doing their best to undermine the study of classics. What should we think of a hardened realist who should 'emend' a modern text of Shakespeare and make Prospero say,

> We're *not* such stuff
> As dreams are made on;

or of an atheist who should put into the mouth of Hamlet,

> There's *no* divinity doth shape our ends?

But this is only an academic question. The really important thing is to recognise the amazing anticipations of modern science, whether the Lucretian atom is the modern electron or chemical molecule, and to recognise that Lucretius was no 'mere materialist,' and that his system

> Yet gave us in this dark estate
> To know the good from ill,
> And, binding Nature fast in fate,
> Left free the Human Will.

We have put Latin poetry broadly in its right place when we have once realised that its boast and glory is to be the gracious moon which has borrowed rays almost as inextinguishable as those of its source from the ardent and eternal sun of Hellas. Catullus and Virgil could borrow, and yet set their own ineffaceable seal on what they took, not, of course, achieving the majestic impression of the original mint-stamp, but adding something which suggests Roman *gravitas*, and the fact that Rome had behind her literature her *fasces* and her *fasti*—her dignity and her record of steady evolution and development.

The world-poet Virgil (like his predecessors Lucretius and Catullus) and the supremely gifted but curiously heartless Horace and Ovid are deeply influenced by Hellas, but bear the unmistakable Roman *cachet* of *gravitas*. Ovid begins to point to the Silver Age. It was the misfortune of Latin literature that her early men of genius lacked the *technique*, the *métrique*, nay, even

the language to reproduce the poetry to which they so eagerly aspired. The desperate strivings of Livius and Naevius have come down to us only in meagre fragments, but they have left us enough to show how performance lagged behind desire. The early attempts at Tragedy, and especially at Comedy, tell the same tale. Caecilius is placed by Sedigitus near the top of a list in which Terence stands only sixth. Among the few fragments which have come down to us from him stands one so disgusting that we may feel sure it has no Greek origin. A husband, returning from a booze and thinking it expedient to conciliate his wife with an embrace, says——but no, I will not quote the nauseous passage. Greeks have said very licentious things, very obscene things, but one could not imagine such a filthy attempt at humour coming from Hellas. If we may judge by the comic fragments, this kind of humour did not take root in Rome. The seed died, to rise again in modern 'gauloiserie.'

When the Silver Age begins, Rome is still a debtor to Greece, but she comes *in forma pauperis*. She can no longer reach out the princely hand of Virgil, and take a boon which is acknowledged freely, never marred, sometimes even beautified. The Silver Age fixes on what she takes no longer the stamp of *gravitas* or *sagacitas*, but rather that of *tagacitas*. She is no longer majestic or profound, but she is adroitly light-fingered. 'Convey the wise it call,' and she conveys right nimbly. To produce the semblance of originality, she must resort to preciosity and tortuousness of expression and to all the *schemata* of conscious art, especially hyperbole and onomatopoeia. She no more looks for her inspiration in Homer, the Greek lyric poets, the Attic stage. She strives after the rhetorical finish and encyclopaedic learning of the Alexandrian School. That school had some great qualities, but it offered fatal pitfalls to all save fully inspired poets. Into these fell the poets of the Silver Age.

Before entering on the question which will be the subject of my other paper, what debt the Silver Age owes to Hellas, it may be interesting to point to a curious phenomenon in the history of Latin poetry, of which I remember no parallel in other eras or other countries. From the earliest dawn of letters to the incipient decay in the Silver Age we meet with formal attestations, and from good authorities too, that men who are now to us mere names once had the fame of a Milton or a Tennyson. Nepos refers to a poet of whom he, a responsible critic, is able to say, 'I can well affirm that he is our most brilliant poet since Lucretius and Catullus.' Of whom is he speaking? Of one Julius Calidus, of whose existence we should have been unaware but for this passage. Tibullus, who ought to know, tells us that no one—not even Virgil, it seems—'came nearer to the immortal Homer'

than one Valgius? But for the caprice of time we might now be quoting from Calid and Valge as from Lucan and Virgil. No less a poet than Ovid gives to Rabirius the epithet which Tennyson accords to Milton. He calls him 'mighty-mouthed' (*magni oris*), and Paterculus places the same Rabirius beside Virgil. Someone named Cornelius Severus in a poem on the Sicilian War glorified Cicero, who is unmentioned by Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, and has to wait for Juvenal for a scanty and half-ironical recognition. Pedo Albinovanus related the voyages of Germanicus in the Northern Seas; Ovid calls him 'starry' (*sidereus*), and we have from him a fragment which almost justifies the epithet and recalls the tone of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*. A certain Cotta wrote a *Pharsalia* under Augustus, and there was a mute inglorious Catullus, a mimographer of the time of Juvenal, as well as a Virgil who wrote comedies under Nero. Pomponius is highly praised as a tragic poet by Quintilian—an estimate hardly justified by his extant fragments. One Scaevus Memor, a writer of tragedies under Domitian, is called by no less an authority than Martial *Romani fama cothurni*. Thus does fame scatter with indifferent hands the laurels of triumph and the poppies of oblivion.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

(To be continued.)

THE CASE OF GWENDOLINE CASSON, MISDEMEANANT

Our first meeting-place was the magistrates' Court. Gwendoline in the dock, a dumpy well-nourished figure in workhouse dress, listened to the evidence without interrupting. The Master, a pallid, nervous man, conducted his own case, painfully aware that he was giving himself away. A girl of sixteen should not be beyond the control of a qualified official backed by all the authority of the Guardians. The man was sensible of this, and assured me that such a case had never come under his charge before, adding painful and ludicrous details of the misbehaviour of the accused, who stood stolidly impassive. No, she was not mad, the medical officer assured me of that, had devoted a great deal of time to the case; her silence was merely moroseness, and her violence ungoverned temper; she was sane enough. The girl spoke and made this evident. 'She wasn't going to be ordered about like that.' 'Laundry-work? she wasn't goin' to do no laundry-work.' In the laundry they 'thretted' her; 'they was allus a-puttin' their threats upon her in the Union, and she'd not stand it.' Gwendoline was making out a case against herself. The Master brightened, seeing himself rid of an unmanageable inmate. Legal difficulties cropped up and were laid. The girl was still respectfully indifferent. I began to realise the callousness to consequences of a person who has never known a home. The Master might take heart, but the Bench was troubled; if this case had been brought before it four months earlier the prisoner could have been sent to a reformatory until she was nineteen. Being just over sixteen she is adult in the dull eye of the law (only in certain aspects,—wait!), and must accept the consequences of refusing to do her work, viz., twenty-one days hard labour. (*Knitting*, may it please you, because, although adult enough to escape the wholesome discipline of a reformatory, she is still a 'young person' who may not be put to laundry-work *in jail*....O, my country!)

One instance out of many illustrating the crying need for codification. At present we grope in a jungle of Common Law,

Statutes modified by decisions, and regulations having the force of law approved by the Home Secretary for his department, and by the President of the Local Government Board for *his* department, without consultation. It has so far been nobody's business to co-ordinate this mass of enactments, rulings, and customs; the results are sometimes contradictory and frequently exasperating.

Back to Gwendoline. I looked the child over. I have daughters older and younger. It came home to me that three weeks of solitary confinement (it amounted to that, for there is no juvenile class in Whitestone Gaol, and, short of a four-months' sentence, which the law would not countenance, she could not be transferred to the Female Penitentiary at Aylesbury), it struck me, I say, that twenty-one days' knitting in absolute silence in a lonely cell would not improve this girl. What could one do with her? It seemed a case that should be remanded for a week for enquiry, but where to put her? The Master, whom I was finding a kindly man, not wanting in power, but in powers, deprecated the Union; in fact, declined to be answerable for her. Being over thirteen he could not lock her up nor keep her in bed without boots (a way with boys). In short, if handed back to him she would probably 'take her discharge,' which he could not legally refuse. (That Law again!) It came to the jail after all; Gwendoline remained impassive; I did the feeling.

At the prison, whither I followed her a couple of days later, she had made a poor impression; had been sillily insubordinate at exercise, and had refused the ministrations of a particularly gentle and shrewd lady-visitor. One can make little of a girl who sticks her thumbs in her ears. The Governor was sympathetic, but nonplussed; his jail was no place for her; work, as she understood it, and such as she needed, would be difficult to arrange for her. She was one by herself, which added to the difficulty of enforcing discipline; no example, I must see. Would I speak to her? There were risks; but, as one of the committing magistrates, I had won a modicum of her respect. She listened to me. Heavens! how young she looked, and how helpless, and how pitifully out of place! Conceiving that there had been enough of scolding in the past, I tried rational conversation; showed her what an amount of trouble she had put me to; and what arrangements I was trying to make for her. She was not hardened, the tears stood in her eyes. (This was better.) Was it not nicer to be ironing as one of a party in the Union, able to exchange a word if one wished, than to be working silent and lonely here? (She was knitting to pass the time. As a case under remand no labour could be enforced, but her immunities had probably not occurred to her.) She hated the Union. We

discussed Homes. Gwendoline wouldn't hear of a Home; knew all about Homes; wanted to go into service. (Hopeful, but temporarily impracticable.) Asked how she proposed to get a place, Gwendoline didn't know. Obviously no lady would take her straight from the jail; the Union being closed to her, what remained? She consented to try a Home. We parted upon terms after she had told me as much of her life as she chose.

From the candour of her admissions I accept her statement as substantially true. Here you have it in brief. Born in wedlock, she lost her mother whilst small. Her father married again, and presently died, leaving the child, still under ten, to the care of a stepmother who had her own living to get. Gwendoline made no complaint as to her treatment by this woman; what led to their separation I did not gather; it was a case wherein neither blood relationship, nor affection, nor the law was an operative factor. The child was left chargeable to the Union, a little creature intended by nature to cling and seek shelter, whose tendrils and rootlets had been broken by frequent transplanting. She belonged to nobody; she was unattractive; she had a temper; so much we may concede, but the case ought not to have been desperate; should not have been beyond the resources of the System. What Gwendoline is to-day she is by virtue of the System. Let us watch it at work.

She was placed in a Scattered Home with several other waifs, older and younger than herself, under a Matron. Matron sounds well. A woman of mature years and of considerable experience, selected by the Guardians, and working beneath their eyes, is charged with the nurture of a dozen motherless little ones. Into such a family decency, order, cleanliness, forbearance, even love, may come, but first of all must come obedience or a state of things will develop in which the gentler virtues will not thrive. Was it too much to expect that a woman so placed and so backed should have secured elementary obedience, by kindness if possible, by firmness if needful, but by some means? Or, that failing in her task, the Guardians should have recognised her incapacity and placed the child in other hands? The visiting guardians discovered nothing; the matron seems to have made no complaints. Gwendoline made none; why should she? She got her way from the first. One can easily reconstitute the situation; fear was the governing factor; fear felt by the woman, not by the child. Said the matron to herself, 'If I make her mind, she'd shriek the house down, and what will the neighbours say?' To the child she probably said, 'If I was yer ma I'd give ye wot for, but it sha'n't never be said of me that I laid a finger upon another woman's child.' The Guardians upon their perfunctory visits gathered that all was going on well. For this woman, perhaps

the least beneficent influence she ever encountered, Gwendoline expresses no more active feeling than contempt. 'She never beat me, she "*thretted*" me; I never would stand thretting.' Four months of nagging and her own way reduced this ten-year-old girl-child to a little savage. There was a climax. The matron seems to have covered her own failure by a cloud of injurious charges, which, whether true or false, were sufficient to deter the Guardians from experimenting with another Scattered Home. The mite whom she had mothered for four months to so little purpose was reported to be 'incorrigible and dangerous to other children,' and was sent back in disgrace to the childless Union ward. It does not appear that the matron was blamed, or her charges disbelieved.

It is but fair to this woman to say that she was entrusted with but the shadow of authority. A Home may contain fifteen waiflings (a dozen is more usual), the dragged-up offspring of ill-assorted or chance unions and deplorable homes. To such natures discipline is almost as primary a need as food and cleanliness, but how is she to enforce it? However stubborn or violent the child may not be stinted of a meal, nor receive any kind of corporal punishment. Where childhood is concerned it is axiomatic that penalty should tread closely upon the heels of offence, but the matron must await the next visit of the Lady Superintendent of Scattered Homes, who may consider that the affair has blown over, and had better not be revived. There are also the Labour Members of the corporation to be considered. One does not wish to give an opening for rhetoric in the council chamber and sensational appeals in the press. Such a headline as 'Pauper Children Flogged in Scattered Homes' would sell out an edition nearly as quickly as a glove-fight. A Lady Superintendent is slow to sanction punishment. I cannot say that sanction was asked; it almost certainly should have been. It comes to this, a matron is placed in charge who cannot be trusted with powers commonly delegated to a nursery governess or a village schoolmistress. The woman is probably of a lower social grade, the pay would not attract efficiency; but, though admittedly untrusted, she is not in touch with her superior, and is worse supported than an assistant in a council school working beneath the eye of her head. The System spells economy at the wrong end; pence grudged to the Scattered Home; pounds lavished upon the jail. I am comparing in my mind the quality and remuneration of this matron set over fifteen with the staff of the female side of Whitestone jail, where, if memory does not mislead me, I found four prisoners. Gwendoline came into the System a neglected, but normal child; those four months of unchecked naughtiness came very near to ruining her.

There was still a chance. The Barnardo Trustees took her in, and gave her the regular discipline and healthy comradeship which she needed so sorely. They had their difficulties, but she responded, and landed in Canada at fourteen with a good character (of which she spoke to me with pride). She was unfortunate in her first place; the mistress expected too much. 'I didn't understand colonial ways of doing housework.' The plea is admissible; a child in her first place, fresh from an institution, may easily get bewildered and lose heart. Not all mistresses are reasonable, or understand children. The little immigrant was returned to the depot. At her next place her health broke down. At her third she confesses to having misbehaved herself, 'It was my own fault; I run away.' Let the admission be accounted to her for righteousness; I did not press for it; knew nothing about it. At her fourth situation she was charged with dishonesty. (The Master and Matron say she is honest.) She denied the theft at the time; she denies it still. It seems not to have been brought home to her; things were missed, and she was returned to the depot angry, soured, and lowered in her self-esteem. Everyone was against her. From her fifth and last place she ran away under inexcusable circumstances, leaving the child entrusted to her care in its perambulator in the open street; a very wrong action. She had been in the Dominion two years; the Canadian authorities decided that Gwendoline Casson was an undesirable immigrant, and deported her at the expense of the Barnardo Trustees, who, having no further interest in her, passed her on to her place of settlement, Whitestone Union. She had left its walls six years before a hot-tempered, wilful child, spoilt by weak indulgence; she returned to it a disappointed girl of sixteen, almost reckless. Put yourself in her place; she has not a blood relation in the world, nor a soul who will grieve if she goes to the bad. She has disappointed her best friends—the Barnardo people—by turning out a failure and spoiling their average of successes in the colony to which they sent her. They, the only folks whom she ever respected, have ceased to respect her; have cast her off. (At sixteen, Good Lord! One may not blame them; they administer funds subscribed for children; Gwendoline is no longer a child; they must stick to their rules, but, *sixteen*, think of it! First it was that stepmother; then the matron; then the Guardians; next the Governor-General of the Dominion; and last the Barnardo Trustees who have sorrowfully taken her to the door and thrust her into the outer darkness, a fat, unlovely little thing of, sixteen!) When she reached the Union hope foundered, and self-respect went by the board. She had come back to her settlement, the place, and the people whom she hated, a failure, to herd with the failures—the sluts, the cadgers, the wasters, the bad-hats,

and the out-on-leaves, the born-bads, and the women who have lost character and hope, or who have never had either. There are doubtless some respectable old bodies upon the women's side of Whitestone Union, but these keep themselves to themselves one may be sure, and make no advances, for half the desolation of getting into the House is due to the company one meets there. A young lady from Roedean thrust into such surroundings might have broken down and let herself go; Gwendoline broke down badly. At sixteen one wants fun and excitement; there is neither upon the female side of a Union. With Gwendoline it is the time of life when other girls are at carpet-dances and tennis, when they find boy-friends interesting, and have jolly books to read and merry little experiences. Poor Gwendoline found none of these distractions provided, and set about making them for herself in absurd and indecorous ways. An inmate of sixteen must not force the emergency exit of a dormitory after dark and explore the leads (in her nightie), chevied by an exasperated Matron and Master. Being too old to be punished (sixteen) she was threatened, and the old devil awoke. She sulked, mute and ominous, refusing to enter the laundry, breaking out into obscure menaces of personal violence when addressed. The Master and Head Matron, competent people, began to doubt her sanity, but were overruled by the doctor and a visiting magistrate. Gwendoline is not mad. She was shown the utmost forbearance; she was placed in service, but did not stay her month. This child can more easily create seven impossible situations than keep a good one. Their patience was exhausted. After some especially wild outbreak the Master felt that a case could be made out; he had done his part and appealed to the law.

I was not satisfied. Prison seems too terrible, too final, for an exhibition of coltish temper and a schoolgirl escapade. I had put her back for a week and made inquiries. Here, as aforesaid, I learned a little law: there was no place at the Union wherein Gwendoline could be legally confined. Being 'adult' she might at any hour demand her discharge and go upon tramp. The Master almost tremulously deprecated having anything more to do with her; he had had enough of chasing a little white ghost over the roofs in the dark, so it had come to the jail after all, and there I had found her at a critical moment of her life—cowed, tearful, the tide just upon the turn. I am inclined to think I was the first person who had spoken kindly to her for some time, her loss none the less that it was largely her own fault. When she stood again in the dock at the week's end, her resolution held, I passed a conditional sentence, and handed her over to the lady principal of a local institution, where she will possibly, but I fear not probably, regain her character and become eligible for service. I am not

nguine, for one cannot shut one's eyes to the chances which in-
ude an impatient word from a good-hearted but overworked
icial, an open door, a fit of childish passion, or an uncontrollable
sire for change, to see what the country is like. Any one, or a
mbination, of these mischances, and Gwendoline may run, and
ay run too far; may disappear into the stream of nameless
ifters along our main roads. With sunshine and the smell of
e hay outside she will not want for temptation nor dangers
hen she has made her plunge. She is still but a child in experi-
nce, and has led a shielded life in what concerns the main things
our nature; but, once upon the road, with darkness coming on
nd nowhere to sleep, and the Union and the conditional sentence
yond it, contingencies not to be faced, what will happen? Un-
ss caught before sunset she will fall into the hands of some male
amp—a master at last! Then her education will begin over
ain. What the sloth, timidity, and weakness of the system
nied to her childhood will be her portion as a woman pressed
wn and running over. Her bloke will stand no nonsense; by
nt of black eyes and kicks poor Gwendoline will learn subordin-
ion and obedience, her place and the limitations of her sex; and
in vain, and too late. Thenceforth, for the next thirty years,
e will stroll our summer highways and hibernate in our Unions,
esenting her ungrateful country with one baby per annum, of
hich immense family something under a fifth will struggle up
adolescence as cripples, mentally deficients, drunkards,
iminals, and prostitutes, who will breed early and often and true
their decadent stock. If one works out the sum, one finds that
1952 Gwendoline, then probably dead, will be represented by
ven children and fifteen grandchildren, who, if they begin to be
rents at twenty, and rear but one child apiece every five years,
d die at forty-six, will by the end of the century have numbered
souls, an array diminished by the deaths of the first gener-
on, and the dropping off of thirty-five of the second to about two
ndred and fifty-one, but to this number we must add the natural
crease of the one hundred and fifty-five great-grandchildren,
me of whom will begin to be parents about 1957-1967. And
en——?

You exclaim 'This is absurd, tramps don't propagate, they
ver did.' But the past is no guide to us, for we are faced by
vel conditions. Our fathers held that if you shut the pauper
a workhouse, sold his brats to a Lancashire cotton-spinner,
set the dog at vagrants the problem was solved. The tramp
ould disappear by natural causes' (gipsies did not). But we
not made so. During the past half century England has de-
oped sensibilities. We can hardly endure the thought of
nishment; nor must anyone be permitted to suffer the natural
sequences of his own actions. Everyone is to be kept alive

and in health as long as possible, and at any expense. The actuarial tables of mortality of the last century are unreliable. There is not a workhouse, nor an elementary school, nor a jail to-day which is not infinitely better sanitated and ventilated than was Windsor Castle in 1860, when the upper sashes of its windows were fixtures, and scores of old cesspits festered among its foundations and beneath its floors. Our drink bill lessens; the last word upon hygiene and surgery has yet to be spoken. Why should Gwendoline's descendants die off? They will be sure of food and excellent medical attendance at the various crises of their lives. They will never overdo themselves and will be strangers to the anxiety which saps the vitality of the unskilled labourer. Far more thought will be taken for them than will be spent upon the welfare of the class just above them—the hard-pressed self-supporters. From the maternity ward to the pauper's shell they will be swaddled, coddled, taught, fed, preached to, doctored, jailed, coffined and buried at the national expense by an enormous staff of public servants; relieving officers, doctors, nurses, chaplains, labour-officers, policemen, masters, matrons, governors of jails, warders, principals of asylums, of infirmaries, of hospitals, of shelters will protect them from one another, themselves and the elements. In return they will persistently misuse every opportunity, and in the course of their lives they will consume, waste, deface, destroy, and make away with many thousand pounds'-worth of property of all kinds, while working irregularly, or not at all, nor contributing anything to the safety or welfare of their country. Do I overstate? Is there one contingency here which is not possible; nay, probable? And the worst of it is that this is our own doing. Such as Gwendoline is we have made her. As a child we spoilt her. As a lump of a girl we are ready to do worse by her; for we are prepared in the name of the Liberty of the Subject to afford her every conceivable facility for making the very worst uses of her life. I think she has a case against us. I am grieving over Gwendoline Casson and her country.

H. M. WALLIS.
(Ashton Hilliers.)

Postscript.—The preceding was written last July. Returning from Switzerland in September I inquired for Gwendoline. She was in prison. After a few weeks of housework in the Home she too had felt the need of a holiday, and had escaped by a window in breach of the terms upon which my sentence had been held over. So the experiment had failed. Somehow I sympathise with this child; I like her pluck. On leaving jail she returned to the Union, where her friend the Master (he is her friend, as you shall see) took her in hand again, and, backed by the Matron,

did all he knew to make a woman of somewhat unpromising material. He had her into his own kitchen, and fought her tempers day after day with sheer will-power. ('I don't care. . . . I *will* go to the bad!' 'You *sha'n't*, Gwendoline. My will is stronger than yours; you see!') Twice she has bolted, once for the town, once for the open country, frockless and unshod. ('Gwendoline, do you ever read your Bible? Do you remember the woman—?' '—with the seven devils? Yes, *that's me*!') There is a fierce virginity about her. On one of her escapes she saved herself from a male savage with a knife. Says the Matron, who has faith in her, 'Either she will make a fine woman or a very bad one.' But, alack, her friends are busy people. There are five hundred inmates in Whitestone Union, and the Matron has eight other Gwendolines upon her hands, returned from domestic service as 'hopelessly incapable.' Gwendoline is not that. She has a capacity of a sort. The latest phase is more hopeful. Despairing of controlling the seventeen-year old spirit by mere force, her friends let her out on parole to seek service. On the second day she found herself a really satisfactory place. Nor was her employer appalled by her record. 'If she is honest and virtuous I will chance her temper.' The Matron made her a capital outfit, at sight of which the child burst into tears of contrition. What comes next?

Postscript 2.—No good news. My story grows darker. Gwendoline's tempers were too much for her mistress: to be called a fool to one's face, in one's own kitchen, is embarrassing. The girl has left for a less desirable situation; a downhill step. The next few months will be critical.

Postscript 3.—Worse and worse! On taking my seat upon the Bench this morning I was confronted with poor Gwendoline charged with having attempted her own life. Her last place had given her no satisfaction. She left it, and in default of other friends paid a call upon the Master of the Union, apparently to bid him good-bye, for she would neither become an inmate, nor accept the hospitality of a Home. An hour or two later she was seen by three big lads to leap off the quay. The cold water compelled a cry for help, but Gwendoline is game, and upon a youth coming in for her, struggled into deep water. When got out she was insensible, but revived and cried, 'I want to die, let me go in again!' . . . 'They wanted me to go back to the Workhouse.' When arrested she said, 'I don't care what you do to me. I want to die. I've got no home nor friends. *I shall do it again*.' This declaration tied our hands badly. Gwendoline means it (at present; she may be another creature in six months,

if one can restrain her meantime). The immediate question was, What to do with her *now?* Attempted Suicide being a felony, our Bench could not deal with it. To discharge her in the face of her admissions was impossible. The only other course was to commit her for trial at the next assize. But, what can Judge, or Recorder, do with her? The Law (again!) blocks the way. Under the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, Section *b*, a judge may send her to that excellent institution, Borstal, for a term of years (with admirable results if one may judge by the statistics of reformed lives dating from there), but, alack, Gwendoline is not bad enough to enjoy the privileges reserved for girls of criminal habits and tendencies (see the wording of the statute). She is virtuous, she is honest, and being *an adult* (still under nineteen), must be permitted to ruin herself, or destroy herself, irretrievably.

H. M. Wallis.

THE SEAMY SIDE OF TRAVEL

In the man or woman of middle age at the present day there are usually two personalities at war within the same brain when it is a question of leaving one's home surroundings to see the world beyond it. One half may be still enthusiastic in its appreciation of scenery, of architecture, of strange or new peoples, of historical scenes, world wonders, or great achievements in art and industry. The other half charges the mere bother of *déplacement* to a debit account to begin with, and generally is disposed to resent with increasing emphasis the unnecessary discomforts and risks of travel. We are the more captious, perhaps, because in the age in which we live the numerous persons who do travel with camera and notebook, and who make cinematograph and phonograph records to illustrate their lectures, and collections to enrich our museums, public and private, enable many of us to travel with our minds, without the expense and the discomfort of leaving our own firesides or shaded gardens.

Yet, except to those who are incapacitated by bodily ailments, mental or monetary limitations, travel is even more interesting and more profitable than it has ever been, and in some respects safer and more comfortable. But inasmuch as it might be made (especially where British agencies are concerned) so much more comfortable less risky, and less expensive than it is, this article has been conceived and written, not without some thought of private revenge in addition to its altruistic humanitarianism.

There is scarcely a railway station above or below ground in the United Kingdom without a poster which spreads before us the Magic Carpet of the Arabian Nights. On this, happy looking men and women have stationed themselves whilst a hideous jinn supplies the motive power underneath the carpet, and is seen carrying them from one European capital to another—an intelligent anticipation, perhaps, of the perfected airship.

So much for romance; but those who stop to think and who 'have been there before,' know that there is no magic carpet as yet provided by any tourist agency which enables any but an alert and watchful, pushful tourist to travel in safety, or without discomfort, from London to Paris, or Paris to London: to say nothing of longer journeys. Indeed, in some ways these tourist

agencies have either become too specialised in the matter of yacht cruises and winter sports, or too old, prosperous and unenterprising to attack any longer the hydra-headed tyrants of railway directorates, Customs control, steamship-management, hackney-carriage or hotel owners.

Perhaps the most glaring instance of their indifference, or their powerlessness, one of the most startling anachronisms of the twentieth century, lies in the management of the South Eastern Railway. If I may seem to approach this and other grave subjects with a certain naïveté, it should be premised that it is only of late years that I have had the opportunity to consider things nearer home than Africa, that my departures to and arrivals from Africa were usually connected with Liverpool or Plymouth, and that if I came or went by way of Paris, it was invariably by the no-longer-independent Chatham and Dover Railway Company, or by the Brighton and South Coast. In fact, fate so willed it that it was not till the opening of the present year of grace that I had the unforgettable experience of arriving at Charing Cross Station from the Continent with luggage to be passed through the Customs. In this recent experience (preceded by a departure from Charing Cross for Germany in which I fulfilled all that was required of me, but my luggage nevertheless was incorrectly labelled and went wildly astray) I have realised more fully than before what it means to land at Dover late on a winter afternoon, with the temperature below freezing point, fresh from all the luxuries now to be found in Continental railway travel, including carefully warmed railway carriages, and to travel for two hours up to London in an unwarmed first-class compartment. And then, to realise for the first time that although Charing Cross has been the principal terminus of our Continental traffic for something like forty years, it is actually without any special accommodation for the work of Customs examination (unless, of course, such buildings were destroyed at the time the roof fell in, and have not been replaced). On the occasion of my recent personal experience, the luggage from all parts of the Continent, possibly even from India as well, was shot out on to one of the platforms, and left there, higgledy-piggledy. Here the mob of passengers, to which had been added a mob of porters armed with iron-mounted barrows which they drove into one's legs, had to pick out from memory its various items of luggage, get them somehow or other clawed together, and then in its utter despair plead with H.M. Customs to take for granted that its declaration of no dutiable goods was a true one. For what would have happened on this last occasion (January 31, 1911) if the Customs had insisted on any opening of the luggage, I tremble to think. An icy wind was blowing in through the great open funnel of the

station, two defeated football teams had arrived from France, and wanted their luggage straight away to catch trains for the north, several fellow-passengers with broken limbs (the result of Alpine sports) were surrounded by bevies of pitying relations and hospital nurses; engines were screaming to drown the human clamour, or letting off steam, which temporarily eclipsed all clear vision: in short, it was an indescribable babel of noise and misery, and the Customs officials being, as they always are, true gentlemen, simply scrabbled a passport on all pieces of luggage they could see and left the passengers and their porters to help themselves. I selected my own quite honestly, of course, but there seemed to be no question of my registered receipt, though I did my best to force it on the porter that helped me.

Now, surely, this is unworthy of the principal railway route to and from the Continent, at the principal continental-traffic station of the capital of the British Empire, in the year 1911? At Victoria Station, both of the Brighton Railway and of what was once the Chatham and Dover, there is a spacious enclosed room of very large size in which all the luggage is ranged on benches, and, if I remember rightly, is placed either according to its label number or the first initial of the owner's name on the label. You enter these places without rush or scrimmage, you identify and claim your luggage without difficulty, and if it has got to be opened it is opened under comfortable conditions.

'Then, if you are so satisfied with the two Victorias, why travel to and from the Continent in connexion with any other station?'

But the Brighton Victoria involves the Dieppe route, of which more anon; and as regards the South Eastern, the continental trains connected with Victoria are either too expensive with their supplementary charges, for the tourist who is not actually a rich person; or they depart or arrive at inconvenient hours. The plain fact remains that Charing Cross is connected with the most-commonly-used section of the direct traffic with the Continent; and Charing Cross remains to this day as utterly unequipped for dealing with the luggage on arriving, as it was apparently forty-five years ago.

There is no doubt that the absence of any proper shelter and refreshment rooms at Dover Pier is a disgrace to the British nation. Why cannot Dover be as well equipped as Calais? What is the use of putting forward the fact (which may not be a fact) that you are never detained at the quay, and that somewhere up in the town of Dover there is a railway station which has got decent waiting-rooms and a refreshment department? Seeing that the boat trains never stop at such a station, the existence of its alleged comforts has no bearing on the question.

Folkestone is a little, but not much, better. But some mystery, some slur, which I have never been able to understand, seems to lie on the Folkestone-Boulogne route; by which I have once or twice travelled (with, if I remember rightly, great unpunctuality). Far and away the main bulk of passengers travelling between London and the Continent go by way of Dover and Calais.

Now: as to the crossing of the Channel at its narrowest part—Dover to Calais. This is constantly advertised as being achieved in a few minutes over the hour. On the smoothest day in my own experiences, it never takes less than an hour and a half, and it would be interesting to learn how often the trains connected with it at Dover leave for London at the advertised time. The railway that controls this route advertises with a flourish of trumpets the splendid steamers which meet the trains, though even their advertised speed—nineteen to twenty-two miles an hour—does not come up to the speed of the steamers plying between Denmark and Germany, Denmark and Sweden, or similar short-journey steamers between Hamburg and the Dutch coast. But the principal trains between Charing Cross and the Continent are not (in my experience) often served by any one of these advertised steamers, but by the *Pas-de-Calais*, a French boat, which I should think scarcely did more than seventeen knots an hour, and which is certainly *not* the last word in comfort and conveniences, but about dated in that respect '1880.' I never remember to have crossed the Channel in any boat connected with the South Eastern trains which seemed to me in comfort and speed worthy of the position in the world of the United Kingdom. I am aware that added comforts can be had for extra payments ranging from 1*l.* to 12*l.* (for a journey which ought to take no longer than an hour), but this is only part and parcel of the general policy of the continental traffic of this line, which makes it more and more difficult for people of modest means (as are most travellers) to avail themselves comfortably of the shortest sea route. The one thing, however, rich people cannot buy on these Channel steamers, is the right to leave them comfortably; no matter how great, rich or distinguished you are, you must take your part with perhaps 100 fellow-passengers in struggling to leave the ship by a steep gangway which admits one person at a time. As most of the persons who leave carry two or three articles of luggage, the scrimmage inflicts many bruises and scratches. The reason why this shoving and excitement takes place is in order to secure comfortable seats in the waiting train.

On most of the big expresses abroad, at any rate during the seasons when there is much traffic, every seat in the first and second class is numbered, and passengers wishing to make sure

of a seat in the train must apply beforehand with their tickets for a number. In many ways this is an excellent system and might be (perhaps is) adopted by the Brighton line in connection with its continental traffic from Dieppe. But I think it unfair that the railway companies and the tourist agencies should make the charge they *do for booking* these seats. The mere taking of a ticket for a specified date should entitle one to a specified seat in a particular train. However, if the system of numbered seats could be adopted right through between London and the Continent, if on landing at Dover or Newhaven you knew your seat was inevitably allotted to you, there would be no need for this pushing and elbowing along a narrow passage to get first to the train.

It is some years since I made use of the Brighton line for reaching Paris. I used at one time to travel frequently by this way, and liked it. But I changed my mind a few years ago, as in certain ways I did not find the Channel steamers comfortable,[1] and, above all, after landing at Dieppe it was difficult to keep one's seat in the train except by sitting in it, and as this precluded the whiling away of an hour's waiting by taking refreshments or walking about, it made the journey tedious. Again: the St. Lazare terminus at Paris of the State Western Railways is, or was, badly supplied with cabs. I have several times arrived there and had to wait half an hour whilst a cab was being specially fetched from outside the station. Then again, the accommodation and the arrangements at the St. Lazare for the Customs examinations are far less pleasant and convenient than they are at the Northern station.

Why cannot all railway companies throughout the civilised world follow the example of Germany, and arrange that passengers on arrival shall be handed a metal ticket with the number of a cab or motor, which is unchangeably assigned to them and must wait for them till their luggage is ready to leave the station? Such a convenience in Germany greatly assists nervous and fidgety people. At most of the London railway termini at the present day it is almost due to a personal favour on the part of the porter that one succeeds in getting a motor-cab at all.

Marseilles is a most ill-equipped port in this respect. There are plenty of motor-cabs in the town, but they are, I am told, 'afraid' to approach the quays where the steamers disembark their passengers, and such passengers landing at Marseilles from various parts of the world, though they may by telegraphing

[1] I am since assured by a great Tourist Agency that the points I complained of have been completely remedied. If the Etat-Ouest would wake up a little, the Dieppe route to Paris should become the favourite one, but the State mismanagement of the Western Railway is becoming a serious concern to the friends and lovers of France. I am told by one who ought to know that the cause of the numerous accidents and the great unpunctuality is an unwise economy in upkeep.

beforehand get an omnibus from the station (but this is an appeal not infrequently ignored), can only get away from the waterside to the inconveniently-placed railway station in the most tumble-down, miserable little victorias to be found anywhere, with dirty, shabby cushions, and no capacity for carrying luggage —carriages that are wrenched from side to side in the tramlines, and which impose a cruel strain on their poor little horses in climbing up five hundred feet to the station. Why was the great terminus at Marseilles apparently placed without any regard to the fact that Marseilles is one of the greatest seaports in the world—a seaport as important to the United Kingdom as much as to France, for it has become really the outpost of Great Britain on the Mediterranean? There is this pretentious terminus built on the edge of a cliff at the height of about five hundred feet above sea level, and at a distance of two or three miles from the quays. I believe there is a line of rail that goes by a circuitous route down to the quay where the P. & O. steamers call, and I imagine that it is possible thus occasionally for P. & O. passengers to go straight from their steamer to their train and vice versa, though such has never been my experience in my journeys by the P. & O. boats. But, of course, Marseilles being what it is—and it is nothing else, for apart from its importance as a seaport it is one of the few really uninteresting towns in all France—its great expresses to and from Paris and Calais should start from a new station on the quays in close touch with the landing of passengers from steamers from all parts of the world.

In connexion with this, consider the importance of Algiers or Tunis as winter resorts. Algeria is among the wonderlands of the world, and one of the most interesting countries known to us. The beautiful town of Algiers itself ought to be within forty-eight hours of London. In fine weather, even the unremarkable steamers of the *Transatlantique* do the journey between Marseilles and Algiers in twenty-two hours. Instead of there being a train to meet the arrival or departure of the boat at Marseilles, there is a gap of many hours and a most disagreeable journey by a ramshackle conveyance between the far-away station and the dirty, obstructed quay. If Marseilles does not wake up a little, attempt to fill up some of its gaps, in time and distance, and keep under control the unruly population of its quays, a large part of its custom will leave it and will possibly be transferred to Genoa, which under German enterprise is going ahead to a remarkable extent. A noteworthy point might have been observed in the North African press of the last week in January 1911: the cordial, not to say enthusiastic, welcome accorded by the French colonists at Bizerta (Tunis) to the arrival of the first steamer of a German line which is to open up a direct route between Genoa and Tunis.

Similar newspapers had announced just before that another German line was taking away much of the passenger traffic from the *Transatlantique* boats in connexion with the town of Algiers. I scarcely wonder either at the French enthusiasm for a German steamship line to Tunis, or the preference shown by English and American tourists for reaching Algiers by way of Genoa and German boats. The German boats are big, powerful, steady, and extraordinarily comfortable. The French boats on most of the lines that ply between Marseilles and North Africa are small, very much inclined to roll, and in most cases not speedy. Not only that, but their cuisine, which used to be so good and atoned for so much, has fallen to a type altogether unworthy of France.

Some of the great English steamship lines keep well to the forefront as regards speed, cleanliness, comfort, and good food. I have little but praise to utter in regard to the great lines of the Atlantic and the Royal Mail. A cruise in the big steamers of the last-named line is *really* a pleasure cruise; the same may be said about the Orient line to Ceylon and Australia and (though I have no personal experience) of the lines which cross the Pacific between Australia and Vancouver Island. I dare say there has been a corresponding improvement and bringing up to date in the African steamship lines under the British flag, but my experience of them in the closing years of the 19th century was such that I generally sought a French, a German, or an Austrian steamer in preference, if I could find one. I never forgot one journey home from South Africa, in the early nineties, when I had to share a first-class cabin with three other passengers, one of whom was a dipsomaniac, another scarcely took his clothes off or washed, and slept clothed on his bunk, and the third was far gone in consumption, and spat blood at intervals during the night into the wash-basin. It is curious to think that these horrors and outrages on civilised ideas took place not so very many years ago. The fact is, that it should be made *illegal* by the maritime laws of all nations to oblige persons to share their sleeping compartment. There might be double-berth cabins made for husband and wife: otherwise, all cabins, cubicles or bunks, should be allotted to single occupants, unless, of course, the vessel is of such a character and going on such a short journey that it is convenient to turn all her sleeping accommodation into one large dormitory, much on the lines of the sleeping accommodation on an American train.

I know that certain steamers still ply from port to port on the Indian Ocean and its tributary gulfs and seas, which swarm with cockroaches and with rats. The African steamer to which I have already referred, besides the three unpleasant human companions, swarmed with bugs; and I have not so many years ago been severely bitten by these disgusting insects on the steamers of a

well-known Channel route, and have had the melancholy satisfaction of calling credible witnesses to testify to their existence. Other steamers equally plying across the Channel have—or had—the unsuitable plush coverings of their first-saloon couches full of fleas. Down to my experiences of a short while ago, only one line of steamers plying to and from Holyhead across the Irish Channel could be regarded as free from fleas. I do not mean by these statements to imply just a little nip here and there, but attacks which completely robbed one of sleep and caused one to leave the boat puffy and unwell.

My recorded experiences of Ireland were that it was only in Ulster, in Ulster hotels and on Ulster railways, and steamboats plying to and from Ulster ports, that one could be confident of cessation from the flea persecution. The indifference to fleas over all the rest of Ireland is lamentable. As a rule, their existence is denied. I remember not many years ago—within the present century—complaining of this to a guest who breakfasted with me at one of the leading hotels at Dublin (an hotel in every other way first class). He denied the imputation somewhat hotly, though an Ulsterman himself. 'In this hotel, for example,' he began, ... At that instant a large flea hopped from the *ewigkeit* into the marmalade. I pointed voicelessly to its dying struggles. Yet Ireland is one of the most picturesque countries in the world, and with a far better climate than it has been given credit for. Dublin, so far as its architecture is concerned, is a truly noble city. But if Ireland wishes to have the annual troops of tourists which she is interesting enough to deserve, there must be a national movement for getting rid of the flea.

Needless to say, this same pest interferes greatly with the amenities of travel in Southern Italy and in Russia. Southern Spain and Portugal are bad so far as the churches and places of public resort are concerned, but the hotels in those countries are often irreproachable. The hotels in Algeria are remarkably clean, and considering this is a portion of Africa the conveniences and even comforts of travel are well up to date.

In India, though my experiences are not very recent, the flea pest was a great deterrent; but the scenery, buildings, and the general life of India are of such unapproachable picturesqueness and interest that, as in Egypt, one is led almost to forget the presence of insect plagues. One great lack on the Indian railways, however, as compared with similar long-journey trains in the United States, is the difficulty of getting good iced water. Soda-water of a very inferior quality and alcoholic drinks (ditto, ditto) are freely offered at the stations, but I hold that the travellers on the trains (as in the United States) should be supplied gratuitously with pure iced water, to combat the terrible thirst which is the chief affliction of Indian travel.

The most comfortable and the cheapest railway travelling in the world is in Germany. The most comfortable of the world's steamers are those under the German flag. Railway travel in the United States, proportionately to the immense distances covered, is very well up to date in convenience and consideration of the passenger, and American hotels would deserve a very high meed of praise were they not so terribly expensive. For the excellence of their accommodation and their food, probably the hotels of France, Germany, Austria and Holland should be bracketed together as being the cheapest in the world, the opposite pole to the costliness of hotel life in the United States. The only fault in British inns and hotels lies in the food. In the simplest of these, in remote country places, the food is at any rate wholesome, though simple—just plain meat, a few very plain vegetables, tarts and puddings. But the average hotel, in contrast to the inn, supplies a meal that is not always wholesome and is generally insipid because its components are various preserved foods or things out of tins and bottles, or substances that have lain so long on ice that they have lost all flavour, or are preserved from decay by boracic acid. If the typical 'railway' hotel would apply itself to furnishing quite simple meals of fresh *home-produced* vegetables, meat, fish, fruits, and pastry, it would attract and satisfy a much larger clientèle. Both in France and in Germany hotel proprietors are beginning to realise that not all, or even many, guests desire, except on extraordinary occasions, meals of many courses. They have grown to tolerate guests who will lunch or dine off a bowl of good bouillon, followed by vegetables, fruit and pastry, or at any rate require but one meat dish not too complicated in its cooking.

I cannot help thinking that if a congress of tourist agencies (railway and steamship companies represented) were called, something might be done all over the world to remove the petty and avoidable discomforts—the seamy side—of travel and bring not only to those who are wealthy, but to those who are not, the chance of finding in travel and change of air a remedy for many ills—of the mind as of the body. Most of us do not want to be personally conducted, to be dry-nursed by an obsequious courier or led about like a grown-up school with total strangers of facile acquaintanceship. We prefer solitude—*à l'un, à deux, ou à trois*—and separate tables : we like such isolation in steamer journeys as you get in the Hamburg-Amerika, the Austrian Lloyd, or the Royal Mail; and not the yacht cruises whereon every shred of privacy and restful reserve is torn from you. We—if I may speak for kindred souls—gratefully acknowledge that the conditions of life on the French and Italian Rivieras are all that the most exagger-

ated poster makes them out to be: climate on the whole very good, railway arrangements of the Nord and P.L.M. excellent, hotels cheap for the sound comfort or luxury they provide, scenery matchless. But often the good wrought by the stay on the Côte d'Azur is undone by the experiences between Calais and Charing Cross.

We do not ask that the State should take over the South Eastern Railway—the mismanagement of the State-Western Railway in France and of the State Railways in Belgium is a warning against such a policy. But we do ask (for example) that there shall be better accommodation on Dover pier station, and that all the long-distance (over twenty miles) trains on the South Eastern, Brighton, and South Western lines of our own country should be really warmed in all classes between December 1 and March 1—not merely fitted with a warming apparatus 'which is not in working order, sir,' or with 1840 foot-warmers which, if not tepid, warp the boots of the one or two persons able to reach them.

We think that if Charing Cross is to continue to be used for continental passenger traffic it should be fitted with ample accommodation for Customs examination.

We consider that if the future overland route to India (a supreme blessing to mankind) is to be through Germany and Russia and not via Germany, Austria, and Turkey, Russia will have to modernise her passport and Customs strictures: that steps might well be taken with the new Portuguese Government to render the Customs examination at Lisbon less harsh and the port dues less heavy, so that the capital of Portugal might be the quickest escape from the Bay of Biscay and the down-Channel fogs, and the chief calling-place of West Indian, South American, West and South African steamers. (Many a sick West African passenger dies from the miseries of the Bay of Biscay who, if he could be landed at Lisbon and continue his journey overland, might recover and attain to old age.)

The unnecessary rigour of the Customs at Italian ports requires attention from the same international congress as I have summoned in imagination: so also do the disgusting condition of Italian railway lavatories, and the threatening touts and noisy beggars of Naples (Rome in all respects, especially in its railway station, is an admirably managed city—perfect from the tourists' point of view). The French Government might be invited to save tourists much annoyance and petty robbery by taking measures to seize and destroy all the *non-valable* or bad two-franc and five-franc pieces in circulation. Finding so many un-French pieces having legal currency in France, the mystified foreigner accepts without question a coin with a Greek, Italian, Bulgarian, or Baratarian device; and then not only finds he has

been cheated, but is himself denounced as fraudulent if he tenders such a coin to a railway clerk or a cabman.

Taxi-motor-cabs should be in numbers in every big town *in close connection with every large station or quay;* and they should be so constructed that they can carry a moderate amount of luggage.

It should be forbidden in all countries for the public guardians of museums, picture galleries, and cathedrals to follow strangers about with a view to a tip, thrusting on them unasked-for and usually fatuous information, and thus spoiling many a first fine rapture.

Good iced water should be supplied free of charge on all long-distance trains as it is in America and (I think) in Germany. The names of all stations should be painted clearly in prominent places as they are in the United Kingdom. It should be easier than it is for intending railway travellers to purchase their railway and steamer tickets beforehand. They should not be obliged to stand for half-hours or more waiting their turn to reach the wicket, and then be pushed in the back while they are hurriedly telling their life-story. And tickets issued beforehand for serious journeys should carry on them the right to a numbered seat in a specified train, and not require restamping or some such foolery, obliging this same vexatious attendance at the wicket before departure.

I write this article not from mere captiousness or because I am still confined to the house from the last chill caught on the South Eastern and Brighton Railways (a right and left barrel, so to speak, on the same day), but because anything which can be done to promote and facilitate travel is the most effective working in the cause of international peace and good-will.

February 1911. H. H. JOHNSTON.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ROAD

THE intelligent foreigner who saw with amazement the seething traffic of a London street meekly obedient to the white-gloved hand of a policeman paid a fervent tribute of admiration to the law-abiding character of the English. On the whole, with some reservations, this soft impeachment is just. But it was not ever thus: our present respect for the law is of comparatively recent growth; and Britons of the past would compare favourably for lawlessness with the most turbulent races of antiquity. As late as the middle of the fourteenth century, England lay helpless in the hand of the robber. Apart from the professional marauders of the period, all classes took an occasional hand in the game. Barons, knights, abbots, and so forth, robbed and raided freely, and even towns engaged in a sort of municipal brigandage. Our records, however, of highwaymen, as a class, are neither many nor valuable. Practically there is little or nothing beyond the floating tales which passed current in ballads and chap-books, till they crystallised in the uncritical pages of Alexander Smith. Still, he provides us with plenty to choose from. In his *History of Highwaymen* fable is welcomed, it is true, without the smallest scrutiny, but its records are not altogether untrustworthy, and even his wildest stories may well contain a nucleus of fact. Robin Hood, we fear, is at best semi-fabulous; and the same must be said of Thomas Dun, who is supposed to have harried the country between St. Albans and Towcester so severely that Henry the First was compelled to build Dunstable 'to bridle the outrageousness of this Dun.' Sir Gosselin Denvile, by whom Edward the Second is said to have been robbed, is a somewhat clearer figure. Ercedecne seems to be historical. The highwaymen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are on a smaller scale altogether, but they have a special interest of their own. This is partly due to their comparative propinquity. It is hardly more than a century since the tune of 'Dammee, stand and deliver!' (as it was described by a semi-repentant thief) rang merrily through the land, and armed robbers infested the streets of London. But they appeal to us chiefly by virtue of a generous tradition which has crowned them with a certain halo of romance. They are

regarded as something above the level of the vulgar thief: robbers of distinction, with a grand air, a fine sense of honour, and as much chivalrous forbearance as was compatible with a strict attention to business. Speaking of the highwaymen of the seventeenth century, a sympathetic historian declares that 'they were scholars as well as gentlemen; they tempered their sport with a merry wit, and they robbed with so perfect a regard to the proprieties that it was only the prig or the parliamentarian who resented their interference.'[1]

Even the witchery of Mr. Whibley's pen fails to convince us entirely on this point; but it may be conceded that if any highwaymen deserved such a character, it was those of the seventeenth century. Claude Du Vall is the classical specimen of this class; and his coranto on the heath was certainly a most happy inspiration. The story, as given by a decidedly unfriendly writer, is to be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*.[2] It calls up rather a piquant scene. We see the heavy carriage with its treasure load of 400*l*. lumbering along in the waning light, and shadowed the while by Du Vall and his nimble gang. The robbers begin to close in upon the travellers, when the cool, clear notes of a flageolet suddenly pour out into the night. The lady in the carriage is playing to proclaim that she at least has no fear. The challenge was flung out at Du Vall the highwayman; Du Vall the musician took it up. Producing his own flageolet, he joined her for a while in an improvised duet, then, riding up to the carriage, begged that he might 'have the honour to dance one currant with her on the heath.' 'Sir,' said the Knight, her husband, 'I dare not deny anything to one of your quality and good mind; you seem a gentleman, and your request is very reasonable.' Then came the dance, wherein Du Vall—who sang the 'currant' himself for want of an orchestra—performed marvels; 'the best masters in London, except those that are French, not being able to show such footing as he did in his great riding French boots.' After duly escorting the lady to her carriage, Du Vall suggested payment 'for the music.' The Knight handed him a bag of 100*l*., 'which Du Vall took with a very good grace, and courteously answered, "Sir, you are liberal, and shall have no cause to repent your being so; this liberality of yours shall excuse you the other three hundred pounds"; and giving him the word that, if he met with any more of his crew, he might pass undisturbed, he civilly takes his leave of him.'

There is a whimsical grace about the story which makes one hope that it may be true. But, if the Harleian writer is to be trusted, Du Vall was not always in this melting mood. We hear

[1] C. Whibley, *A Book of Scoundrels*.
[2] iii. 309, Walter Pope, Junior Proctor at Oxford in 1658.

an ugly tale of his robbing a baby of its silver bottle, and being forced by his comrades to restore it. It is only fair, however, to add that there is another account of this incident. In *Celebrated Trials* * it is said to be one of the gang who took the bottle and Du Vall who compelled him to return it, exclaiming, 'Sirrah, can't you behave like a gentleman, and raise a contribution without stripping people?' This version is much truer to the Du Vall of tradition; and in his words (if his they be) there rings a note which never wholly died away. Wholesale plunder is the work of the common thief: a 'gentleman' of the road should not stoop to it. His war with society must be stern, but it need not be ruthless; and the victor should deal generously with the necessities of the vanquished. Leave the traveller enough for his immediate needs, and any one of his belongings which he specially values, leave him that, too. James Hind, a generation earlier than Du Vall, is said to have founded this tradition, which crops up continually in the seventeenth century, and has left its traces on the eighteenth. Du Vall was a miller's son, and seems to have been born in 1643, at Domfront, in Normandy. It was a birthplace curiously appropriate to his career. As the story goes, his burial fees were paid by his father at the time of his christening. Apparently, the Curé of Domfront, having found by experience that 'all that were born at Domfront were hanged at Rouen,' had introduced this custom 'to keep his parishioners from hanging, and encouraging them to die at home.' Du Vall came over to England in 1660 as a valet, but drink, gambling, and other excesses soon drove him to the road. He is naïvely described by the *London Gazette* as a man 'of singular parts and learning, though he could neither read nor write.' He seems to have been skilled in dancing, and to have had some knowledge of music. And, in his position as a body-servant, he may easily have acquired some of the manners of good society, as well as its vices. We know little of the details of his career; but he soon became famous for his gallantries as well as for his exploits on the highway, and he found it prudent to recross the Channel. France, however, gave but a cold welcome to her errant son, and he returned to England, where he was shortly afterwards arrested, and sentenced to death. He was hanged on the 21st of January 1669; and the Harleian chronicler gives a most circumstantial account of his obsequies. While he lay in Newgate under sentence of death, he was visited, we are told, by 'a great company of ladies, and those not of the meanest degree,' who petitioned for his pardon, and accompanied him to the gallows. After his execution he was said to have been cut down by his fashionable sympathisers, and

* ii. 334.

conveyed to the Tangier Tavern, in St. Giles's, where he lay in state all night. The room was hung with black cloth, the hearse covered with escutcheons: eight wax tapers burned before it, and 'as many tall gentlemen with long black clothes' kept vigil. The next day there came a strong intimation from Judge Morton that this mummery was to cease. So the highwayman's remains were duly transferred to Covent Garden church, and there, we are told, 'he lies in the middle aisle under a plain white marble stone, whereon are curiously engraved the Du Vall's arms,' and under them an epitaph, somewhat broad in tone, perhaps, for consecrated quarters.[4]

This is the figure which popular fancy has chosen as the type of all that was best in the highwayman of the seventeenth century. Its trappings are not strictly historical, but this hardly detracts from its interest; for, though it may not present us with a portrait of the actual highwayman, it stands as an emblem of his highest aspirations. We see in it not so much what he was, as what he might be. The chivalrous highwayman has been a good deal exaggerated in later story, but he is something more than a mere fable. Nor is this at all surprising when we see of what the forces of the highway were composed. It is clear that many gentlemen who had squandered their fortunes took to the road in the vain hope of restoring them. Early in the eighteenth century, a baronet, Sir Simon Clarke, was found among their ranks. After the downfall of Charles the First, they were joined by many of the ruined Cavaliers; indeed, Mr. Harper[5] declares that, at this period, it was difficult to say where the Cavalier ended and the highwayman began. This Cavalier element certainly leavened the lump, and we find that the sympathies of the early highwaymen were strongly Royalist. James Hind, born in 1616, was the son of a saddler at Chipping Norton. But he fought for the King at Colchester, Youghall, and Worcester. He took a huge delight in robbing Roundheads, lecturing them severely the while on the errors of their ways. As a specialist in this line he was rather fortunate, for fate threw into his hands Peters and Bradshaw, the regicides, and once he nearly captured the great Oliver himself. According to one account he was presented to Charles the Second at Stirling, and would have been given a place in the Royal bodyguard, had it not been already full. But, by the King's command, he was enrolled in the Duke of Bucking-

[4] No trace of this monument now remains. Possibly it perished when the church was burnt in 1795. But I understand from inquiries addressed to the present Rector that no memory or tradition of it is known to him, and I am informed by Mr. H. E. Wall, who has been kind enough to search the Registers for me, that he can find no record of the highwayman's burial. The whole story seems rather doubtful.

[5] *Half-hours with Highwaymen*, i. 3.

ham's troop. After a life full of varied incident, he was executed for high treason in 1652. He has really a better claim to be regarded as the model highwayman than Du Vall. Fully equal to the latter in courtesy, he was decidedly superior to him in the virile qualities which distinguished the soldier from the mere ruffler, and lend a certain dignity even to the thief. The following stanzas form part of a poem on him, published after his death :

> Hind made our wealth a common store,
> He robb'd the rich to feed the poor.
> What did immortal Cæsar more ?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Yet when his country's cause invites,
> See him assert a Nation's rights !
> A robber for a monarch fights !

Nevison, born in 1639, a man of commanding presence, courtly manners, and undaunted courage, carried on the tradition of the robber knight-errant. He dealt gently with the poor, and is described as being 'very favourable to the female sex, who generally gave him the character of a civil, obliging robber.' Moreover, 'being a true Royalist, he never attempted anything against that party.' *

Indeed, it is clear that there does run through the annals of the highway a thin strain of sentiment and magnanimity. And though its manifestations were irregular and capricious, it had the effect of raising the profession in popular estimation. The highwayman tenaciously claimed to be regarded as a gentleman, and, preposterous as the claim now sounds, it was more easily tolerated in the seventeenth century. It is evident, moreover, that, among the lower classes, taking to the road was often regarded as a rise in the social scale. Inspired by this feeling, John Ovet, a shoemaker, born in 1676, decided 'to translate himself into a gentleman, by maintaining that position on the highway.' To do him justice, he played the game—up to a point. A traveller whom he had robbed complained bitterly that if he had not been taken by surprise he would have fought for his money. Ovet took up the challenge at once. 'Here is your money again,' he replied, 'let it be betwixt us, and whoever of us is the best man shall win and wear it.' In the fight which followed Ovet killed his antagonist. He does not show up so well, however, in another adventure. Being charmed with the beauty of a lady whom he had robbed, he promised to repay her if she would give him her address. Having obtained this, he wrote soon afterwards, not

* He shares with Swift Nicks the credit of the ride to York falsely ascribed to Dick Turpin. Mr. Harper regards Nevison and Swift Nicks as identical; but I follow Smith in treating them as distinct persons.

returning the money, but making a high-flown offer of marriage. The lady's reply was severely discouraging, and ended thus:

> You have already broken your word, in not sending me what you villainously took from me; but, not valuing that, let me tell you, for fear you should have too great a conceit of yourself, that you are the first to my recollection whom I ever hated; and sealing my hatred with the hopes of quickly reading your dying speech, in case you die in London, I presume to subscribe myself,
>
> Yours never to command,

The significance of the story lies, however, not in the fact that his offer was rejected, but in the fact that it was made. Ovet the cobbler would never have ventured upon such a proposal; Ovet the highwayman felt that, from his higher social position, he was justified in aspiring to the hand of a lady. Nor were such hopes unfounded, for the ladies of the period were quite inclined to be silly about highwaymen, as witness Du Vall, Darking, and Maclaine—and at least one of the craft, Thomas Cox, had won a rich wife from the dock. A still higher note was struck by a Welsh highwayman, Evan Evans, the son of an innkeeper at Brecon. Together with his brother and two others, he attacked the carriage of a Member of Parliament. Contrary to all custom the travelling party offered a stout resistance. A protracted fight ensued, in which the horse of Evans's brother was shot. Then, by consent, and to save bloodshed, it was agreed that the issue should be decided by single combat between Evans and the Member. Evans soon disarmed his opponent, but courteously returned his sword to him, accepting only of a good horse to 'carry his brother off, and what money they pleased to collect among 'em; for which genteel piece of behaviour that honourable person afterwards endeavoured to save his life.'

Evidently the line between the gentlemen who were on the road in the seventeenth century and the gentlemen who were, for the time being, off it was generously vague, and the transition singularly easy. Clavell, Wilmot, Dudley, perhaps Cox, Clarke, Parsons, Atkinson, Congden, and Thornton were all highwaymen of gentle birth and the last three were University men. Many, such as Barkworth, Langley, and Page, were men of considerable ability; or, like Hind and Evans, were sufficiently presentable in manners and appearance to fill respectable posts. The career of one Nicks is a good example of the fluctuating changes of this life on the border line. He is one of the very few highwaymen whose story had a happy ending. There is, as we have seen (p. 729, note), some doubt as to his identity; but, whoever he was, he seems to have performed the famous ride to York. Leaving London in the small hours one morning, he robbed a gentleman of five hundred and sixty guineas near Barnet. He then 'rid straight for York, and appeared there on the Bowling Green about

six in the evening of the same day.' This feat enabled him to prove an alibi, but subsequently, when the affair had blown over, he admitted the robbery. Charles the Second, in royal recognition of his greatness, pleasantly dubbed him 'Swift Nicks.' According to Smith, we next hear of him as holding a Captain's commission in Lord Moncastle's regiment in Ireland; and, fortune still favouring him, he there married a great fortune, and afterwards lived 'very honest.' Turpin owes most of his fame to Ainsworth, and was in reality a commonplace ruffian of a brutal type. His confederate King was not much better; yet even over this precious pair the tradition of the road had cast its spell. For we find them returning to a Mr. Bradele a mourning ring which he prized, explaining that 'they were more of gentlemen than to take anything a gentleman valued so much.'

But in truth against such intermittent courtesies as may be credited to the highwaymen there is a heavy balance of brutality to be reckoned. Even the best of them stooped to this at times, and the worst were habitually guilty of it. Men, and sometimes women, were stripped naked, savagely beaten, and otherwise maltreated; and almost without exception they indulged in foully abusive language. On this point Smith's *History* is suspiciously circumstantial. It records elaborate dialogues between the robber and the robbed which obviously are no more authentic than the speeches in Thucydides. But though his details cannot be trusted, his broad outlines are probably accurate enough, and he has evidently preserved the traditions. Accordingly, since the language of his highwaymen almost always reeks with abuse, we may fairly presume that this was the professional custom. The Golden Farmer, Old Mobb, and Mulsack were conspicuous offenders in this respect. James Whitney's tongue was so rough that even his comrades rebuked him. 'Why can't you rob a gentleman civilly,' said one of them, 'but you must curse, and call names like I know not what?' In his way he was a humorist, and was fond of playing tricks on his victims. Having robbed a clergyman of 10*l.*, he insisted further on his preaching a sermon, which one of the gang is said to have taken down in shorthand.[1] The clergyman entered readily into the spirit of the situation. Taking as his text 'THEFT,' he divided his discourse into five heads—one for each letter of the word, namely, Theological, Historical, Exegetical, Figurative, Tropological. The sermon has some amusing touches. Thus, under the head of Figurative, the preacher remarks: 'Part of my text is to set forth

[1] This seems to have been rather a favourite pastime with highwaymen. Sir Gosselin Denvile and Captain Dudley are said to have indulged in it; and in the Lansdowne MSS. there is a quaint sermon 'made by Parson Haben upon a Mold hill at the commaundement of VIJ theves.'

that tho' I call you Gentlemen, yet in my heart, I think ye to be all rogues; but only I modify my spleen by a Charientismus, which is a figure of speech "mitigating hard matters with pleasant words."' The rascals were so pleased with the sermon that they decided that the parson was entitled to tithes, and accordingly presented him with ten shillings out of his 10*l*.

Several causes may have contributed to the violence of the highwayman's language. Partly, perhaps, it served to keep up his own courage; partly it may have helped to intimidate his victims; and partly it sprang no doubt from a desire to be in the fashion. For the language of the fine gentleman of the day was remarkably full-bodied, and a self-respecting beau took a pride in his expletives. There is a story of one Wicks compelling the notorious Lord Mohun to stand and deliver. He yielded up his money, but broke into a passionate fit of swearing. Wicks listened to this with the appreciation of a professional, and then remarked: 'My Lord, I perceive you swear perfectly well *extempore*. Come, I'll give your honour a fair chance for your money, and that is, he that swears best of us two shall keep his own and his that loseth.' The match was fixed for fifty guineas a side, and the strange rivals commenced to contend for this stranger crown.

After a quarter of an hour's swearing most prodigiously on both sides, it was left to my Lord's groom to decide the matter; who said: 'Why, indeed, your honour swears as well as I ever heard a person of quality in my life, but, indeed, to give the strange gentleman his due, he has won the wager, if 'twas for a thousand pounds.'

The same desire to be fashionable gave the brotherhood a strong taste for magnificent attire. It is quite common to find that a highwayman's first illicit gains were spent upon dress. Du Vall, Butler, Hawkins, Page, Darking, and Maclaine were dandies of the first water, and in John Rann—known as Sixteen-string Jack from the ribbons which floated at his knees—we see the same taste degenerating into vulgarity. He belongs, however, to a later period, and before leaving the seventeenth century we must take a glance at two of its highway heroines.

Mary Frith, commonly known as Moll Cutpurse, was to all intents and purposes a man, and with fist, cudgel, or rapier was any ordinary man's equal. She scorned both feminine pursuits and feminine attire, and haunted the theatre, the tavern, and the bear-garden in a nondescript male costume. From pocket-picking and fortune-telling she took to the road, but being a good Royalist confined her attentions to Roundheads. She is said to have robbed Fairfax on Hounslow Heath, but was pursued, captured, and thrown into Newgate. Here she might have fared

badly, had she not 'procured her pardon by giving her adversary 2000*l*.' The tale is almost incredible, though acquittals were frequently obtained on similar terms. But in any case she abandoned the road for the safer vocation of a receiver. Anticipating Jonathan Wild, she started a sort of 'brokery,' where stolen property could be recovered, for a consideration, and conducted this business with great skill and success. She was sentenced by the Court of Arches to do penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's Cross for wearing indecent and manly apparel, but she cared little for her penance, and refused to mend her ways. Ugly, brutal, and unsexed, she had no feminine charms to redeem her masculine vices, and, beyond a certain rough loyalty to her comrades in crime, there is hardly a saving merit which can be placed to her account. She died about 1659, having nearly frittered away a reputed fortune of 5000*l*. Joan Bracey is a very different figure. She was the daughter of a wealthy farmer in Northamptonshire, but she gave her heart to a highwayman, Edward Bracey, and eloped with him to share his life. Her story brings back an echo of *The Nutbrown Maid*, and indeed her love and loyalty deserved a better sphere. Bright, clever, and resourceful, she threw herself heart and soul into her lover's projects, devising many a clever scheme for plundering individuals or cheating the law. Only on the highway did she adopt the male garb; and it was on the highway that her fate overtook her. She was captured in an unsuccessful attempt to rob a carriage, and was hanged at Nottingham in 1685.

As we emerge from the seventeenth into the eighteenth century there is a change of the *mise en scène*. We miss the picturesque lights and shades of the earlier period, which endue the hazy figures moving through them with faint heroic tints. But what we lose in romantic charm we gain in prosaic distinctness; and we exchange what was largely myth for something more nearly history. For the eighteenth-century highwayman was a solid reality to be encountered literally at every turn. Walpole writes in 1750 that robbery was going on with the greatest vivacity, and it continued to increase in vigour to the end of the century. Landmann tells us that in 1791 highway robberies were committed almost with impunity on all the roads leading out of London. On some of these patrols of armed horsemen were established to protect the stage coaches, but without much effect. In 1782 Highgate was so harried by these marauders that the resident gentry organised a similar body of guards. In 1746 the proprietor of the Marylebone Gardens, which occupied part of the present Regent's Park, provided a guard of soldiers to protect visitors from London, and in 1754 a strong guard patrolled the road to Ranelagh. At Kensington and Islington, as evening fell,

a bell was rung at intervals to muster those who were returning to London, so that they might start in bodies sufficiently large to be safe. Even in London itself the ill-paved, ill-lighted streets were full of peril for the wayfarer. Piccadilly was not safe after dark. George IV., when Prince of Wales, and his brother the Duke of York were robbed one night in a hackney carriage on Hay Hill, Berkeley Square; and the iron bar which still divides the entrance to Lansdowne Passage keeps alive the exploit of the highwayman who, after a robbery in Piccadilly, galloped down the passage and escaped. Nay more, in January 1784 the French mail was overhauled by highwaymen at half-past eight in the evening in Pall Mall—'the great thoroughfare of London,' as Walpole calls it—actually within hail of the guard of St. James's Palace. While this was the state of things in London, Walpole's letters give a lively account of the dangers of the country highways. He writes to Mann on the 6th of October 1774 from Strawberry Hill, 'Our roads are so infested by highwaymen that it is dangerous stirring out almost by day.' Eight years later he writes to Lord Harcourt, 'I live as if I were just arrived from Syria and were performing quarantine. Nobody dares stir out of their own house. We are robbed and murdered if we do but step over the threshold to the chandler's shop for a pennyworth of plums.' Walpole himself was robbed three times at least, and once nearly lost his life at the hands of the notorious Maclaine by the highwayman's pistol going off accidentally. Existence under such conditions seems almost intolerable, yet the good folk of the eighteenth century appear to have accepted it with strange complacency. One evening in the autumn of 1781 Walpole was going with Lady Browne to the Duchess of Montrose at Twickenham Park. A highwayman stopped the carriage, and Walpole had just time to slip his watch under his waistcoat before handing over his purse. Lady Browne surrendered hers also, and the robber took off his hat and disappeared. Walpole lost nine guineas, but the lady had wisely provided herself with a purse of bad money for the benefit of the local highwaymen.

Gambling losses were undoubtedly responsible for many conversions to the highway. During the reigns of the first two Georges the gambling mania had saturated society from White's to the gutter. The tradesman, ruined by trying to ape the excesses of the aristocracy, would take to the road in a desperate attempt to restore his credit. The *Annual Register* tells of one such who, on being recognised by the traveller whom he had stopped, instantly blew out his own brains. Gamblers on the turf would frequently attempt to recover their losses by robbery on the road from Newmarket. Pulteney, writing in the *World* (26th April 1753), tells the same tale of the smaller meetings.

Walpole declared his belief that the highwayman who robbed Lady Browne and himself was a gentleman, and more than once intimates that such things might be. Colonel George Hanger visited the highwayman William Hawke in prison, and offered him a high price for his mare. Hawke thanked him heartily, but added confidentially: 'She won't suit you, perhaps, if you want her for the road. It is not every man that can get her up to a carriage.' Another great cause of the increase of highway robbery is pointedly indicated by Walpole. If the highwaymen of the seventeenth century were recruited from broken Cavaliers, the marauding army of the eighteenth century was swollen by disbanded soldiers—'highwaymen who have been heroes,' as he calls them. Since 1718 England had transported her convicts to the Plantations; but this practice, of course, stopped with the War of Independence, and they were confined on lighters for the terms of their sentences. The result of this system was that they emerged greater experts in iniquity than before, and, being unable to find employment, were thrown upon the road.

> Who would have thought [he writes to Lady Ossory, 31st August 1782] that the war with America would make it impossible to stir from one village to another. Yet so it literally is. The colonies took off all our commodities down to highwaymen. Now being forced to mew and then turn them out like pheasants, the roads are stocked with them, and they are so tame that they even come into houses.

This influx of baser elements produced its natural consequences. The trappings of romance, slender enough at the best, with which the old highwayman had contrived to bedeck himself, could not cling to the figure of a cut-throat thief; and the highwayman began to sink rapidly to the level of the footpad. Yet the old idea died hard, and some at least of the later generation aimed at the ideal of the gentleman robber. Among these we have Thomas Barkwith, cultivated and intellectual, ruined by his passion for a girl who only fooled with his affection. Or again, William Page, 'a highwayman of extraordinary parts and escapes,' as Walpole describes him, whose miraculous deliveries from drowning only preserved him for the gallows. A clever scholar and an arrant coxcomb. In turns a haberdasher, a livery servant, a law student, and a thief. Though haughty in disposition, he was temperate in his methods; and in his prolonged encounter with Captain Jasper he showed a sweet reasonableness most unusual in a highwayman. To Isaac Darking or Dumas a 'short, bright, resistless course was given.' The son of a cork-cutter in Eastcheap, he had the tastes of a duke. Handsome, extravagant, and fond of the social pleasures, he took to the road to provide for his mistress. While awaiting trial in Salisbury gaol he was 'visited by many ladies, on whom he made such a

sensible impression by his obliging behaviour and genteel address as to become the tea-table chat of the whole town.' Here is the first stanza of some verses written on his acquittal:

> Joy to thee, lovely thief! that thou
> Hast 'scaped the fatal string;
> Let gallows groan with ugly rogues,
> Dumas must never swing.

Unlike the blustering bravoes of the preceding century, he never stooped to foul language or abuse, and his speech, which abhorred such crudities as 'robbery' or 'highwayman,' was full of delicate euphemisms for the ugly realities of his trade. To some extent, of course, this was affectation, but it was rooted in a genuine fastidiousness of taste, which showed itself in the scrupulous elegance of his dress, and the care with which he kept even his fetters polished and adorned with ribbons.

It is curious to notice that society was inclined to accept the highwayman at his own valuation. He found an easy admittance to the gaming tables, the masquerades, and public festivities generally. So notorious was this, that Sir John Fielding, the Bow Street magistrate, once swooped down upon a masquerade in search of highwaymen. Jack Rann was a vulgar braggart, but he appeared openly at Bagnigge Wells and Barnet races. Even some fashionable doors were open to the robber. Page, at one period of his career, frequented the assemblies of Sunning Hill, Richmond, Hampstead, and elsewhere, 'and ladies began to look upon him with distinction.' Hayward the burglar 'was to be seen at Almack's, joining in the voluptuous waltz with some honourable Miss of the West End, or sporting a toe in a quadrille with a woman of the town at places of inferior note.' And Maclaine was a welcome visitor at the house of Lady Caroline Petersham, who appeared on his trial to testify to his character. James Maclaine was almost the last of the famous highwaymen, but his reputation altogether exceeds his deserts. He was the second son (born 1724) of a Scotch Presbyterian minister who had settled in Ireland. On his father's death he squandered his small fortune, and went into service as a butler. Having been dismissed for dishonesty, he contemplated enlisting, first in one of the Irish regiments in the French service, and subsequently in Lord Albemarle's troop. Conscience kept him out of the first, and cowardice out of the second. His religious scruples would not allow him to become a Roman Catholic, and his martial aspirations were not ardent enough to face the prospect of active service in Flanders. Then he married and commenced business as a grocer. Three years later his wife died: whereupon he sold his business, handed over his two children to the care of his wife's parents,

and started as an adventurer in company with one Plunkett, a stronger scoundrel than himself. Ultimately the pair took to the road, though Maclaine was not really the man for such work, being a sorry cur at heart. He displayed, as the Newgate Calendar expresses it, 'evident signs of want of that false bravery which villains would call courage,' and Plunkett used to rate him soundly for his cowardice. However, the partnership prospered and the partners grew rich. Maclaine took fashionable lodgings in St. James's Street, Plunkett in Jermyn Street; and Walpole writes that 'their faces were as well known about St. James's as any gentleman who lives in that quarter, and who perhaps goes upon the road too.' In the summer of 1750 he was arrested on a charge of robbing the Salisbury stage, and was ultimately found guilty and hanged. When apprehended he broke down completely. 'He is so little of a hero,' says Walpole, 'that he cries and begs.' Nevertheless he became the craze of the hour. 'Lord Mountford, at the head of half White's,' went to visit him directly after his arrest, and on the following Sunday three thousand people crowded to see him. So great was the crush that he fainted twice with the heat of his cell. But the chief personages who went to comfort the fallen hero were Lady Caroline Petersham—no mean scapegrace herself—and Miss Ashe, afterwards Mrs. Falconer. Walpole laughed at them mercilessly, comparing them to Polly and Lucy in *The Beggar's Opera*.

Maclaine was executed in 1750, Rann in 1774; and with them the old-fashioned highwayman disappeared. At this point, therefore, we may conveniently review the strangely chequered story of the Gentlemen of the Road. Highway robbery, so far as it represented the rudimentary desire to get rich at the expense of other people, was, of course, crudely commonplace. But, in its early days at any rate, it was something more than a mere gratification of covetousness. Deep down there lay, under all its grosser features, a definite ethical element in the craft of the highway. The wrongs of an oppressed people, the violated rights of a discrowned king, or some smarting sense of personal injustice from society stirred fitfully in the hearts of the better sort of highwaymen, and served to keep alive in them a certain sense of self-respect. The public seems to have vaguely appreciated this distinction, and to have felt a sneaking sympathy with the highwayman, as a person with a grievance. Otherwise it is difficult to understand the forbearance with which travellers treated his exactions, or the gratitude with which they welcomed his occasional civilities. This forbearance can hardly have sprung from cowardice, because it disappeared when the character of the highwayman altered. Private individuals rarely took proceedings against him, and would sometimes (as in Ovet's case) exert themselves

actively on his behalf. And while the higher ranks of society half tolerated the highwayman, the lower classes openly admired him as something of a hero. Under these sympathetic conditions it is not surprising that the highwaymen began to flourish. Nor did the profession lack some solid allurements. There were rich prizes to be won on the highway; and in the days when the roads to wealth were comparatively few the temptation to grasp it at one bound might well be irresistible to a noble discontent. Added to all this was the notoriety which blazed upon the highwayman's career, and which seems to have had an extraordinary fascination for many of them. Society flocked to see him in prison: his life and adventures were rapidly published and eagerly read: his fame flitted lightly through the mouths of men, and his memory was preserved in song. Even the last journey to Tyburn was like a triumphal procession, 'attended,' as Henry Fielding remarks, 'with the compassion of the meek and tender-hearted, and with the applause, admiration, and envy of all the bold and hardened.' There was a grim affectation of gala about the whole thing. The highwayman, dressed in his smartest clothes, set out from Newgate, stopping at St. Sepulchre's Church to receive a bouquet from the clergyman, and at the 'Bowl,' which stood where Endell Street now joins Broad Street, for a final drink. Up to his last hour he jealously guarded his social status: for even the road to death had its rights of precedence, and, ghastly as it sounds, there was eager competition for the place of honour in the funeral cart. Originally a highwayman was held to be entitled to this, but subsequently it was assigned to mail-robbers; and at times the journey to the gallows was occupied by bitter wrangles between rival malefactors for this distinction. The highwayman's regard for his personal appearance during life extended also to his body after death. Execution he faced with bravery or bravado as the case might be, but he shrank in horror from the idea of his corpse being exposed. So strong was this sentiment that the Government was able to utilise it for penal purposes, and mail robberies were appreciably checked by an order issued in 1753 that the bodies of mail robbers should be hung in chains.

But as the eighteenth century progressed the old order began to change. The later highwaymen had none of the redeeming traits of their predecessors. Such courtesy as they showed was theatrical rather than real, and was reduced to burlesque in the visiting highwayman of Walpole's story, who never robbed people without previously calling on them.[8] And, as the grace faded out of the highway robber, society became less tolerant of his depredations. Travellers began to shoot at sight, and, as the *Annual*

[8] *The World*, ii. 202. Walpole writes to Bentley on 24th December 1754 that this experience 'happened almost literally to Mrs. Cavendish.'

Register shows, a good many highwaymen were disposed of in this way: indeed the fifth Earl of Berkeley was credited with quite a large bag. The brigand or bandit finds his natural environment in unsettled countries, rude culture, and undeveloped government. In the fullest sense of the term he is an outlaw. But the highwayman proper belonged to civilisation, and was under its influence to the end. Banned though he was by the law, he was by no means an outcast from society, and he would certainly himself have claimed to belong to it. So far as lay in his power he conformed to its usages and conventions, adopted its ideals, entered into its politics, its business, its amusements, and its life generally. His claim to be a gentleman was not always unfounded, and sometimes, at any rate, he was the champion of the poor. His early sympathies were strongly Royalist, but he moved with the times in this respect, and later on we find him a supporter of the people's rights. On the evening of the Middlesex election in October 1744 a Captain Stapleton, returning to London from Richmond, was stopped by two highwaymen. 'Wilkes and Glynn for ever!' shouted the Captain, full of the election, and his partisanship proved most opportune. For the highwaymen 'generously told him to drive on, declaring that they would never knowingly rob a friend to the public cause.' Nor did he always scorn the help of the law which he flouted; for we find an ingenious couple, Everett and Williams, entering into a formal deed of partnership as highway robbers. In the amusements of society he participated, as we have seen, with singular freedom, though we may fancy that the *amari aliquid* must have surged up all too often from the heart of his fountain of delight. Sooner or later, and sometimes very soon, his doom overtook him. Many of the executed highwaymen were mere boys. The police administration was inefficient, but the thief-taker was abroad, and over the highwaymen of the early eighteenth century there brooded the fell shadow of Jonathan Wild. Looked at practically the road was but a poor career. Though large prizes were possible, the ordinary takes were small; and great or small they were all rapidly squandered. Yet there seems to have been a charm about the life which transcended its cash value, a fascination which bit deep and never loosed its hold. A turn of the wheel would sometimes raise the highwayman to a position of ease, affluence, and repute, and for a time all would go well. But in the end the call of the road was usually too strong for him, and he would leave all to follow it.

Soon after the end of the eighteenth century highway robbery began to die away. The increase of general prosperity enlarged the number of persons with property to lose, and who objected to losing it. The improved banking facilities which followed this

increase made it unnecessary to take on a journey the large sums which were habitually carried by travellers in earlier times. The Bow Street Horse Patrole, a small but highly efficient force, was established by Sir Richard Ford in 1805. It was divided into thirteen 'parties,' which scoured the roads within (roughly) a ten-mile radius of London, and gradually swept them clear of evildoers. And indeed the various influences of advancing civilisation all combined to suppress highway robbery till the railway brought about its final destruction. Its evil elements still abide with us, but they have been torn from the old setting, branded with dishonour, and curbed with a stern restraint. The wholesome energies which it perverted have found worthier fields of exercise, and it now lives only in the fading memory which still lingers about its grave.

NORMAN PEARSON.

THE POLICY OF SECULAR EDUCATION

THE last Education Bill worthy of the name was that which was introduced by Mr. Balfour and passed into law in 1902. Whatever its merits and demerits it was a measure vitally affecting the organisation of elementary education in England. It did what the Conservative party had long aimed at. By placing practically the whole cost of elementary education upon the rates and taxes it gave the Church of England schools a fresh lease of life; but it did something more than that: it abolished the old School Boards and placed education under the authority of the Urban and District Councils. This was a change of the first importance, whether for good or ill, as various sections of the religious world regarded it: a point with which the present article has no special concern. Mr. Balfour's Act profoundly affected the educational system of the country, besides providing large additional funds to meet the necessities of the Church of England schools, which were being outrivalled by the better-equipped Board schools. Nothing of the kind, however, can be said of the three Educational Bills of the Liberal Government introduced by Mr. Birrell, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Runciman. Those Bills were simply readjustments of ecclesiastical control over national education. They might be called redistributions of religious privilege amongst the principal Christian Churches. The stubborn attitude of the Catholic Church had secured all that it required, and it was allowed virtually to stand outside the general system of education and enjoy a contract of its own with the State. Jews, Agnostics, Secularists, and Ethicists were not thought important (that is, powerful) enough to trouble about. For them there was the Conscience Clause. There remained, broadly speaking, the two great antagonists, the Established Church and the non-established Churches, which for this purpose counted as one. It was substantially their battle. The effect of all three Bills would have been (1) to make it more difficult for the Established Church to maintain its elementary schools, and (2) to set up a system of religious teaching agreeable to the Free Churches in all the Council schools throughout the land as a civic religion.

This view of the matter is strenuously and even indignantly denied by the spokesmen of the Free Churches. They are perfectly satisfied that the Church of England seeks its own advantage and nothing else in regard to national education, but they treat it as a kind of blasphemy to suggest that the Free Churches are tarred with the same brush. Gladstone saw clearly enough what the plain issue was in 1870. For his own part he rather favoured secular education, and in private he was loud in denouncing 'the popular imposture of undenominational instruction.' Lord Morley, in dealing with the whole controversy over the first Education Act, does not hesitate to say that 'at bottom the battle of the schools was not religious but ecclesiastical.' 'Quarrels about education and catechism and conscience,' he adds, 'masked the standing jealousy between Church and Chapel.' 'The parent and the child,' he notes, 'in whose name the struggle raged, stood indifferent.'[1] They stand indifferent still. The war over religious teaching in elementary schools is a clerical war. Even when School Board elections were heated sectarian quarrels, the great mass of the ratepayers did not go to the poll. They take less, rather than more, interest in the quarrel nowadays, for the people are recognising clericalism as the enemy in every civilised country. The parents and children are never heard of, except by proxy, in this dispute, which is carried on exclusively by the representatives of other interests than theirs. Lord Morley's quick phrase sums up the whole matter. The quarrel over education is a quarrel between Church and Chapel. The choice between the policies of these rivals is the only one presented to the people in a country where religious congresses never tire of lamenting that four-fifths of the adult population seldom or never enter church or chapel.

Politicians are slow to learn, but it should be easy for them to see that the incubus on education all along has been the assumption put forward on behalf of the Churches that it is their right, in the very nature of things, to have special consideration shown to them. All the controversy and strife has sprung from this cause. And the mischief will continue until statesmen learn—and are bold enough to act on their knowledge—that members of Churches, however powerful and distinguished, should only be treated as citizens in regard to all political and social questions. The interests of their special religious organisations should be nothing to the State. Fortunately, this view is finding ever wider and wider support both without and within the Churches. A strenuous effort is being made to prevent the perpetuation and extension of the odious injustice which is inflicted by those who secure the propagation of their own religion in the nation's schools at the expense of the entire community. It was for the object of

[1] *Life of Gladstone*, vol. ii. pp. 306-307.

uniting the supporters of this view in an effective organisation, irrespective of their views on other matters, that the Secular Education League came into being. The League neither professes nor entertains any hostility to religion. It simply regards religion as a personal and private matter, which all should be free to promote in voluntary associations, but which should never come under the patronage or control of the State. The League takes its stand on the principle of citizenship—with freedom and equality for all in matters that lie beyond. Ministers of religion sit on the General Council, and also on the Executive Committee, with well-known non-Christians. Without the invidiousness of citing names, it may be mentioned that one of the earliest members of the General Council was the late Mr. George Meredith, and the first President of the League was Lord Weardale.

The Secular Education League has been boycotted by most of the newspapers, who have taken sides for Church or Chapel in the education struggle, and follow the English plan of ignoring, even as news, what is against their own policy. But no boycott can prevent the inevitable. The separation of the temporal and spiritual powers is surely, if slowly, prevailing in every civilised country. It has dealt with one department of public life after another, and it will finally settle the question of national education. This has already happened in France, and we are on the way to it in England. We are nearer to it, perhaps, than is usually believed. In the article by the Rev. Professor Inge, in the September number of this Review, it was admitted that 'the potential strength of the secularist vote is far greater than most friends of religious education at all realise.' 'The danger of complete secularisation,' he said again, 'is far greater than most religious persons imagine.' The same confession was made by two other members of the Education Settlement Committee, writing elsewhere* in behalf of the programme called *Towards Educational Peace*. Dr. M. E. Sadler said that 'Strong forces are pushing English education into secularism.' This was his opening sentence and the reason of his article. Further on he referred to what might soon be the fate of religious teaching 'if public opinion once turned decisively towards secular education,' and added, what to him is evidently the alarming announcement, that 'there are many signs that such a change may quickly show itself.' This statement was even more strongly expressed on a later page. Dr. Sadler remarked that 'most cool-headed observers who have travelled in the United States and in the British Colonies would be inclined to predict that the secular solution is most likely to be adopted in England as the next step.' 'I am bound to admit this

* *Contemporary Review*, September 1910.

likelihood,' he said, 'though I deplore it.' The Rev. J. H. Shakespeare used words very much to the same effect. After declaring that religious education must and would be preserved, that ethics divorced from religion were not only of no value, but positively dangerous, and that the people were dead against secular education, to give gravity to his warning of his fellow religionists and to justify his own anxiety he almost involuntarily disclosed the actual truth. 'I do not agree with the *Guardian*,' he said, 'that it [secular education] is a bogey of which we need not be seriously alarmed. It has drawn perceptibly nearer. More and more men say to each other, "We do not wish it or like it, but it is better than this endless and bitter strife!"'

Not one of these advocates who so dread secular education definitely assigns any reason against it, but simply expresses his own preference for religious teaching. The champions of religious teaching generally evade the question of principle. They treat possession as more than nine points of law. But the question of principle cannot be evaded in that free-and-easy manner at the bar of public opinion. The religious educationists will find that they must give a better reason against secular education than the high value they themselves set upon their own religion, which, by the way, they generally assume for the purposes of this controversy is homogeneous—as if there were no serious differences in doctrine, and even in ethics, between the various Churches.

What right have they to impose their religious preferences upon the rest of the community? On that point the Secular Education League issues a clear challenge. 'There can be no final solution of the religious difficulty in national education,' it says in its manifesto, 'until the Education Act is amended, so that there shall be no teaching of religion in State-supported elementary schools, in school hours or at the public expense.' This is the pivot on which the whole struggle practically turns. And the religious educationists will have to face the free and full discussion of the questions (1) why the schools maintained by all the citizens should be made the homes of sectarian teaching? and (2) why religious teaching of any kind should be supported at the nation's expense—that is to say, at the cost of citizens who are irreconcilably opposed to it as false and harmful or who, believing in religious teaching, are unalterably opposed to its compulsory propagation at the national expense?

But although the discussion of principle is evaded by all sections of religious educationists, they have their own peculiar way of repelling the claims of secular education. That way is twofold, negative and positive; the former consists in declaring that secular education is impossible, the latter in declaring that it is mischievous. Let us see whether it is either.

Mr. Shakespeare represents the politician as 'well aware that the great mass of the people are dead against what is known as secular education.' Dr. Inge, however, is of opinion that 'the working-class parent is not interested in the religious education controversy.' One would like to know on what basis Mr. Shakespeare makes his assertion. They have never had an opportunity of accepting or rejecting the policy of secular education. How does Mr. Shakespeare know what they would do if they had to decide the question? He does not point to a single fact in support of his view. But a striking fact may be pointed to which is dead against his theory that the mass of the people are dead against secular education. 'The mass of the people' is rather an elastic phrase, but it must surely include the working classes. Now the organised working classes, assembled in their annual Trade Union Congress, have repeatedly declared in favour of secular education, and each time by an overwhelming majority. The majority vote has only once been less than a million; the minority has never reached a hundred thousand. Even at the last Congress, when the Catholic delegates made a pathetic appeal for fair play, and urged that Trade Unions had nothing to do with religion, and therefore ought not to pass resolutions against religious education in elementary schools, the minority vote was only eighty thousand. And that is probably the high-water mark of this intensely clerical agitation. For it will certainly be pointed out at the next Congress that this pathetic appeal of the Catholics for what they call fair play is founded on a misconception. That the State should have nothing to do with religion, precisely as Trade Unionism should have nothing to do with it, is the very ground on which the Congress votes for the exclusion of religious teaching from the State schools. Up to the present, at any rate, the organised working classes are decisively in favour of secular education; and this fact plays havoc with Mr. Shakespeare's bold assertion. He takes his cue from the opportunism of the hour. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Rosebery, Lord Morley, the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and other political leaders frequently expressed their adherence to the principle of secular education, although they never did anything for it in Parliament. As there seems to be a general ignorance of this fact, a few brief quotations may be permitted. Mr. Chamberlain, addressing the Liberal Unionists at Birmingham in October 1902, declared his adherence to the educational policy that he had propounded there in 1872:

> I endeavoured to persuade my countrymen that the only logically just solution of the great difficulty was that the national schools should confine themselves entirely to secular instruction, and should have nothing whatever to do with religious teaching. I should be delighted if I thought that they were acceptable to the majority of the people.

Lord Rosebery, in his speech at the City Liberal Club in October 1902, said:

> I suppose the ideal—logical and philosophical—view of education is that the State should be solely responsible for secular education, and that the Churches should be responsible for religious education.

Lord Morley, in his speech at Queen's Hall on the 20th of March 1905, said:—

> In regard to education, years ago he was in favour of secular, compulsory, and free education.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in his very important speech at the Alexandra Palace banquet on the 1st of November 1902, said:

> If we had our way there would be no religious difficulty at all. We should confine ourselves (I believe nine-tenths of Liberals would confine themselves) to secular education, and to such moral precepts as would be common to all, and would not be obnoxious to people who do not come within the range of Christianity.

It is well known, in spite of the carefully doctored reports in the newspapers, that favourable references to secular education in the Liberal speeches at that time were greeted with enthusiastic applause. The rank and file of the party appeared to be fairly ripe for the 'secular solution.' But the party leaders determined otherwise. They had political reasons for placating the Free Churches, and the result was Mr. Birrell's Education Bill. The excuse of the Liberal leaders was that, although secular education was the wise and just policy, the people would not have it. That pretence has done duty ever since, and consequently we must not be too severe on Mr. Shakespeare, whose rash statement has no claim to originality.

So much for the negative objection to secular education; the positive objection is equally false and far more sinister, and on this side of their controversial policy the clerical educationists are in perfect agreement. They rarely make definite statements which can be challenged and confuted, but they assert more or less in the language of innuendo that secular education, wherever it has been adopted, has proved itself morally mischievous. This is probably but a form of the ancient clerical assumption that all persons who differ from the guardians of the orthodox faith are extremely wicked. An assumption of that kind has to be more delicately worked now than it was in former times, when differing from the established form was too dangerous to be popular. Accordingly we find that Dr. Inge discreetly drops it altogether. Dr. James handles it very gingerly. He refers to the 'secular solution' as having been adopted in other parts of the English-speak-

ing world 'not with auspicious results.' Mr. Shakespeare dogmatises on this matter out of a full heart, but with a sad lack of knowledge. 'We know,' he says, 'that in other lands where secular education prevails the results are deplorable.' *What* lands? He does not state. He rather suggests Australia. 'Australian writers,' he says, 'tell us of populations growing up without any sense of moral responsibility.' *What* writers? Again he does not state. He is apparently under the impression that secular education obtains throughout the Australian continent. Secular education does exist in Victoria; denominational religious instruction exists in New South Wales, and undenominational religious instruction in Western Australia; yet Victoria, according to the official statistics, has far less crime than New South Wales or Western Australia. Secular education exists also in New Zealand, and what is the result there? Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand, being in England in 1909, and interviewed by a *Daily News* representative on the matter of the charges made against the morals of his people because of the absence of religious instruction in the schools, indignantly declared that such charges were 'false, absolutely false!' General education of a purely secular character has obtained in New Zealand for thirty-three years; it has worked well, and no serious attempt has been made to undo it. 'Our teachers inculcate order, obedience, respect for others,' Sir Robert Stout said, 'and the best proof of their success is seen (1) in the diminishing of serious crime, and (2) in the fact that those trained free from sectarian bias produce only half as many criminals in proportion to their number as those trained in the denominational schools.' Sir Robert Stout was unkind enough to express an unwelcome truth to his interviewer. 'I see more practical heathendom in London in one day,' he said, 'than I should in a New Zealand back block in a year.' So much for the British Colonies at the Antipodes. Japan and France not being openly referred to, there is no call to challenge Mr. Shakespeare's slander on their behalf. Too much attention, perhaps, has already been paid to the unsupported assertion of one who sneers at the idea of 'a foundation for morality on rational grounds,' and goes to the length of saying that 'ethics divorced from religion are of no value, and may even be a public danger.' He evidently thinks that there are many moralities and only one religion. Not so do philosophers reason. Ruskin taught (in the splendid second chapter of *Lectures on Art*) that 'there are many religions, but there is only one morality'—and that this morality which is natural to all civilised men, so far from being *founded* on religion, receives from it 'neither law nor peace, but only hope and felicity.' Moreover, if Mr. Shakespeare will take the trouble to think it out, he will probably see that the policy of secular education does not 'divorce

ethics from religion,' but simply separates them in the national schools, leaving them united in their own sphere—that of the churches, Sunday-schools and homes. The very best things may be unwelcome when they are out of place, and what can be more out of place than one man's religion in a school against the wishes of another man who is equally compelled to contribute to its maintenance?

Having disposed of the two clerical objections to secular education, we pause to observe two things which the clerical objectors usually overlook. In the first place the working-class leaders, who really value education as the best friend of their order, are anxious to see the religious quarrel in the schoolroom ended. They know that it stands in the way of the educational improvement they desire. It is quite beyond question that the religious quarrel has been a serious hindrance to the development of national education. England will never take her proper place in the van of educational progress until the State leaves religion in the hands of those who care for it, and organises education on a scientific and civic basis. The Labour leaders see this quite clearly; they are prompted by interest as well as by principle in their support of secular education. In the second place, the triumph of secular education is certain, apart altogether from its justice. No other solution of the religious difficulty is possible. Ecclesiastical quarrels end when public interest in them ceases, or when there is only one side left in consequence of the most powerful sect having destroyed or swallowed its rivals. Such a conclusion is inconceivable in England. There is no one Church powerful enough to end this controversy. The rivalry has continued ever since the Education Act of 1870; it has grown more bitter every year, and the relative strength of the Churches remains practically unchanged. It was that rivalry, even more than the formal vote of the House of Lords, that killed Mr. Birrell's Education Bill, and it was owing to that rivalry that the Bills of Mr. McKenna and Mr. Runciman were still-born. And as the bitter rivalry shows no signs of ceasing, or even abating; and as the Government has learnt already, through three futile Education Bills, what this really means in practice—and the English public have learnt it too—it is hardly probable that any fresh effort will be made by the Government to carry a Religious Education Bill in the midst of sectarian contentions, with the certainty of gaining more hatred from those it displeases than gratitude from those it only half satisfies. Some day or other—and sooner, as Dr. Inge and Dr. Sadler perceive, rather than later—the Government will be driven into introducing a Secular Education Bill (though probably not under that name) as the only way out of an intolerable situation.

Hope, however, springs eternal in the human breast. A few ladies and a number of gentlemen, a majority of them ministers of religion, and drawn mainly from two sections of the English Protestant community, have constituted themselves a self-appointed and non-representative body, under the name 'The Educational Settlement Committee,' and have published their proposals in a shilling pamphlet entitled *Towards Educational Peace.* They go to work with great seriousness, but in the light of the three educational fiascos of the Liberal Government their effort is quite comical. They propose everything that has already failed, and add a few reactionary or impossible suggestions of their own. It was this plan of salvation that the Rev. Professor Inge advocated in his article in this Review.[3]

Under this precious plan, peace is to be secured by one party lying quietly down with the other party inside. The chief recommendation of the Committee is the perpetuation and extension of the endowment of religious teaching under the Cowper-Temple Clause. Religion is to be paid for out of public funds, taught by public servants, and organised by public machinery. Cowper-Templeism, however, is opposed to the convictions of millions of Englishmen, who will not submit either to pay for it or to have it forced upon their children. The effect of this proposal, if adopted, would be to intensify the present bitterness and strife, especially as the provision of religious instruction is left in effect in the hands of every local education authority. The battle would be transferred from the school to the county and borough council chambers, and civic administration and reform would suffer in the strife and confusion that would inevitably arise. A new establishment of religion under county and municipal control would be created, and the religious opinions of candidates, rather than their fitness as administrators of local affairs, would be the point upon which elections would be fought.

The Committee for Educational Peace propose to leave the Jews and Catholics with their present privileges untouched. They know what it would cost the Liberal party to attempt to force the Catholics into a common general plan of religious education, and they quietly let discretion stand, in this instance, as the better part of valour. But all the rest of the nation is to be included.

There is to be 'respect for all forms of conscientious belief,' but this new development of Cowper-Templeism is to rule the roost. It is, indeed, to become the official religion of the nation. And the teaching of it is to become compulsory. At the present time the school authorities may confine themselves to secular teaching, as some of the old School Boards actually did, but this

[3] *Nineteenth Century and After*, September 1910.

option would be abolished. The only choice given them under the Committee's plan is the provision of Cowper-Temple teaching, or the opening of their doors to the expert teacher from officially approved denominations. Moreover, the Committee would seek to impose upon the children an injustice, against which Mr. Birrell expressly provided in allowing those who took advantage of the Conscience Clause to absent themselves from school during the time of religious teaching. This right the Committee would deny. They insist that the child shall either be present at some religious lessons given by an expert or be placed in an invidious position before his schoolfellows. The practical effect of this proposal is to nullify the Conscience Clause.

Every injustice under which the teacher at present suffers the Committee would continue, if not actually increase. Unless he can satisfy a sectarian committee that he has definite religious convictions of the exact colour desired, he is to be denied the right to earn his living in a large number of State-supported schools. On the other hand, while a head teacher is to be forbidden to give denominational teaching, in which he may possibly believe, he is even encouraged to give Cowper-Temple teaching, in which he may not believe. Professor Inge asserts that 'there are many Agnostics among otherwise well-qualified elementary teachers.' In both cases the Committee's conditions place a premium upon insincerity, which to say the least is an unfortunate outcome of the latest device for religious teaching. The concession that, on request, a teacher may be excused from giving religious teaching is futile. No teacher could make such a request without jeopardising his professional career. He would be pointed at by the children, ostracised by his colleagues, and marked by the authorities. He would practically be compelled either to give religious teaching, or sacrifice his career in the profession he had chosen and for which he had been specially trained.

The Committee treat the parents with as little consideration as they show to the teachers and the children. To exercise the choice of school which is, under certain circumstances, given to them would, in hundreds of villages, endanger their very livelihood.

It would have been very interesting if the Committee had prepared a specimen syllabus of the religious teaching they propose. They were wise enough to avoid this pitfall. They know the advantage of indefiniteness. Consequently they use vague language about 'instruction in the Bible and in the principles of the Christian religion.' Professor Inge puts it as 'instruction in the *suitable parts* of the Bible.' Dr. Sadler overlooked that important qualification. Mr. Shakespeare's view of the Bible as 'the book of humanity'—the treasure of the race, the birthright of every

English child, the safeguard and condition of both civil and religious liberty—is entirely beside the point. Mr. Shakespeare is not a discreet controversialist. It is not about the children of religious parents, who go to church and Sunday-school, that he and his colleagues are troubled. 'It is with the children of the irreligious,' he says, 'that we are chiefly concerned.' The object is to snatch them from parental influence and proselytise them into Cowper-Templeists. But how foolish to avow it in this incautious manner!

What do the Committee mean by the principles of the Christian religion? Have they ever been stated? Can they ever be stated in a way to command the endorsement even of the Christian Churches themselves? What is it but the principles (or dogmas) of the Christian religion that all the Christian Churches are divided over? Is it not a poor compliment to suggest that they are divided over anything else? And while they are thus divided, is it not an impertinence for one section of Christians, or a combination of sections, probably not a half in point of numbers, to pose, not only before the populace, but before the State, as custodians of the only true religion? And is it not farcical when everyone knows that they dare not formulate their conviction of what is a common Christianity for fear of falling into irretrievable disunion?

The same criticism applies to the Bible. The religious, ethical, or literary value of the Book is not the point at issue. However high the position assigned to it, in its entirety it is not a proper text-book for elementary schools. Children are curious and ask inconvenient questions. Moreover when one asks what *is* the Bible, as one asked what *are* the principles of the Christian religion, it is easy enough to point to the Book, but that is not an answer to the question. The late Rev. Dr. Parker, in a letter to the *Times* of October 11, 1894, advocating secular education uttered a grave warning to his fellow Nonconformists on this matter:

> The present condition of Biblical criticism brings its own difficulties into this controversy. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there is no Bible upon which all Christian parties are agreed. One party says that surely the historical parts of the Bible might be read, to which another party replies that the historical parts of the Bible are especially to be avoided, because they are critically incorrect, and in many instances glaringly contradictory. One party says, 'Read the Bible because of its Divine revelations to the human soul'; to which another party replies, 'The one thing that is to be distrusted is the claim on behalf of the supernatural or the ultra-historical.' Some say 'Read the life of Jesus'; and others say that there is no trustworthy life of Jesus to be obtained. To some the Bible is historical; to others it is ideal. Which Bible, then, or which view of the Bible, is to be recognised in schools sustained by the compulsory contributions of all classes of the community?

Dr. Parker's warning in the name of Biblical criticism

certainly not less valid than it was seventeen years ago. He was not answered at the time, he has not been answered since. The supporters of State-propagated religion still speak of 'simple Bible teaching' as if it were really a simple plan of religious instruction. Widely different views and valuations of the Bible are now entertained by scholars and preachers within the Churches themselves, and all sorts of religious ideas, from orthodoxy to complete scepticism, are held by thousands of elementary school teachers. The Book itself is the subject of fierce controversy even among Christians, and its interpretation by the teachers is bound to be as various as their own religious convictions. Undogmatic teaching of the Bible is, therefore, an utter impossibility. While school teachers are human beings affected by the mental, moral, and religious agitations of the age in which they live, with the Bible in their hand as an authoritative text-book they must impart to their scholars the colour of their own faith. There are not a few ministers of religion connected with the Secular Education League who recognise that, in relation to national education, Christianity itself is necessarily sectarianism. They do not wish it to be dealt out to the children in State doses, and they revolt at the idea of its being dispensed in that way at the cost of citizens who may be strongly opposed to it. They hold that it is a mean thing and derogatory to true religion to drive children to the public schools and endeavour to make them Christians by the force of authority. As Christian leaders they want no more than fair play. They have written two tracts for the Secular Education League—*An Appeal by Churchmen to Churchmen* and *An Appeal by Nonconformists to Nonconformists*—which are marked by ability and candour.

Somehow or other, and yet it is not altogether strange, it is to the non-established Churches that we must always turn at the end of this discussion. Sir Robert Stout uttered memorable words to his interviewer when he said, 'The attitude of your Nonconformists and Liberals in England amazes me. They seek to disestablish a Church, and yet seek to maintain the State school as the Children's Church.' It is not unnatural that a State Church should endeavour to carry its religious teaching into the State schools. Professor Inge hails the Anglican schools as 'little citadels of the Established Church.' But where is the justice or the consistency of those who are opposed on principle to all Established Churches who seek to turn all the Council schools of England into State-established citadels of their religion? That is what they are doing. They deny that it is specific Nonconformist religious teaching that is given in the Council schools, but they cannot deny that it is the religious teaching that is acceptable to and supported by the non-established Churches—which, in the circumstances, is practically the same thing. The fact is that the

bulk of the Free Churches went wrong in 1870. Leading ministers like Drs. Dale and Guinness Rogers and leading laymen like Mr. Henry Rickard and Mr. Illingworth, with a substantial following, tried to keep them in the right path, and failed. The essential principle for which they stood was betrayed. Those who cried for 'a Free Church in a Free State' did not realise that the same principle demanded a Free School in a Free State. Happily many of them have learned the lesson of forty years' strife; they see the mistake that was made and desire to undo it. Happily, too, they are a growing number. And the return of the non-established Churches to their foundation principle and their old traditions would achieve a speedy victory for secular education.

HALLEY STEWART.

INVASION AND THE ALTERNATIVE

LORD HALDANE'S ADMINISTRATION CRITICISED

Qui s'excuse s'accuse. If the military constitution of our country were adequate to support its policy, and if it were economically and efficiently administered, the necessity would never have arisen for the Secretary of State for War to adopt the unprecedented course of writing a book in its defence. This book has been defended in this Review by Mr. Hurd and criticised by Colonel Lonsdale Hale. It is propped up by the eloquence of the late Adjutant-General, and by a Memorandum from the First Sea Lord, torn apparently from its context to figure as an Appendix in the recently published work on *Compulsory Service.* The procedure adopted is remarkable for another reason. Lord Haldane's administration at the War Office, which has now lasted five years, has been eminently successful. From being a comparatively obscure party politician in an unpopular faction Lord Haldane has achieved the best-known work of the Ministry in the way of constructive policy. Everyone has now heard of Lord Haldane, and even if his more dazzling colleagues at the Exchequer and the Home Office have temporarily eclipsed his notoriety, yet he has certainly established himself in the foremost rank of the party politicians of his day. The Opposition, with the magnanimity which has characterised their attitude to their opponents for the last five years, has generously sung his praises. The great reform of converting the Volunteer Force into the Territorial Army, and of translating the Militia into Special Reserve, has won universal praise. Why then was it necessary for him to write a book? Measured by all that counts for greatness in a system of Party Government the joint author of *Compulsory Service* had acquired lasting renown. Can it be that since he became more familiar with the complex problems which he so blithely undertook to solve he has perceived how much more there remains to be done than has yet been accomplished? Just as his term of office may be drawing near to its close is he beginning to get the knowledge without which a British War Minister is a public danger? Has he in short realised that although

he has scored a notable personal triumph, yet he has also brought his country nearer to that military catastrophe which is quite certain to occur in our next great war unless we can inflict it upon our adversary? Has the present Administration rendered invasion more probable than even it was in 1906, not because its rule has been feebler than its predecessor's, but because time pressed more urgently, and the lapse of these five precious years has brought us so much nearer to the inevitable *dénouement*? It is at any rate evident that the only point upon which all parties are agreed is the unsatisfactory state of the Land Forces of the Crown, and their inability as at present constituted and administered to ensure the peace of Europe, or even the inviolability of the soil of England.

That duty has now devolved on the fleet, and all that is claimed by the officials who are responsible for our present military system is that the army can second the efforts of the fleet by sending abroad six infantry divisions with proportional cavalry and artillery, either for the purpose of reinforcing our oversea garrisons or for helping an ally on the European Continent. Having regard to the nature of contemporary war, and the scale of continental preparations for waging it, there is no reason to suppose that six divisions, approximately sixty thousand riflemen, would suffice to turn the scale, say, in favour of Germany if the capital of that kindred Teutonic nation were simultaneously threatened by French and Russian invasion, and a Labour Ministry at Whitehall decided to go to the succour of their cousins on the Rhine. If at the same time there were Civil War in India, or South Africa, or trouble in Egypt, all these six divisions would certainly be retained for use in our own dominions, and the Continental ally would be left in the lurch.

Now everyone knows the altruistic sentiments which dominate German policy, but if under such circumstances the Germans were abandoned by their British kinsfolk, as they have never ceased to assert happened to Frederick the Great, it is not inconceivable that the great central and pacific Power might be forced to come to terms with the victors—terms not unlikely to include a coalition against the islanders, who might once again be accused of being 'bad Europeans.' The Pacifists of our country are convinced that no Continental Power will attack us under any combination of events, least of all Germany. The past history of Europe does not warrant their confidence. Even peaceful Germany might be driven into hostility against Britain, however unwillingly, by *force majeure*.

Since an absolute consensus of opinion pronounces our military constitution defective, it is of interest briefly to review the opinions and proposals which have been accorded the most support, at any

ite in the Press and in those social centres which supply our olitical ideas.

To begin with, there is the 'National Service League.' This eague is nominally the target for Lord Haldane's book, and there therefore some risk of its obtaining the support of all who are issatisfied with the Haldane *régime* but who have not given 1ough attention and knowledge to the examination of its prosals. Its official promoters have so frequently changed their rogramme that it is not easy to pin them down to a definite olicy, but from their latest pronouncements they are believed to lvocate 'universal' liability to service for four months for males the age of eighteen, followed by enrolment in the Territorial orces, such enrolment, however, without liability to serve out of ie United Kingdom. It is claimed for this programme that it ould supply a vast reserve of 'trained' soldiers in case of a great ar, though it does not propose to maintain any arms, equipment cadres for this vast reserve, and it is also claimed that by its prosions the Territorial Army would become so formidable as to defy ivasion. It is supported by a certain number of the military party ecause they say that, having inserted the 'thin end of the wedge,' ie State would finally obtain the right to utilise these troops cross the sea, and that it is expedient to make modest demands first. The anti-military party violently oppose the proposals the League for precisely the reasons just given, and, so far as ley are interested in National Defence at all, are content to trust ie navy. The party of military reform, on the other hand, inudes a better-informed if less numerous section who are opposed the National Service League, partly for the reasons adduced by r Ian Hamilton, though without sharing his naive and self-comacent admiration for everything as it exists, and also for the llowing reasons:

Boys of eighteen years of age are not old enough to be trained oroughly and are not physically capable of enduring the severe st of modern military training, including as it does exposure to e wet, and the need for marching long distances for many hours a time with a heavy weight to carry. Even with the best inructors four months is insufficient to train adult infantry recruits. ie corps of officers to supply the leaders and instructors of the w army does not exist, and would have to be organised for some ars before its value could be felt. The creation of a huge sedeny half-trained national guard would correspond to no strategical political need, and it would certainly not deter the invader if ssage by sea were possible. Finally, service in such an army uld be unpopular, and it would not be possible to levy troops for vice in the United Kingdom, and subsequently to juggle them o other conditions of service on the outbreak of war.

There are some other reasons why the National Service League is unpopular in the country. No statesman with a following in the electorate has placed himself among its leaders. It is widely known that when the nation was in the mood to make great sacrifices from 1900 to 1903 the Commander-in-Chief did not think it his duty to demand 'national service,' or threaten to resign if the necessary measures for the security of the country were not adopted. Moreover the propaganda in favour of conscription has excited the alarm of democratic orators and politicians, who have identified it with Tariff Reform, the Tory halfpenny press, naval scares, and other political ideas and proposals which they fear and detest. On the other hand the League is supported by a large proportion of the most military section of the upper classes which supplies officers and public servants. It is vaguely felt that something must be done, and at present the League's proposals constitute the only definite plan of reform before the country, even if they need to be revised before they are finally adopted.

Among the many virtues of the English people there still remains a profound reverence for lawful authority founded on caution and modesty, which refuses to cavil at necessary discipline and which distrusts its own meagre information. It is found also with a certain mental indolence which rejoices in having difficult problems solved for it. Great attention is consequently paid to labels and to the recognised pretensions of any public man to be an authority on any given subject. It is therefore of importance to inquire into the claims of the joint authors of *Compulsory Service* to pose as the guides of public opinion in military statesmanship. The writers of the text, the Secretary of State for War and Sir Ian Hamilton, desire to persuade the nation that distrust and anxiety concerning the Land Forces are uncalled for, and that the existing military system and administration are as near perfection as practical politics allow.

To begin with the Secretary of State. He began his military education as the chief of the army, with expert advisers chosen by his predecessor—the two chief military members of the Army Council. He elected to retain these two officers in his Army Council, although they were generally considered somewhat incongruous as initiators of extensive reforms. It is probable that the Minister has also had private assistants and counsellors whose value, judging from military results, must be deemed problematical.

Our Constitution in theory provides that the Cabinet Minister at the head of the War Office should control policy, should intimate to the military chiefs what is required of our armed forces, and what financial resources are available to effect the purpose. The duty of the military

experts consists in meeting those requirements and in commanding the troops. In practice, however, the Minister has become a civilian Commander-in-Chief, who meddles in detail and selects commanders as his predilection may dictate. Fortified by the nominal responsibility of the military members of the Army Council, he can please himself as to whether he adopts their views or even consults them. The chief military officer of the army is now called the Inspector-General of the Forces, and the order in council which created his office specified that he was to be the 'servant of the Army Council'—the servant, that is, of a political personage, propped up by his nominees on the Army Council, who are junior in rank to their military chief, the Inspector-General. No worse system of military Government could possibly have been designed, and although a bad system may prove a comparative success when administered by able, patriotic, and self-effacing men, a combination of these qualities was evidently not to be expected from a prominent party politician or from his military nominees. It is no secret that the Army Council is profoundly unpopular with the army itself, which is almost unanimous in regretting the system of rule so crudely abolished by Mr. Arnold Forster.

If the theory of our Constitution held good no doubt a successful lawyer from his life's training might be a very suitable War Minister, but it is hardly possible to imagine a training more unsuitable for the executive chief of an army. The verbal artifices, insidious suggestions and prevarications which so often win a case before a dull jury are worthless in a competition of wits against the Continental General Staffs. The stern logic of war only takes count of facts and utterly disregards artful suggestions. Gambetta was probably the most distinguished lawyer-warrior of any age, and how disastrously he failed! The lawyer can never resist the temptation of deceiving himself—a most dangerous form of deceit to his country. In October 1870, when the new levies of the French Republic, contrary to the advice of a general as skilful and intrepid as Chanzy, had been hurled against the German Army at Orleans before they were fit to take the field, and when in consequence they had been disastrously defeated and hunted in two parts in opposite directions, Gambetta observed: 'So much the better, we have now two armies instead of one!' He then attempted to turn the new situation to account by doing pretty much what it would seem Lord Haldane proposes to do for us if war breaks out. Gambetta planned to relieve Paris by a mighty eccentric stroke at the German communications, instead of combining his forces for a blow at the centre of the field of operations. Every hair-cutter serving in the German ranks could have told him that he was doing

almost exactly what his foes would have wished could they have dictated his operations. In an incredibly short time the raw troops of the lawyer-general were defeated in detail, dispersed, driven over a neutral frontier, and destroyed.

It is perfectly clear that our military system will never improve until the respective functions of the military and political chiefs are properly defined and closely adhered to. As a corollary to that conclusion we must discover a plan of selecting at least as good military chiefs as the nations with whom we are in rivalry and against whom we may at any moment be compelled to wage war, or we shall infallibly be defeated. Having chosen them wisely, we ought to support them loyally, and defend them from political interference. The temptation for elderly politicians to pose as great warriors seems irresistible, nor does the possession of a keen intellect ensure the common-sense to know how futile it must be for a man to get up a life's career as if it were a lawyer's brief. There must be something intoxicating in the idea of wielding military force; we have seen our great War Minister at manœuvres in a frock-coat and tall hat on the Wiltshire Downs, and conciliating opposition by giving a humorous description of his own antics to the House of Commons afterwards. If he merely went to see troops in order to learn, it would be most praiseworthy conduct on his part. Unfortunately, neither he nor most of his predecessors have been able to resist the temptation of undue interference in the sphere where they are certain to fail lamentably and ludicrously.

Let us now turn from Lord Haldane to the other eloquent defender of the Army System as it is. Sir Ian Hamilton stands in many respects a head and shoulders above most of his comrades in the generals' ranks. He has repeatedly shown himself a gallant fighter. He is an intellectual, a minor poet, a charming writer of prose and a most eloquent and agreeable speaker, he is conspicuously competent to be a professor of military art, or an instructor in peace. No army could find a writer of military history more capable of rendering the subject attractive. General Hamilton has, without doubt, great merits, but these merits do not necessarily designate him as a military statesman of the first order, or even as a general of first-rate capacity in war. His record is hardly one which would have brought him into the highest place in any army but ours. His first important command was a brigade in the Natal Field Force at the beginning of the Boer War. He was present at the defeat of the British Army before Ladysmith on October 30, and did not succeed in preventing the precipitate retreat, not to use a harsher word, which took place after our infantry had suffered a very trifling loss. Now these troops both before and afterwards showed themselves to be

of the best quality, and the occasion was just such a one as gives a great chief the chance to show himself. Subsequently, he became Chief of the Staff to Lord Kitchener during the final phases of the war, and cannot be dissociated from the lame and ineffective conduct of the operations at that period which permitted the scattered bands of ragged Boers to protract their desultory resistance with such success.

The German critics of our army in South Africa said that our generals 'put their cavalry on foot, their infantry on horseback, and hastened to telegraph their own defeat as soon as they had suffered a loss of five per cent.' While no one can accuse our author of personal timidity, it is not unfair to class him with the 'Mounted Infantry School,' the champions of half-hearted and indecisive methods, whose heresies the best tacticians of the Continent are never tired of denouncing. In our army, too, there is a rival school of soldiers, stronger in the junior than in the higher ranks, whose leaders, thanks to their performances in South Africa, command the confidence of the troops and have extorted the sullen praise of our foreign critics. Between the 'Mounted Infantrymen' and their opponents there is mortal strife. At present high posts are for the most part held by the former, though they have not been able to exclude altogether the most distinguished of their rivals. Co-operation in high command between these two schools is simply impossible in war, and if war overtakes us the fate of the army, and perhaps the fate of the nation, will depend on which of these two types of leaders hold the superior posts. As an advisor of the Government in warlike policy, Sir Ian Hamilton has suffered in reputation because of his rapid conversion from the view he gave to the world after his experiences with the Japanese in Manchuria to the opposite doctrines which he has so ably expounded in *Compulsory Service*. Unless we take the uncharitable view that his last contribution to military literature was written to please Lord Haldane, we must conclude that his convictions are not very deep, and are liable to constant revision; or, perhaps, that he has not yet progressed beyond the stage of a student in such matters, and is not really competent to give advice in the highest quarters at all.

Last we come to the Appendix of our book. Like a noxious insect, the sting is in the tail. People who would hesitate to trust Lord Haldane as an opponent to von Moltke, and who know Sir Ian Hamilton better as a *littérateur* than as a strategist, will probably be impressed by the degree of confirmation which appears to be given by Sir Arthur Wilson, First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, to the defenders of the War Office. Closer investigation, however, will shew that the Memorandum of the First Sea Lord does not help them much. In November 1910 Sir Arthur

Wilson was able to assure the Government to this effect: the existing superiority of the British Fleet over its rival east of the North Sea is so great that the invasion of England is practically impossible. Sir Arthur Wilson's method of discussing the problem is not very enlightening because he does not take count of a number of circumstances which might and probably would help the assailant, such as the advantage he would have in taking the initiative to gain a partial tactical success, and so to redress the balance of rival fleets somewhat. Still, it is clear Sir Arthur Wilson believes that at the present moment the navy can guarantee our immunity from invasion. But how about the future? Who can foretell what developments the progress of science may have in naval warfare? What may be the influence of aerial and submarine craft or of war-vessels driven by internal combustion engines? Who can even say that ten years hence we can be sure of possessing a marked superiority in capital ships or small craft over our rivals? If a new type is invented, they may even surpass us in rapidity of constructing the new instrument. Moreover, there are the many chances and accidents which are peculiarly difficult to gauge or guard against in naval warfare, and the greatest hazard of all—the personal factor of the commander. British naval victories were mostly won by the best commander over a numerically superior fleet, and it is impossible to guard against the danger of our next enemy finding a great chief to lead them. In a country where the best stock and the best brains are devoted to preparation for war, it is far from being a remote contingency. Since no one, then, can be certain that we shall be victorious in a future naval conflict for mastery, even in the North Sea, it is sheer folly not to adopt the additional precautions which are in our power, and which would render us doubly secure.

Does this undeniable fact drive us inevitably to the conclusion that conscription is necessary? There are at any rate students of military policy, and of the particular problem involved, both in France and in England, who do not think so. They would put forward some of the arguments of Sir Ian Hamilton and emphasise the great difficulty involved either in maintaining a voluntary and a compulsory system side by side, or in sending conscripts to India. They strongly appreciate the advantage in preserving the system of enlistment which has, in spite of its drawbacks, and in spite of repeated incompetency at headquarters, brought our country victoriously through so many wars. Lastly, they would say that the practical statesman only considers what is possible, and that conscription is impossible at present because neither political party will subscribe to it. Considered apart from the last argument, any statesman to whom the duty of national defence was confided,

and who wielded supreme power, would undoubtedly enforce conscription, for by its means alone can an army on the continental scale be levied and kept on foot for certain. It is not, however, certain that Britain requires an army on the same scale as Germany, for example, in addition to her navy and to her oversea garrisons. Everything depends on the policy which she means to pursue. If her rulers prefer 'glorious isolation' and persist in holding aloof from both the groups of Allied Powers which balance one another in Europe, it is evident that she may some day have a war forced upon her in which she would have no allies, and in that case the stronger her army the better would be her chance of emerging victorious. It is perfectly clear, however, that the only type of compulsory service which is of the least value to us is the type which has been adopted by all the military Powers—that is, the liability of the best half of the youth of the nation to serve in the army long enough for an adequate training, and at an age when the physical strain can be endured, 21 or 20 at the youngest. The liability must also include making war on the Continent of Europe, at any rate. An army which is tied to the defensive is just as useless to us as to any other State. There is no reason to suppose that if the nation agreed to compulsory enlistment at all there would be any greater difficulty in legislating for a real army than for creating Lord Roberts' semi-trained National Guard. Indeed, the former would probably be the more popular service, because it would inevitably be better found, and it would enjoy far greater estimation both in the nation at large and in the minds of its own soldiers. A real professional officer corps of the type now leading the Royal Navy, capable both of instructing and commanding, would be absolutely indispensable, and such corps of officers could not be created in less than a decade out of existing material.

A more modest, but at the same time unquestionably more practical, solution of the problem would consist in developing the present voluntary army with a view to increasing both its numbers and its quality for war, and it is too hastily assumed by the present heads of the War Office that no one is capable of doing what they have signally failed to do.

Let us briefly examine certain proposals for the improvement of our forces, and for making a more economical and effective use of the resources already at our disposal. If it can be shown that by the adoption of these proposals the British Army can put 300,000 men on to the Continent to assist her ally without touching the colonial garrisons and without drawing on 300,000 Territorials, it may at least be concluded that the value of our alliance to a European Power is vastly enhanced and that the danger of finding ourselves isolated is practically guarded against. More-

over, invasion would be impossible, even if the enemy's fleet gained a temporary superiority in the North Sea. Taking existing organisations and up-rooting as little as possible, the Special Reserve might be left for the present, though neither its title nor its composition call for much admiration. The Territorial Army has certainly the elements of a valuable second line, it already constitutes a good reserve to the first line, and its weak points are capable of considerable correction. As it stands, and as it has been described by Lord Lucas in reply to the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords, it is not a field army; it could not successfully oppose continental troops at almost any odds, and few if any soldiers will go the length of Sir Ian Hamilton's extravagant estimate of its prowess. It is not clear whether Lord Haldane looks upon it as a field army or not, or indeed whether the civilian chief of the British Army knows the difference between field and garrison troops. Probably he does not. The 'wiseacres' so glibly denounced by Sir Ian for thinking that at least six months under arms are required to give cohesion to these troops are not, after all, so wide of the mark, but much more than six months will be needed to correct the principal defects, nor will amateur leaders become professionals in that time, nor the many officers replaced who are quite unfitted for active service. It is, however, possible to do a great deal in peace by allotting a little more money and by a better organisation. The companies should be larger and fewer, thus economising the men who are fit to instruct and command them. More pains and more money should be spent on the military education, both of officers and soldiers; in particular more ample provision should be made for work done out of the annual training, officers' and sergeants' lectures and classes, musketry and week-end camps. Youths under twenty should have to enlist for six years at least; it would probably be good policy to make seven years the normal enlistment, with obligation to serve four trainings. Too many lads have been enlisted merely to make a show on paper, and the Force would be worth more if it were even weaker in numbers but freed from the weaklings, who cannot even carry a rifle half-a-dozen miles from camp without falling out. Such as it is, however, the Territorial organisation is undoubtedly better than the Volunteers it superseded, and it is capable of development. Like all British forces its greatest weakness lies in its lack of competent officers, particularly in the superior ranks. Our civilian War Lords never can be brought to realise that an officer's business has to be learnt with hard work, and that only a limited number of the young men of the upper classes are fit for it, although twenty-five years' service all round the planet is demanded of the regular officer before he

is trusted to be a 'Commanding Officer,' and before he can rise to earn the salary of a brisk taxi-cabman. The judicious expenditure of a comparatively small sum would largely increase the muster. It is worth the attention of the Minister to ascertain how far petty meanness in refusing to establish regimental drill-halls and other necessary apparatus has checked recruiting, whether money has not in many cases been injudiciously expended, and whether the proper organisation of regimental clubs in suitable premises as a rendezvous in winter for social purposes and theoretical instruction, and the creation of regimental athletic clubs, might not increase to an important extent but at a relatively small cost the privilege of belonging to the Territorial Army.

Lord Haldane and Sir Ian Hamilton proclaim their adherence to a very sound strategical doctrine. They are averse to fighting their country's battles on English soil, they realise that the victories of the past have been gained by taking the initiative, by attacking the enemy in his country rather than by waiting for him to invade ours. Unfortunately their military preparations are very far from corresponding to this noble sentiment, and they lay down that not more than one additional division is it possible to raise by voluntary enlistment. If this conclusion is correct, then it is quite clear that we must either have conscription or ultimately be defeated, but, is it correct? Is the lawyer-made organisation known as the Cardwell system the only or the best organisation for our regular army? Would not another less complicated scheme stand as good a chance of being popular, and bring in more soldiers? At any rate, there are statesmen who think so. The late Sir Charles Dilke, who had profoundly studied the subject, always advocated the separation of the Indian and Colonial troops from the divisions destined for European service. The trend of events which has made Europe, instead of India, the focus of our military activity has justified his foresight and judgment. Mr. Cardwell, like Gambetta, made believe to have two armies where in reality he only had one. The regiments he allotted to the Home Army in reality have always belonged to the Indian Army, whose depots they have been. They have served the purpose very badly and at inordinate cost, and the fantastic scheme has only been applied in all its folly to one arm of the service—*i.e.* the infantry. Since the requirements of Indian service are entirely different from European service, in that the former requires fewer and older men, while the latter demands a minimum strength of a quarter of a million soldiers before the State takes rank with Sweden or Bulgaria, and since such numbers are only to be got on the voluntary basis by short service, three years at most, and large reserves, it might be thought easy to comprehend the necessity of having a different organisation for

the two Services. A long-service army, especially enlisted for the purpose, conquered India, held it for a century, and withstood the hurricane of the Mutiny. The present Indian garrison, however, is utterly insufficient to wage a war like the Manchurian struggle—for such a campaign numbers are required on a scale that the people of India alone can supply. The British Force in India exists to nip rebellion in the bud, and to act as a reserve and *corps d'élite* in case of emergency. It consists of but four thousand cavalry and about 45,000 infantry (marching-out strength), and it would obviously be more fitted for its *rôle* if it consisted of 10,000 cavalry and 30,000 or even 25,000 infantry, if the rank and file were long-service men of the best type. The recruiting market at home would at the same time be sensibly relieved. Sir Ian Hamilton has objected that long-service soldiers must be pensioned. Yes, it is true these men would have to be pensioned! But why not? We pension every wastrel and drunkard who can survive to the given age, so why should we not pension the soldiers who give the best years of their life to the national service? It is the sober truth that England has systematically cheated the rank and file as well as the officers of her army. Let a policy of honestly paying them for their work be inaugurated, and much of the difficulty of levying the required numbers will disappear.

For the Home Army destined for European service at least a quarter of a million field troops are required before the national safety can be assured or the external policy of the State properly supported. The National Service League would be well advised to fix their attention on this fact and to demand from the responsible Minister an army of that size at least, leaving it to him to do that for which he is handsomely paid—*i.e.* to work out the means. If he can get these numbers by voluntary enlistment so much the better; if the national safety demands these numbers, and they can only be got by conscription, then the case for compulsory service is overwhelming and unanswerable.

There are two schemes of enlistment by which the numbers of the Home Army might be increased on the voluntary basis. As there has not hitherto been any difficulty in recruiting for the cavalry and artillery they might be left out for the present, and the infantry, the hardest arm to recruit for, may be taken for consideration. The first plan would be to have a system of two or three years' enlistment and to raise 50,000 recruits a year purely for Home Service. If such service carried with it a guarantee to find work on leaving the army, as it should, then it is probable the recruits would be forthcoming. The machinery which will shortly be created to meet the demands of social reformers and to provide for the unemployed will give the State the best opportunity of, at any rate, finding employment for its own servants;

and since it is not dislike of military experience, but the horrible doubt about finding a place in the severe competition of industrial life, which deters young men from enlisting, there would probably be no difficulty in doubling the number of recruits for short service if that doubt were provided for. In any case, the State has got to deal with the problem of the unemployed, and that ere long.

When the supply of recruits has failed, the favourite expedient of War Ministers has been to increase the daily pay of men serving, and otherwise slightly to improve the soldier's position. The daily pay is now quite as high as is consistent with maintaining discipline; and although the former stupid plan of starving our own men has been abandoned, it is also possible to make barrack life too comfortable and easy to be a real education for waging war. In fact it was not the need for higher pay to spend as pocket money while serving, but some security of a livelihood and permanent employment, and the prospect of being able to maintain a wife and children, the elementary and legitimate needs of every decent man, which the soldier claimed and still claims. When these needs are satisfied, and not till then, will the supply of recruits on a voluntary basis be assured. At the present time the State only makes a partial use of its patronage in the Police, Postal, Customs and other services to place veteran soldiers. After they have spent themselves in the national service the majority are left to shift for themselves, to find a job as best they can, or starve. The marvel is that so many recruits can be raised. Those of us who fail to admire the wonders of our existing fiscal system will probably assert that Free Trade recruits the army by its attendant unemployment and low wages. Certainly the United States Government has great difficulty in finding soldiers and sailors in the open labour market.

An alternative scheme for raising 180,000 infantry by voluntary enlistment would resemble the Swedish military system, except that the requisite numbers can only be obtained from the comparatively small population of Sweden by conscription. These troops would be enlisted with liability for active service in case of a war against France, Germany, Russia, Austria, United States, and perhaps Italy and Turkey. By Swedish law, conscripts after attaining their twentieth year have to serve a preliminary training which may be six months, and for our purposes should not be less. Recruits serve their educational course in the first year, and are called out three times for one month's annual training with their regiments. In each regiment an adequate number of officers, sergeants, instructors, and skilled men recruited by voluntary enlistment are maintained permanently, to teach recruits and to give

cohesion to the regiments when assembled. Our own Militia and the present Special Reserve were organised on the same plan, with some important exceptions which in each case were fatal to efficiency. It is absolutely indispensable that professional instructors of the best type should be available to train recruits, and professional leaders, in at any rate due proportion, should be maintained for the regiments on embodiment. It is not perhaps essential that all officers and sergeants should be of the permanent cadre. Some men have much more aptitude than others for acquiring military skill and character, and most intelligent men of good physique and suitable disposition can learn the technique of soldiering in the subordinate ranks in a comparatively short time. It is the habit of co-operation, of discipline in fact, that needs time in most instances, though not in all. An infantry of the type described, all of whose rank and file had served for six months' preliminary training, of an average age of twenty-four years, and containing the Swedish proportion of professional men, would entirely change, not only the situation of our country, but of the whole Continent. The domination of one Great Power in Western Europe would cease to be the peril it unquestionably is to-day. Invasion would be as impossible as it was at the height of our military ascendency in Plantagenet days, when we had no armed fleet to count on. The peace of Europe would be assured by the most solid imaginable guarantee.

It will at once be asserted by the advocates of conscription that such an army could not be raised voluntarily because the recruits would not be forthcoming. If the first year were fixed for the recruit period, six years in the ranks, and the balance of nine, ten or even twelve years' enlistment for the reserve of this Home Army, about 33,000 infantry recruits would be needed annually, besides the recruits for the Oversea Forces. Assuming long service is to be adopted once again for the latter, and especially if cavalry replaces infantry in India to the extent proposed above (*i.e.* 10,000 cavalry with 25,000 or 30,000 infantry, instead of 4000 cavalry with 50,000 infantry as at present), the quota of recruits for the Oversea Forces will be so largely reduced that competition to serve in them may be expected, instead of desperate shifts to maintain their strength. It must be assumed that proper provision will be made for retiring soldiers, that they will not be left to find an industry for themselves or starve in a slum as at present. The market for recruits will thus be principally reserved for the Short-Service Home Army, and provided that proper inducements are held forth no man can say with confidence that the number of recruits will not be found each year. It is certain that the inducements must take the form of Government assistance, not only to protect the men from loss of

employment owing to their month's annual training and liability for service in a great war, but also from the loss of an industrial start entailed by the six months' preliminary training. In fact we must honestly pay for what we want, instead of trying to obtain it on false pretences, or by taking advantage of the ignorance, youth and heedlessness of a certain class to lure them into a profession which handicaps them for life in the industrial struggle.

Can the State meet this difficulty? Where there is a will there is a way. Millions can be found for the pauper classes, for the aged whether wastrel or thrifty, for social schemes of every degree of economic unwisdom. Some millions must be found for the defence of the national existence. If not, sooner or later, by one means or by another, at the hands of some enemy perhaps altogether unsuspected at present, the haughty and still aggressive Federation called the British Empire will come down with a crash. All history has been written in vain if we fail to realise the truth.

The creation of a field army capable of landing 200,000 combatants and some 60,000 men of the administrative services on the Continent of Europe or North America, while maintaining the depots required for the Indian and Colonial garrisons and the Territorial organisation, would need some initial expenditure and some annual addition to the present military budget. On the other hand it is possible to make large economies in the administration without reducing efficiency, and a large increase of efficiency can be obtained by the suppression of much waste and mismanagement without the expenditure of a single sovereign. A whole number of this Review might easily be filled in criticising the thriftlessness and unbusinesslike methods of army administration. A few flagrant examples will give an idea of why our expenditure is relatively so high and the results so surprisingly feeble.

It is usually asserted that it is the pay, already high, of our voluntary soldiers that makes our army so costly. This is not the principal cause, however. When the whole amount spent in pay is struck out of the reckoning, our army is still proportionately *more than four times as costly* as the French, whose national standard of living is approximately the same as ours. The reason lies in the lack of economy in every detail of the Service, in the extravagant scale of living enforced on all officers, in the sacrifice of fighting power to pomp and show, in the unchecked snobbishness which is still the key note of military life, and in the inability to recognise what is essential in contrast with unnecessary expenditure. Much money, too, is wasted by the custom of closing accounts annually. Work that should be spread over several years is done piecemeal in each year; for example, barracks which

ought to be pulled down are tinkered at. Some barracks have cost their weight in gold, and are still a national disgrace notwithstanding. Irritating checks of all sorts are imposed where considerable trust should be extended to the responsible officials, with the result that every officer and official always spends all that he can regardless of the public interest, lest his allotted amount should be reduced without compensating credit. It is not permissible to economise at one point so as to have more money to spend on the public interest in another direction. Time in the army is often recklessly wasted. In the arrangement of Command and Instruction, from the highest to the lowest rung, our peculiar and extravagant system is still obstinately adhered to. Three centuries ago European infantry was generally organised in corps of one battalion of eight or ten companies each. It became, however, evident that four companies required a superior officer to command them, so the armies of the world, with the single exception of ours, organised battalions of four companies and regiments of three battalions. The same band and other non-combatant administrative apparatus which we maintain for 1000 men, in France suffices for 3000, yet the French troops are far better found than ours. We are in desperate straits to obtain enough officers, but we still cling to a system which may or may not have worked well in days when the majority knew little or nothing about their profession, and were more drunk than sober every night at dinner. No officer can count on his profession as a career. Hazard, not unmingled with favouritism, regulates his advancement, and it is considerable odds against each individual who enters the Service even rising to the rank of battalion commander. From these conditions it is not to be expected that a very brilliant corps of officers will be evolved, capable of imparting rapid and thorough instruction, and able to lead troops in sanguinary conflict. To do them bare justice our officers, below field rank at any rate, have not failed us in fighting yet, although their capacity to teach leaves much to be desired. A corps of officers should be a potential reserve of colonels and generals. South Africa showed how badly equipped the army was in the superior ranks, which notoriously fail to retain even the best of the juniors.

The London Press seems to be more successful than the War Office in attracting the best brains of the army to its service, and the Minister has to bolster up his proposals in Parliament with the support of the Military Correspondent of *The Times*. Every year Lord Haldane boasts of the wonderful improvement which the army has made in technical science since he obtained the command of it. There was certainly plenty of room for such improvement in 1906, but it is doubtful whether he is entitled to much of the

credit he claims. From his action in the numerous scandals regarding officers' promotion which have been discussed in the Press since his promotion to be Chief of the Army, it is plain that his sympathy lies entirely in favour of preserving the good old customs and the machinery essential to opposing change. The worse a regiment is the more rapid is its promotion. Regiments with senior subalterns of ten and eleven years' seniority find themselves alongside of others with majors of the same length of service. In order to keep promotion in the regimental lists these intolerable absurdities continue. What improvement has taken place in the standard of officers' capacity since 1906 is unquestionably due to the new spirit of the Inspector-General's department, which has perforce exacted greater efforts from the regiments and has at the same time led to the suppression of much unnecessary pomp and circumstance, the creeping paralysis of all armies in peace. Two concrete examples of the contempt of sound economy in Lord Haldane's War Office are worth quoting. The British cavalry has an undoubted superiority for the fight over any other because of the select character of its soldiers, their superior physique and horsemanship, with accompanying superiority as marksmen and lancers. An unbroken tradition of victory maintains the confidence of the squadrons to overthrow any antagonist at long numerical odds. The opening of the next great war will certainly afford a great chance for decisive cavalry action, and our cavalry division of twelve regiments is known to be the only part of our army which could intervene to save our continental ally in the first, and possibly the deciding stage of the war. It might consequently be deduced that these twelve regiments would be maintained, like the cavalry of all other nations, ever ready to move. So they are in many respects. Their uniforms are as immaculate as ever for ceremonial parades. The bands, officers' mess, and tailors' shops are kept on a magnificent scale; but so niggardly is Lord Haldane in supplying them with horses that only one half of the enlisted men could be mounted for the field. Of the horses in the Service so many are put to severe work before they have reached maturity that the British cavalry uses up its horses twice as fast as the German, although it certainly does not do more work.

It is widely suspected, too, that the heads of departments in Whitehall are more busy in regulating their own and their friends' promotion than in extracting the utmost fighting force out of the large military budget voted by Parliament. The garrisons in the Mediterranean are doubtless important posts, but it is by no means clear why the number of generals and colonels in these coaling stations should threaten to outnumber the soldiers they command. Gibraltar has two generals, Malta has four, Egypt

two, and over and above this brilliant constellation shines the new Inspector-General of the Oversea Forces, whose commission probably costs the country more than ten thousand a year—the price of many remounts. If Lord Haldane has such confidence in his co-author, why should it be also necessary for the Army Council in their corporate capacity annually to inspect the Mediterranean garrisons at the height of the Riviera season?

The above is a typical example of how Lord Haldane has muddled away the resources at his disposition, and why he fails to find the necessary funds for making voluntary enlistment popular. It is to be feared the sale of his book will not make up for such extravagance.

Lord Haldane has already published his annual statement on the army in the form of a Memorandum, and never was a more pitiful admission of failure made even by a British War Minister. It is admitted that the recruiting problem still presents unsolvable difficulties, the horse supply is alarmingly defective, motor transport, without which a modern army cannot move, is still unorganised, and, most serious of all, the corps of officers no longer attracts the class of young men required. The so-called 'Special Reserve'—that is, the late Militia—is almost without subalterns, and Lord Haldane can think of no better expedient than to reduce the tests of fitness all round. The six months' training is to be reduced to five in the case of some battalions of the Special Reserve, and to only three months for others. Officers are to be manufactured in six months instead of twelve, which was little enough. On the Continent two years' special study, following on a general education designed to bring up officers, is thought necessary for a young man before entrusting to him the military education and possibly the lives of the soldiers of the State. It is no exaggeration to assert that the breakdown of the officer corps under Lord Haldane's administration is even a greater danger to our country than the recruiting problem, and far more difficult to remedy.

It may be objected that an army trained on the Swedish system would not be the match of the legions of France and Germany, and in fact that the system is but little better than the proposed scheme of the National Service League. It may be as well therefore to recapitulate the points on which the Swedish system excels these proposals in the organisation of a field army. To begin with, this army would not be tied to our shores, but would be available for offensive war. Then there is a very important difference between six months' recruit training and four months'. It might be better still to prolong the recruit training to seven, eight, or even nine months, if it were possible. The fact of enlisting men of military age would give a suitable average of stamina

in the ranks for serious war; the same men might very well be enlisted in the Territorial Army at eighteen as at present. If the Home Army contained 180,000 infantry it would be possible to reduce the annual training of the Territorial to one week, which would largely increase its recruiting field. The two forces might be complementary to one another, and just as men might transfer from the Territorial to the Home Army on attaining twenty-one years of age, so they might return to the Territorial after completing their period of service in the Home Army. The scheme has been sketched in outline as an example of what might be attempted if we ever had a War Ministry resolved to create a Home Army of the size and strength needed by our European position. Finally the presence in the regiments of the necessary proportion of permanent and professional leaders and instructors would give it a cohesion which is usually not found in a Militia. In one week after mobilisation it would be much more formidable than the present Territorials after six months. The Minister who organised such an army successfully need not fear that his name will ever be coupled with the infamy of having neglected to prevent invasion when he had the chance. Is such an army possible? No one is entitled to say that it is impossible until the best uses have been made of our money to secure employment for soldiers on leaving the army, and until the abuses I have noted have been redressed.

CECIL BATTINE.

THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XX

XIX

No. CCCCXI—May 1911

WHY HALT YE?

A QUESTION FOR THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

'To speak the plain truth, I have in general no very exalted opinion of the virtue of paper government. . . . My hold of the Colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.'—Edmund Burke.

'A union resting upon sentiment, a Government depending upon the good will of its members, are only the make believes of amiable enthusiasts or the cheats and counterfeits of quacks and sophists. The only security for union must be found in the strength of the central government, and such strength can only be given by the forms and machinery of a Constitution.'—F. S. Oliver.

The above quotations suggest, in epigrammatic form, the two sharply contrasted ideals of colonial connexion. The one looks upon a Colony as a mere swarming of surplus population, carrying to distant lands the ideas and traditions, the culture and creed, the language and laws of the Motherland, but not connected with it by any ties save those of affection and blood. The other regards the Colonies and the Motherland as parts of a common governmental organism,

connected the one with the other not only by bonds of kindred and sentiment, but 'by the forms and machinery of a Constitution.'

It is obvious to all serious political observers that the time is close at hand when the people of the United Kingdom and of the Oversea Dominions will be compelled to make choice between these conflicting ideals. During the last century the rulers of the Motherland have halted between two opinions; they have blown hot and cold. Or it would be more true, perhaps, to say that while the politicians have been mainly anxious to curtail responsibilities, to relieve the 'weary Titan' of burdens too heavy to be borne, the facts, with ironical consistency, have mocked their efforts, have compelled them to advance, to annex fresh territories in the name of the British Crown, and to extend the sphere of British influence. The inevitable result has been revealed in a policy of see-saw; now a timid attempt at withdrawal; now a period of advance; to-day the Manchester School in unchallenged ascendency; to-morrow the Imperial Federalists. Between these two opinions we cannot 'oscillate in contented suspense' for ever; a definite choice cannot be much longer deferred.

'Why not?' Why should we not 'leave things as they are?' Such was the question propounded in this Review a quarter of a century ago, by one of the foremost Liberal statesmen of the day. For more than one reason it is worth while, on the eve of the assembling of another Imperial Conference, to recall the substance of Mr. Forster's sagacious and statesmanlike reply.[1]

I.

'Why not let well alone?' For this reason: 'Because in giving self-government to our Colonies we have introduced a principle which must eventually shake off from Great Britain Greater Britain, and divide it into separate States; which must, in short, dissolve the Union, unless counteracting measures be taken to preserve it.' To grant to the Dominions domestic autonomy, but at the same time to deny them any official or effective voice in foreign and Imperial policy is to rely on contradictory principles of government. They cannot permanently coexist. On the one side, all but complete autonomy; on the other, complete subordination. The same point was put in 1885 by Sir James Service, at that time Premier of Victoria, with undeniable force. He referred to '. . . the very anomalous position which these Colonies occupy as regards respectively local government and the exercise of Imperial authority. In regard to the first, the fullest measure of constitutionol freedom and parliamen-

[1] 'Imperial Federation,' by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. (*Nineteenth Century*, February and March, 1885).

tary representation has been conceded to the more important Colonies; but as regards the second, we have no representation whatever in the Imperial system. . . . The weakness of this position has at times been most disadvantageously apparent, and its humiliation keenly felt. . . . Colonial interests are sufficiently important to entitle us to some defined position in the Imperial economy, to some tangible means of asserting if necessary our rights.' This state of things could not be expected permanently to endure. Friction might, with good luck, be avoided for a time, but sooner or later some question would be certain to arise which would strain to breaking point the existing Constitutional bonds. Even if the extreme issue were avoided, there must be, as Mr. Forster pointed out, 'great inconvenience, not to say real danger to peace, in this legal helplessness and powerlessness of the Colonies. They try to seize the power of which they are deprived. They attempt, as it were, to right themselves by lynch law [as in the then recent cases of New Guinea and the Samoan Islands]. . . . To force the hands of our Colonial and Foreign Offices may be the only way of obtaining attention for reasonable claims; but these dangerous modes of assertion would not be tried if they felt that they had an acknowledged voice in the decision of questions deeply affecting their interests.'

Mr. Forster accordingly insisted that there must be some organisation for common defence and a joint foreign policy.—Rejecting not as intrinsically unsound, but merely as premature, the suggestion of a Federal Parliament, he adopted the proposal of Lord Grey—also originally made in this Review [2]—for a Federal Council. This Council should deal 'with peace and war, and treaties and negotiations, and also with all questions affecting the defence of the realm, the fortification of its ports and posts, the provision for its Army and Navy, the determination of the strength of each service, and especially the respective contributions by each member of the Imperial Commonwealth for such defence.' For such a development the time was fully ripe in 1885.

It is almost pathetic to realise that, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, we are, as regards Constitutional machinery, no nearer to the attainment of formal unity than we were when Mr. Forster wrote. But much water has flowed under London Bridge since then, and there is not a single argument employed at that time by the advocates of Union, both at home and in the Colonies, which has not gained a thousand-fold in force during the intervening years.

The shrinkage of the world—even then rapid—has gone on at an accelerated pace. The discoveries of science have literally

[2] 'How shall we Retain the Colonies?' *Nineteenth Century*, June 1879.

annihilated space and time. This contraction of the political area has transformed foreign policy into *Weltpolitik*. The Chancelleries of Europe no longer confine their outlook to their own Continent. The whole world has been brought within the horizon of European diplomacy. The consequence is that there is hardly a single question under discussion between London and St. Petersburg, Vienna and Paris, Washington and Berlin which does not involve considerations in which our Oversea Dominions are no less, perhaps more directly, interested than ourselves. 'Subjects of this part of the Empire [Australia] may,' as Sir James Service justly insisted, 'be deeply interested in the action, or it may be the inaction of the Imperial authorities, but they have no voice or vote in those Councils of the Empire to which her Majesty's Ministers are responsible.' Now, as then, the Imperial authority is still 'to all intents and purposes an unqualified autocracy.' The great Dominions still occupy 'the position of outside petitioners to the Colonial Office, with scarcely more influence than a county member of the House of Commons.' Courteous consideration is theirs in fullest measure. But they want more than 'concessions of courtesy.' They want 'a defined position in the Imperial economy.' They are still without it.

No one can assert that in the last twenty-five years the Dominions have been backward either in demonstrations of loyalty to the Throne and the Empire, or in effective assistance in times of difficulty and stress. The sand of the Soudan and the South African veldt are alike dyed red with some of the best blood of our Colonial fellow-subjects. In the policy which led to those wars they had neither part nor lot. With more and more resoluteness they are assuming the responsibility of self-defence, and they show an increasing willingness to contribute to the continuous burden of Imperial armaments. But in the control and destination of these armaments they have no voice. To say that the position is anomalous is to put it altogether too low; the marvel is that the patience and loyalty of the Dominions have stood the strain.

In one matter of extreme importance it is clear that they have already reached the end of the tether. It would be inadvisable to complicate the issue which in these pages I desire to present by any elaborate reference to highly controversial topics. My anxiety is to reach the greatest common measure of agreement; to concentrate all the forces of integration, and to pursue the line of least resistance. But it would be affectation to ignore either the difficulties or the significance of the commercial problem. 'The crux of Imperial Federation lies in this tariff question. The British Empire for customs purposes consists of a

great number of foreign and almost hostile countries, and it is as difficult to conceive the whole of the Colonies becoming Free Trade countries as to expect the Mother Country to become Protectionist under such temptations as the Canadians could hold out to her.' Thus wrote[1] Sir Charles Dilke in his classical work a generation ago. A great change has now come over the spirit of the scene. The persuasive eloquence of the Cobdenites has fallen upon deaf ears. The rulers of this world have with rare unanimity refused to listen to the voice of the charmer:

> O ye the wise who think, the wise who reign,
> From growing Commerce loose her latest chain,
> And let the fair white-winged peacemaker fly
> To happy havens under all the sky.

Far from 'breaking their mailèd fleets and armèd towers,' they have entered into hot competition in ship-building and armaments; and instead of loosing Commerce's latest chain they have riveted it upon her with ever tightening tenacity. Thus the Cobdenite dream has vanished into air. Only the great self-governing Dominions have manifested a disposition to diminish the height of their tariff walls in deference to the call of Imperial patriotism. Sir Charles Dilke was, indeed, right in his forecast that the Colonies would not adopt Free Trade; nor has his prediction as to repugnance of the Mother Country to Protection been so far falsified by the event. It is clear, however, that he underrated the efficacy of Imperial sentiment in modifying commercial policy. It may be that not even the prospect of Imperial union would be potent to induce either the Mother or the Daughters to abandon the fiscal system which each believes to be best suited to their several stages of economic development; but the latter are quite ready to modify it, while the former has lately had an object-lesson which can hardly fail to cause anxious questionings even to the most unbending Cobdenite. But with the merits of the policy of Imperial Preference I am not here concerned. I refer to the matter only in further illustration of the change which has taken place in the conditions of the problem since it was first propounded by Lord Grey and Mr. Forster in the pages of this Review.

It is unnecessary to do more than refer to various demonstrations of Imperial sentiment which have from time to time tended to keep the spark alive, such as the preëminently Imperial character of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee; the visits of Royal Princes to the Dominions for various acts of State; above all, the impending visit of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress to the greatest of the Dependencies. Not without significance, again, is the occasional transference to the Dominions of meet-

[1] *Problems of Greater Britain*, ii. 475.

ings of learned societies like the British Association. That the *savants* of the Empire should feel it as natural to meet in Winnipeg as in Edinburgh, that they should visit the Victoria Falls just as they would the Giant's Causeway is all to the good, and the more such interchange of scientific amenities can be encouraged the better.

Still more significant, of course, is the institution of periodic meetings of an Imperial Conference in the Capital of the Empire. To some it may seem that in securing these Conferences at regular intervals, we have obtained as much as it is for the moment desirable to attempt. No one would be less disposed than the present writer to belittle their importance; but, good as they are, they are not enough. The intervals are still too long; the functions of the Conference are too restricted, and the machinery is lacking in effectiveness and precision. As a step in the right direction, the periodic Imperial Conference is a thing to be welcomed; to regard it as the goal of Imperial ambition would be to disappoint disastrously the hopes of all true Imperialists.

But the most important change in the political conditions governing the Imperial problem has still to be noted.

We have witnessed during the last twelve months the climax and completion of the Constitutional evolution of the great Oversea Dominions. The union of South Africa indicates that the term of individual evolution has been reached. When Mr. Forster wrote in 1885 only the British North American group had entered upon the final stage, and the scheme even of Canadian Federalism was far from complete. In Australia, fears of foreign intrusion had lately led to the summoning of an Inter-Colonial Conference (1883), but not until 1891 was the movement which reached fruition in 1900 seriously inaugurated. New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South and Western Australia were still entirely independent units, with each of which negotiations would certainly have been necessary, and might have been difficult. The position was even worse in South Africa. So far back as 1856 Sir George Grey had insisted upon the desirability of a united South Africa under the British flag. Unfortunately, his advice was neglected. There were, of course, difficulties to be overcome in South Africa which were conspicuously absent in Australia. Lord Carnarvon made a valiant effort to surmount them during his tenure of the Colonial Office (1874-1878), and in 1877 an enabling Act was passed under which the South African Colonies, had they desired it, might have followed the Canadian example of 1867. But they did not desire it; political troubles supervened, and only within the last twelve months has the goal of political unity been attained.

It is obvious, therefore, that in this way the problem of

Imperial unity has been simplified to an extraordinary degree. In 1885 the units of a possible Federation numbered no less than fourteen; to-day they are reduced to six. This in itself is a gain, the significance of which cannot be exaggerated. The great Colonial groups have thus responded nobly and effectively to the challenge thrown down by the opponents of Federalism a quarter of a century ago.

But they have done more. They have not only by their local action simplified the solution of the larger problem; they have accumulated invaluable experience in the methods of Constitution-making, and have in their turn flung down a challenge to the Mother Country. 'We have accomplished the task which you declared to be an indispensable preliminary. We have adjusted local differences; we have surmounted obstacles, thought by many to be insuperable; we have conciliated local jealousies; we have attained to local unity. What we have done for ourselves severally, is it beyond the competence of the Mother- and the Daughter-land to achieve by combined action for the Empire as a whole?' It is a fair challenge. The Dominions have done their part. They have individually attained the term of their Constitutional evolution from the *règne militaire* to Crown Colony administration; from the latter to representative institutions without a responsible executive; from this again to full 'responsibility'; from 'responsibility' to Federalism. All alike have now reached the final goal.

Is the process to be arrested abruptly at this point? Has the federal force among Britons burnt itself out? Has the integrating movement reached its term? Is constructive statesmanship among us bankrupt? What Britons have done severally in the now United States of America, in Canada, in Australia and South Africa, can they not do unitedly for the Empire as a whole?

If they cannot, there would seem to be but one alternative. Twenty years ago the problem was thus analysed by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*: 'There are two opposite currents of opinion prevailing at the present day on this great subject. . . . Each regards the present condition of The British Empire as transitional; but whilst the one believes that an ultimate solution will be found in the consolidation of the Queen's Dominions under a single supreme Government, possessing authority and ability to govern and to direct the whole or a single nation, the other believes it is the destiny of Great Britain to be the "mother of free nations." . . . Imperial Federation is the ideal of the one school. Friendly alliance between Great Britain and those great English communities beyond the seas now called dependencies, but soon to be independent states is the ideal of the other."*

**Edinburgh Review*, July 1891.

'Each regards the present condition of the British Empire as transitional.' That was true in 1891; and every argument which could then be adduced in support of that conclusion has, as we have seen, been immensely strengthened by the lapse of the intervening years. But if the alternative of disintegration is not to be entertained, how is the contrasted ideal to be achieved?

II.

There has hitherto been a natural, perhaps a prudent reluctance to come to close quarters with this question. Speakers and writers have been, for the most part, content with the enunciation of amiable generalities as to the desirability of 'closer union.' To that proposition, so long as it remains a generality every one is ready to assent. Has not the time come to put generous aspirations to the test of concrete Constitutional proposals?

At least one Colonial statesman would seem to be prepared to answer this question in the affirmative. According to Reuter's telegraphic summary, Sir James Ward, Premier of New Zealand, speaking at Sydney on the 11th of March, suggested, 'without committing himself,' the creation of 'an Imperial House of Representatives, returned upon a basis of population, and an Imperial Senate, to which each portion of the Empire would elect equal numbers of members, such a Parliament to be strictly limited to the consideration of the Imperial questions mentioned, and to adjust and determine the contributions for Imperial defence of each Dominion represented. It would also determine the need and extent of local defences throughout the Empire. Its aim should be the creation and maintenance of an invincible Navy, capable in all likely conditions of keeping open the highways for our trade and protecting to the fullest extent inter-Imperial commerce.'[5] We shall look forward with eagerness to the elaboration of a scheme here presented only in tantalising outline. In particular we shall await with interest Sir Joseph Ward's views as to the relation of this 'Imperial Parliament of Defence' to an Imperial Executive. Meanwhile, apart from details, the significant thing is that a Prime Minister of one of the great Dominions should on the eve of another Imperial Conference have expressed himself with such uncompromising frankness in favour of a full-fledged Imperial Parliament. Such a Parliament—bicameral in structure and obviously modelled upon the legislatures of the Australian Commonwealth and the United States, and with an Imperial Executive responsible to and dependent upon it, may be regarded as the maximum demand of advanced Federalists.

[5] *The Standard*, March 13, 1911.

Whether it would be desirable to pass at one bound to this final goal of Imperial unity is a matter for grave deliberation. It is, however, no longer a conclusive objection that such a project would throw into the melting pot the existing Constitution of the United Kingdom. That process is already far advanced.

But besides the scheme adumbrated by Sir Joseph Ward there are others which demand at least a passing notice.

The idea of introducing Colonial representatives into the existing House of Commons, though it commended itself to the genius of Adam Smith, is no longer regarded as practicable. The objections to such a solution, declared by Lord Grey to be 'insurmountable' in 1879, have not diminished in gravity since that time. Only a fragment of the time of the 'Imperial' Parliament —particularly of the Lower House—can be devoted to Imperial affairs, and the proportion is not likely to increase. To introduce Colonial representatives into such an assembly would not only confer upon them an anomalous position in regard to the purely domestic concerns of the United Kingdom; it would not only involve them inevitably in the strife of British politics, but would be a mockery of their legitimate ambitions for the transaction of truly Imperial business.

For the introduction of Colonial Peers into the House of Lords the time has perhaps gone by. The idea commended itself to the 'orator of the Empire,' and to a minority of the Committee for the Reform of the House of Lords over which he presided, but it was not received with any approach to general favour, and I must conclude, therefore, that the objections to it are greater than I have been able to perceive. Anyway, the time is no longer propitious for the adoption of this particular solution.

It will also be conceded that the scheme suggested by Lord Grey in 1879 would now be regarded as falling far short of the legitimate expectations of the Dominions and the insistent needs of the Mother Country. Lord Grey, it may be remembered, proposed the formation of 'a Committee of the Privy Council for the purpose of considering and reporting to her Majesty on such questions affecting the Colonies as her Majesty, on the advice of her ministers, might think fit to refer to it.' The Queen was to express her intention of appointing the Agents-General to be members of her Privy Council, and of the proposed Colonial Committee. No Colonial Acts were to be disallowed except after consultation with this Committee, and to it were to be referred by the Cabinet all questions of policy which involved the interests of any portion of the Empire or the Empire as a whole. Had Lord Grey's proposal been adopted in 1879 many mistakes might have been avoided, and the advisory Council might by now have expanded into a body of real significance in the Imperial economy.

But while all Federalists would welcome any step, however timid and tentative, in the right direction, I venture to urge that the time is ripe for the adoption of a larger and bolder scheme.

III.

Home Rulers and Unionists are alike agreed that the existing House of Commons is increasingly unequal to the efficient discharge of the multifarious duties thrust upon it. Home Rulers seek to lighten the burden by handing over the purely local affairs of Ireland—perhaps those of Scotland and Wales—to subordinate legislative bodies. They propose to relieve congestion by disintegration. Unionists and Federalists would prefer to attain a similar end by means exactly contrary: to proceed by way of integration, and to leave to the existing Parliament at Westminster more time for the domestic concerns of the United Kingdom by relieving it of the supervision of the affairs of the Empire as a whole.

This might be effected by the creation of a Federal Council composed, in the first instance, of representatives of the United Kingdom and of the Oversea Dominions. As to the composition of the Council, two questions naturally arise: (i) Should the component units be represented equally or unequally? Should representation follow the Canadian or the Australian plan? and (ii) How should the members be appointed? In view of the gross inequality of wealth and population at present prevailing among the units of the proposed Federation, it would, I suggest, be impossible to insist upon equality of representation. In the case both of Australia and the United States it was found necessary to admit the principle of equal representation in the Senate in order to secure the adhesion of the smaller States. But the Senate is only one of two Houses. The population basis was accepted in the House of Representatives. If it were proposed to establish straight away a Federal Parliament—bicameral in form —I should cordially concur in Sir Joseph Ward's suggestion that each unit should be equally represented in the Senate. If, however, a unicameral Federal Council should in the first instance be preferred, there would seem to be overwhelming reasons in favour of the Canadian or German plan. Let it be assumed that such a Council would consist of fifty-five members. Of these thirty-five might be assigned to the United Kingdom (considerably less than the share to which on a white population basis she would be entitled), eight to Canada, five to Australia, four to South Africa, two to New Zealand, and one to Newfoundland. Whether it would be desirable to add two or three more, appointed by the Colonial and India Office respectively, to speak directly on behalf of the Crown Colonies and India, is a point for further

consideration.[1] In any case, it would be proper that among those selected to represent the United Kingdom should be some who could speak with authority on behalf of the Crown Colonies and Dependencies.

But how should the representatives be selected? There are three possible methods: (i) Direct election by the several electorates of the federated States; (ii) election by the several legislatures; or (iii) appointment by the several executives. The first is the plan adopted for Senatorial elections in the Australian Commonwealth; the second was preferred in the United States: the third obtains in the German Empire. For reasons which will appear later I should myself incline to the third alternative. The Federal Council would thus consist of representatives appointed in unequal proportions by the executives of the component States, and these representatives would hold office during the good pleasure of the bodies by whom they were appointed. In effect the members of the Federal Council would go in and out with the responsible ministries of the Federal States.

It may be objected that this would entail perpetual changes of *personnel* and much travelling to and fro. This inconvenience might, however, be reduced to a minimum by the adoption of a very simple device borrowed from the procedure of the German *Bundesrath*. Representing, like an Ambassador or an Agent-General, the executive of their respective States, the members of the Federal Council would act as instructed delegates; they would vote not as individuals, but as States. While, therefore, the presence of the full delegation would be highly important for purposes of deliberation, it would not be essential for the casting of votes. Just as in the *Bundesrath* the fifteen votes of Prussia can be delivered by a single delegate, so the eight votes of Canada, for example, might be delivered by a single representative, his vote being raised to the power of the State representation. The vote of the Australian Commonwealth would similarly be counted five times, whether actually delivered by one delegate or by five. It is to be hoped that in practice each unit of the Federal Empire would send delegates to the full limits of its legal representation. It has, however, frequently been objected that the young communities are not rich enough in statesmen of the first rank to enable them to part with any considerable number of them for a period of years. Some, again, might be reluctant to incur the necessary expense. Neither of these objections will be permanently valid. But, in the meantime, the difficulty would, I submit, be surmounted by the simple device suggested above.

Two other questions demand attention; (i) What would be the relation of the Federal Council to the Parliament of the

United Kingdom, and (ii) In what relation would the British Executive stand to the Federal Council? All difficulties would, I submit, be avoided by giving to the members of the Federal Council a tenure *dependent upon the good pleasure of the executive of the several component States.* The thirty-five members of the United Kingdom delegation should invariably include the Prime Minister, the Foreign, Colonial, Indian, and War Secretaries, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the President of the Board of Trade, and preferably also the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Postmaster-General; and the whole delegation would go in and out with the ministry of the day. No friction, therefore, could arise between the legislature of the United Kingdom and the Federal Council. The majority in the latter would precisely reflect the political complexion of the former. The House of Commons could withdraw its confidence from the Federal Council exactly as it now withdraws it from the Cabinet of the day; the same vote which overturned the ministry would automatically withdraw the British delegation from the Federal Council.

So much for the composition and procedure of the Federal Council. Its functions have still to be considered. It would be competent to deal with such topics only as should be specifically assigned to it. To it would naturally be confided the entire supervision of foreign and Colonial policy. All treaties, commercial or political, would have to be confirmed by it; no war would be declared, and no peace concluded without its sanction; it would concern itself with emigration and immigration: with the maintenance and development of the great Imperial highways by sea and land; with Imperial posts and telegraphs; with the provision of harbours, coaling stations, etc.; and, above all, with every detail involved in the problem of Imperial defence.

IV.

It may be well at this point to anticipate some objections which are certain to be urged against any such scheme. One preliminary objection may be summarily disposed of. If it be urged that it is provocative and imprudent to enter into details, I can only answer that public opinion has manifested unmistakable impatience of perpetual generalities, and demands a concrete scheme, if only for the purpose of demonstrating its impracticability. Other objections entitled to respectful consideration still remain. Any such scheme, it will be urged, would impinge upon the central doctrine of the British Constitution—the legislative sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament; it would impair the principle of Cabinet responsibility; it would endanger the cherished autonomy of the Dominions, and would subordinate their policy, in im-

portant respects, to that of the United Kingdom; it would tie the hands of the local governments, and would involve the Colonies in risks and responsibilities, military and diplomatic, which they ought not in fairness be asked to assume.

Let us come to closer quarters with these criticisms. Would the creation of a Federal Council necessarily impinge upon the sovereignty of Parliament? That sovereignty, be it observed, is legislative; the functions of the proposed Council are to be deliberative and executive. Does the Cabinet Council infringe that sacrosanct principle? If not, why should the Federal Council do so? The Parliamentary majority would be not less accurately reflected in the latter than it is at present in the former. But would not the sense of Cabinet responsibility be weakened? No more than is that of the German Emperor by the existence of the *Bundesrath.* Not indeed so much; for Prussia can be outvoted (except on some specified points) in the *Bundesrath*; the United Kingdom could not be outvoted in the Federal Council. I would not indeed be understood to suggest that the voting strength would be permanently maintained in the proportions indicated above. On the contrary, it would probably be desirable to provide for automatic revision according to the shifting proportions of the white population of the federated States. Should the balance of population shift from the centre to the circumference, it would be only proper that voting power in the Council should shift with it; but that day is not yet, and the future must solve its own problems.

Nor is there any real ground for apprehension that the Federal Council would curtail the local autonomy of the federated States. Domestic affairs would be left, as at present, entirely in the hands of the local Parliaments. The Council would be concerned only with matters of external policy, with affairs common to the Empire as a whole. That the Dominions would be involved in responsibilities, military and diplomatic, is true. But are they exempt from them under the existing system? The only essential difference would be this: At present the Dominions are exposed to the risk of war and are committed to diplomatic engagements at the sole and exclusive discretion of the Imperial Executive. Under the proposed arrangement they would have an effective and official (though not at present a preponderating) voice alike in the determination of policy, in the registration of treaties, and in the declaration of war. Diplomatic instruments of real Imperial significance, such as the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, the Declaration of London, or the Arbitration Treaty with the United States, would henceforward be concluded with the official knowledge and official sanction not merely of the United Kingdom, but of the

British Empire. To the Dominions such an alteration would be clear gain; and not less, I am confident, to the United Kingdom. That a share of diplomatic power would involve also the assumption of responsibility for armaments is undeniably true; but the two would go hand in hand, and past experience negatives the apprehension that any portion of the Empire would be anxious to repudiate or evade the logical consequences of Imperial partnership.

V.

One point remains. Assuming that the time has come for a long step forward in the constitutional organisation of the Empire, and assuming also the willingness of the component States to enter upon it, how can such revision be effected? For an answer to this practical question, the Motherland need go no further than the recent experience of the Daughter-States. Canada, Australia, and South Africa are all well qualified to initiate us into the mysteries of the making of a Federal Constitution. The first step would obviously be to obtain the assent of the units, or some of them, to the general principle. For this a vote of the several legislatures might suffice. The assenting parties would then be invited to appoint delegates to a constituent convention in London, the sittings of which, following the Philadelphia and Durban precedents, should be held strictly *in camera*. Secrecy is at this stage essential to success. Without it, Hamilton and Washington would almost certainly have failed in 1787, and success could hardly have been attained in South Africa. Australia, it is true, struggled through to the goal despite publicity, but her experience suggests a warning rather than an example. Assume, then, that the convention is able to agree upon the outlines of a scheme. The scheme thus drafted would next be submitted for amendment to the legislatures of the several States represented in the convention. A second or adjourned convention would then meet, perhaps at Ottawa, to consider the amendments, and would attempt to arrive at a final agreement upon the scheme. In this final shape it would be submitted for acceptance or rejection, not for amendment, either to the legislatures of the several States, or preferably, by means of a Referendum, to the electors themselves. Under the Commonwealth Act any such scheme would require the direct sanction both of the electors of the Commonwealth as a whole and of its constituent States. In South Africa and Canada as in New Zealand and Newfoundland, and in the United Kingdom the assent of a newly elected legislature would probably be held to suffice.

Not without diffidence I have descended into considerable detail in order to meet the challenge which is frequently, and not unfairly, thrown down to Federalists. 'General aspirations after

union are all very well; everyone is in sympathy with them; the difficulty only begins when you get to the actual work of construction and to the definition of procedure.' In the above paper I have been rash enough to attempt both, in the conviction that only by thus daring can the cause, at this juncture, effectually be served. I am painfully apprehensive of the fate in store for the student who rushes in where the politician fears to tread. But there are times when even the student has a plain political duty to fulfil.

For my own part, I cannot resist the conviction that the British Empire has reached the parting of the ways. The great self-governing Dominions have now attained to the full dignity of political manhood; three of the greatest groups have worked out for themselves their own federal salvation; they have reached the term of their constitutional evolution. But autonomous as regards domestic affairs, completely endowed with all the attributes of self-government, as regards external relations they remain in leading strings. In the shaping of a policy which may mean to them salvation or destruction they have no voice; in world-diplomacy they are mere cyphers. The anomaly and contradiction of the situation cannot much longer endure. There are only two possible solutions. Choice must be made between them. Either the Dominions must take their place in world-politics as independent nations, or they must become parts, along with the United Kingdom, of one organised and coherent whole. As independent units their place must, for many years to come, be in the second or third rank; even their independence may be precariously maintained. As component parts of a great Federal Empire their position would be not merely great, but unassailable. Disintegration would, moreover, run counter to the manifest political tendencies of the modern era. No serious observer can doubt that among the potent political forces of our time the strongest and most persistent is that of integration. During the last century and a half we have seen that principle triumph over all obstacles in the thirteen republics which form the nucleus of the now United States of America; among Frenchmen and Britons in the Canadian Dominion; among Britons and Dutchmen in South Africa, and among Germans, Italians and Frenchmen in the cantons of the Swiss Confederation. It has been at work among the republics of Latin South America, no less than among the British Colonies in Australia. It has welded into a powerful Federal Empire the States of Germany, and into a unitary kingdom the Duchies, Kingdoms, and Republics of Italy. In not one of these cases was the task of consolidation accomplished without prolonged and anxious and strenuous exertions. Centrifugal and centripetal forces were at war. Integration was made to prevail

over disintegration not by the fatalistic folding of nerveless hands, but by determined, persistent, and sagacious statesmanship. Among the scattered States of the British Empire the two forces are in active rivalry to-day. The issue hangs in the balance.

> Pray God our greatness may not fail
> Through craven fear of being great.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

THE NAVAL AND MILITARY PROBLEM SET BY LORD HALDANE

'Organisation is indispensable to growth. Beyond a certain point, there cannot be further growth without further organisation.'—Herbert Spencer.

In war nothing is impossible. Preparations that are inadequate to face an extreme situation of difficulty cannot be said to be perfect if victory is the aim and object of a nation. Lord Haldane, the philosopher and able Secretary for War, in his introduction to the volume on 'Compulsory Service,' written by Sir Ian Hamilton, very rightly preaches the doctrine of the 'Offensive' as the keynote for success in war. To an island Power this doctrine must be common to both land and sea forces. He defines the limits of the theatre of operations, and maintains rightly that 'the Home Frontiers of this country are not land frontiers, but sea frontiers.' A nation like ours, absolutely innocent of war sense, will probably be puzzled when they read, if they care to read, that the direction and control of an 'offensive' war policy is placed in the hands of a 'Defensive Committee.' Surely the term 'Imperial War Council' would convey to the mind in plainer words the existence of a body of men, civil as well as military, who are considering war in all its aspects. An 'offensive' war beyond our home seas cannot, however, be undertaken without arranging for the security of the coasts from which the force sails; in other words, without solving the problem of meeting and defeating a possible invader of those shores. Lord Haldane calls to his aid what he terms an 'expert seaman' to enumerate the difficulties attendant on this task of invasion by an enemy. 'Master Mariner,' who is enlisted for this purpose, bases his calculation on a hostile force of 70,000 men making this attempt. Unless he be a German, we must assume that his facts and figures are drawn from British methods of procedure, and his conclusions unconsciously throw a lurid light upon our own highly ineffective preparations for 'offensive' war.

After enumerating the difficulties and dangers attending the hostile invasion, even under most favourable circumstances, he 'concludes that three weeks would elapse from the first move in the game to the day on which the invading army would be ready to advance inland.'

Let us view this question from the light of an 'offensive' movement, likely to be undertaken by our own forces. The light is distinctly brilliant, and fairly stares us in the face. Those who have read and digested the recent criticisms on the Dutch Defence Bill will realise the problem to be solved by those Powers who guarantee the neutrality of Belgium. In fulfilling the duty which our honour might demand, we must be prepared to move and act simultaneously with the forces of other Powers who share the duty of guarantor. Our War Minister boasts of having 170,000 men at his disposal for this purpose, though he knows well that two of his six Army Divisions will be required for home police duty. His friend, 'Master Mariner,' tells him he may, under most favourable circumstances, place 70,000 of this force on the shores of the theatre of operations in three weeks' time. What need to send more, for the war will probably be over before the arrival of the balance. Does not this disclosure of the lack of mobility make us the laughing stock of both friend and foe? The combined naval and military problem we have to solve is the possibility of disembarking our striking force at the oversea naval base of operations well *within the period of time that other Powers, friendly or hostile, can mobilise.* Rehearsal of this war operation should be the imperative demand of the nation, even on the small scale of an advanced guard of two divisions. With the gearing together of the two services an oversea operation could be undertaken at top speed. At present the cogs that should mesh together lie miles apart. To be able to secure the oversea naval base with an advanced guard of two Army Divisions and a Cavalry Division within a week's notice is the naval problem.

Let us glance at the situation presented at home when the whole of our 'expeditionary force' of 170,000 men are fulfilling the task which justifies their name and existence. This is presented to Lord Haldane in a picture painted by Sir Ian Hamilton, a soldier who can wield the pen, the brush, and the sword. He explains that the present Territorial Force, stiffened by such Regulars as are left behind by the 'expeditionary force,' will suffice to account for an enemy who may pose as an invader. We must not forget that this so-called stiffening element will gradually be withdrawn to meet war wastage in officers and men at the oversea front. This prop will become weaker as operations last. With the ridiculous amount of training that the Territorial Force receives, and with its gross deficiency in numbers, it would be criminal to ask them to face in war the first-line troops that they will undoubtedly have to encounter as invaders. Their value has been appraised time and again by Sir Ian himself, who states that, with considerable odds in their favour, they may be expected to give a good account of themselves. Readers of the

struggle in the American Civil War will recall how similar ill-trained, ill-disciplined troops argued points of tactics with their leaders, hesitated to obey, settled the question of a forward or rearward movement themselves. Smokeless powder has aggravated the fog of war, and added fresh difficulties to a leader making his calculations. With troops of doubtful value, who is to decide the chances of success? Maybe a sporting bookie in a balloon may shout the odds, for to brigade untrained troops with regulars is to gamble on the battlefield.

No sportsman, however courageous, would care to tackle a man-eating lion or tiger with a mixed bag of cartridges, some ball and some blank. This is the task set to the commander of this mixed force. However, the nation may sleep on, they have got the man for the job, the author of the scheme himself. He can mature his plans from the stool of his office as Inspector-General of Oversea Forces. Already two Field-Marshals have pronounced that post to be a sinecure, so there should be much leisure for the task, but the nation will never spare Sir Ian out of their sight.

Independent of his task of meeting a foe upon these shores, his troops will have the duty of maintaining order in his rear. He must be prepared for extreme situations of difficulty. Imagine a temporary obstruction of command of the sea only for a week or so, and a fear of invasion; the country in a state of siege, the Government in possession of all food supplies, and a daily ration given to rich and poor alike. Quite a proper course to take if prolonged resistance is intended. Some million or so of men out of work, and fed for nothing. What a source of danger they would be to the peaceful inhabitants of the country. Are they to be indulged in unhealthy indolence? An army would be required to maintain order. Is it realised that not one of these enforced idlers is competent to raise his hand to drive away the foe, or even to protect himself?

Lord Haldane's main difficulty, however, is how to procure from a nation, absolutely indifferent to war sense, the men in sufficient numbers to carry out the policy he preaches. The problem of men, method and money has to be solved. In a fine piece of word painting, Sir Ian Hamilton gives us his experiences. He lifts the curtain of the stage in the Adjutant-General's Department only to the height that suits his arguments. Stripped of its paint, this literary canvas for voluntary service presents a feeble picture. All soldiers will agree with the spirit of 'the offensive' in war which breathes through his arguments. Unfortunately another offensive spirit permeates his letter to Lord Haldane. No word scares the British public more than the term 'conscript.' They interpret it only in one way, viz. a man drawn

by ballot to serve his country and allowed by law to provide a substitute. Interpreted as such, this nauseous term 'conscript' and 'conscripted armies' stinks in the nostrils of every civilised nation, and Sir Ian is careful to give his readers a full dose of the poison. There are no such conscript armies nowadays. Armies are raised and fleets built for the purpose which the policy of the country dictates. We stand alone in our policy. It is an inconstant one, in contrast to others. All other nations have the manhood of their nation behind their policy.

We have for generations and centuries found that for the purposes of holding and maintaining our sea-girt empire, the necessary numbers are forthcoming by the voluntary enlistment of boys and youths whom we train, discipline, and subsequently return to the nation as seasoned men. Provided the birth-rate of boys does not decline, we can rely upon the supply, but these boys must be kept and maintained before we launch them as men to carry out the world duty demanded of British soldiers.

There is nothing in the annals of our Army to justify the statement that the flow of recruits to the colours of the Regular Army would cease if all the youths of the country were compelled by law to serve. When you ask *men* to do this duty, it is another question. The Britisher has been too long encouraged to consider himself his own master to expect him to undertake the strange burden of discipline. Witness the discreditable scenes lately enacted in the North of England, and in Wales, where the men declined to take the advice or obey the rules of leaders and laws of their own choice, and of chiefs paid for out of their own pockets. Give the man a groundwork of discipline while in the pliable stage of youth, and you insensibly raise his spirit to a sense of duty and patriotism. In his contention in favour of the voluntary performance of a national duty as contrasted with the legal obligation of fulfilling this task, Sir Ian Hamilton shows us only one side of the picture. He illustrates the war-weariness of the German in 1871, of the Russian and Jap after their two years' desperate struggle, and contrasts it with the unflinching way in which our voluntary enlisted men of the Regular Army stuck to the colours at the conclusion of our last war. As the men of the armies mentioned above were men taken from a trade and a home which each longs to return to, and the British soldier of our Army is a boy with no trade to return to, and sometimes no home, the cases are divergent. But has he not forgotten the fact that when, pushed for men as we were in the later stages of our latest war, we enrolled them 'for one year, or until the conclusion of the war,' nearly all men thus enrolled, returned home at the shorter period of engagement, even when the war was at its height. It shows

a poor spirit in the nation when its able-bodied men with rifles in their hands turn their backs on a life-and-death struggle. War-weariness will supervene whether the men are enlisted by compulsion or voluntarily.

The Kaiser is right. 'Nerves will win the next war.' Our next experience will be child's play to the recent one in South Africa. The future weapon in the hands of infantrymen will revolutionise the system of battle tactics. The evolution of the modern rifle has produced a psychological strain on the soldier which was a trial unknown to men in old days. It tells more upon the town-bred man than upon the country-bred. It results in undisciplined men drifting away for self-protection to points where cover offers; thereby follows loss of fire action, loss of formation, cessation of advance, paralysis of the movement intended by the supreme commander. The test of morale now begins at any distance from five to two miles from the foe, whereas in old days its limits were measured in a few hundreds of yards. Both the optic and auditory nerves are now called upon to meet this prolonged strain. Night operations now necessary to enable troops to get within striking distance of a foe intensify the nervous strain. Only leaders that are trained to discipline and to command, and plenty of them, can overcome the craven feeling in their men, and galvanise them with the spirit preached by the Great Frederick: 'The livelier the attack, the less men it will cost.'

Sir Ian Hamilton, in his eulogies in favour of our voluntary system, and in the proofs he offers of its success so far, has totally ignored the bedrock upon which such success is founded. Not one word does he say about the officers and N.C.O.'s. No dictum of Napoleon's was ever more true than the one, 'The man is everything, the men are nothing.' The secret of our triumphs in world-service and in battle-leading is due to the training in character of our officers. Wise indeed were our forbears that, knowing the poor and inferior material from which our armies were recruited, they supplemented the deficiency by having a far higher proportion of officers to men than obtains in foreign armies.

Sir Ian, in his letter, illustrates, and rightly praises the morale and spirit of a partially trained and disciplined force at French's fight at Elandslaagte. It is perhaps unfortunate to make comparisons with other troops where losses are sustained as a sample of battle efficiency, for on the field all units are not offered equal chances. He signals out the Gordons and Imperial Light Horse for special praise. Deservedly so, but who led them? Is Dick-Cunyngham, V.C., of the former, to be ignored? Is 'Jabber

Chisholm,* of the I.L.H., to go down to posterity unheard of as a leader? As an old cavalry commander, he was in the very front of his regiment, the instinct of old training. 'Come on, boys!' was his cry. 'Hallo! I'm hit. Never mind. Come on, boys! Hallo! I'm hit again. Hold me up, Johnson and Smith, and carry me on. Come on, boys; come——' until down he went for ever! Continue the story of these two units. Ten weeks later Sir Ian found himself fighting for bare life, while holding the key of the position at Ladysmith. Both the above units were under his orders, and both had lost their leaders. Did they finish the fight? Certainly not. Only by the consummate bravery of the commander, Hamilton himself, and with the aid of *fresh troops*, the gallant Parke, with his Devons and their bayonets, was a situation retrieved which was nigh becoming another Majuba. No officer, however richly endowed with the genius of advertisement, will stoop to cover the failings of his subordinates by the glamour of his own personal courage.

Let us lift the veil of the Adjutant-General's Department a little higher than Sir Ian has done to suit his purpose. Much can be learned by studying the reasons of success in war, an enjoyable study, but you double the value of the lesson if you probe the reasons for failure, and set to work to profit thereby. Success in all contests, and supremely so in war, comes to him who makes the fewest mistakes. There must be something radically wrong in the military spirit of a nation numbering forty millions if that nation takes nearly three years to subdue eighty thousand farmers. Let the Adjutant-General's Department tell us to what straits we were pushed to meet war wastage in officers and men. It would be wrong to indulge in wholesale condemnation of that material. Undoubtedly some were of a true grit. But will it tell us how many scores of officers were returned from the seat of war branded as worse, much worse, than incompetent, and more than absolute imposters? I myself recognised a ticket-of-leave man masquerading in khaki with a captain's stars upon his shoulder-knots. Was it 10,000 or 20,000 men who at one period could not be found? What becomes of your boasted passion for voluntary service when the best part of an army corps is missing? Do not imagine that we are worse in that respect than other nations. That is not the question. Are we better?

Why does our Official History of the War deny us the value of honest criticism? Because it dare not criticise. It dare not tell the nation of the proofs it has of its incapacity for prolonged war. It dare not tell the nation that it has a rotten reed to lean upon, when called upon for sustained effort—the so-called voluntary spirit. War-weariness in a nation will supervene whatever the conditions of enlistment of its manhood. It will hit the nation

most hard whose capacity for filling the gaps caused by prolonged operations is not studied. Hasty, ill-devised schemes for filling those gaps with ill-trained, ill-disciplined material will only prolong both a war and its weariness, and invite either defeat or humiliating submission. Nothing but a sound method, devised in the period of peace, can offer hope of an antidote to this prospect of national suffering. Trained and disciplined soldiers are created only by time and money. No amount of millions can buy the time necessary.

Lord Haldane has added to the scope of our duties in his proposals to ensure security. He himself very rightly defines what is the theatre of operations for this duty. The fringe of the hostile shores are its boundaries. Under no circumstances must an enemy be permitted to wage war within those boundaries. The national army which he hopes to create for this task must, therefore, be prepared to step on to those boundaries. Does he purpose to give this task to a caricature of an army? Certainly not. The material for this duty must be a manhood fit to supply war wastage for the ranks of those called upon for the initial effort. It must be trained, disciplined, and officered under a regular system that has been engrained in the pliable stage of youth. It must come from an endless supply, and embrace the entire manhood. As Alcibiades, twenty-three centuries ago, when debating the composition of a striking force to be despatched to Sicily, described it, 'The union of talents—the inferior, the average, the consummate—is strength indeed.' The educated brains of the loafer with a loaf must serve alongside of, and make compensation for, the brainless loafer who has no loaf. The supply to maintain war wastage must be reliable in every sense, and inexhaustible, and a superabundance of officers will justify the cost entailed. However costly it may be to maintain the cadres in officers and N.C.O.'s of a National Army, it is far cheaper than a war.

I am averse to believe that the war spirit in the classes from which we have hitherto drawn the officers of our Army is declining. The Army is now a profession demanding a strenuous life, with little reward compared to other professions. The prospects of the pay of officers must be levelled up with their fellow workers in the struggle for life. Some means must be devised by which we can work in with the head-masters of our public schools to give us still of their best, if possible, of that sound material of character so aptly described by Lord Cromer, 'the Capax Imperio,' which has proved its worth in our World Empire. We must breed leaders, and many of them, for a hope of success in future war.

The Secretary of State for War must take the masters of our

public schools into his confidence for this purpose. We are short of some 3000 officers and 65,000 men in the peace establishments laid down by expert military authority as vital to the duty of maintaining the policy of the empire. Either means must be taken to fill up this deficit or the policy must be fundamentally altered. The difficulty of filling this gap between security and danger will increase as time goes on, unless the best recruiting-sergeant, the Law of the Land, comes to the rescue. This question of officers is a most vital one. At present they do not exist, and we seem to imagine that you can make an officer as you do a coat—to order and in a week.

A new bogey has arisen which may complicate the difficulty still further. As patriotism wanes, is it not possible that the nation may decline to leave the issue of peace or war to its leaders, and demand a Referendum? Something must be done to stimulate the manhood of the nation to more virile purposes. A sleepy, apathetic, pleasure-loving nation is only awakened to a sense of its remissness by seeing the realities of danger when such is presented at its very doors. The Battle of Houndsditch and the Siege of Stepney woke the population to the fact that our guardians of the peace were unequally matched to the duty of facing an armed and determined foe, and a chorus shouted it was time to remedy the defect. Ten years ago men who had faced the realities of war, and who had witnessed the half-hearted, miserable response which the nation made when asked to prolong the efforts required, returned home with a picture burned into their brains. This picture was reflected in the verdict of a Royal Commission: 'It is the duty of every citizen of military age and sound physique to be trained for the National Defence, and to take part in it should emergency arise.' The Law of the Land must impose this duty on its manhood in the manner and method best suited to the purpose, and to the least peril of its industries.

Two years ago, at the Press Conference, the greatest oratorical talent of England addressed the assembled representatives of Greater Britain in stirring words on questions of Unity in Empire, and the necessity of its maintenance. Lord Rosebery led off with the note of warning as to how behindhand we were in our preparations to meet a peril which threatened us. Mr. Balfour, Sir E. Grey, Mr. Haldane, and others endorsed 'every word' the first orator uttered on the subject of 'Imperial Defence.' Our proconsuls, Milner, Curzon, Cromer, never cease to preach the obligation of the citizen to his country. The seed of the sermon has borne fruit in every country save in the Mother Country. The manhood of our Dominions have accepted the burden, and proved themselves worthy of the old name of Briton. The burden is not a measure of gold, but a test of the soul of the nation. We still

talk on the matter, like gramophone records, but decline to face the task like men, and shun the personal duty which all other countries give to the land of their birth.

It is comforting to know that the opinions proffered in the latest effort to prop up a system which is dying of atrophy, by the means prescribed by Sir Ian Hamilton, is not shared by those on whose shoulders responsibility rests. The author stands singularly alone among his professional comrades in the conclusions he submits for the foundation of national security. The country has reason to be shy of individual opinion on such matters. Thirty years ago a distinguished officer, serving under the portals of the Minister of War, submitted a proposal on the system of gun loading which put back the clock in the matter of gun construction, and its consequent bearing upon ship and fort building, for some twenty years, and cost the nation untold millions to rectify. He stood alone in his contention, and, as economy was the basic principle of that contention, his hand was warmly grasped by the Ministry in power. Do not let us be fooled again.

Lord Haldane is credited to have once stated 'A nation in arms is the only safeguard for the public interest.' Is he still of that opinion, or has he, to borrow a sporting phrase, been 'doped' by his late Adjutant-General? A false step will not be counted in millions. Its cost will be Empire.

W. G. KNOX, *Major-General.*

AIR-CRAFT IN CO-OPERATION WITH CAVALRY

I.

The aeroplane has been used this year by the United States' troops for observation along the Mexican frontier, and the employment of both dirigibles and aeroplanes in conjunction with cavalry in the work of reconnaissance during Army manœuvres at home and abroad last year, with the subsequent formation of a British Air Battalion, opens up a vista of the further possibilities of combined operations between air-craft and the mounted arms.

To enable us to estimate these possibilities, and in order to avoid being unduly influenced by the novel qualities of engines of war which are so far untried that they have not received their baptism of fire under active-service conditions, we must consider, first, what service may be required of the cavalry, and the usual methods of its employment.

If we then endeavour, in the light of such experience as is a matter of common knowledge, to gauge both the capabilities and the limitations of aerial machines, as such, in their present state of development, bearing in mind their susceptibility to weather conditions and hostile attack, and the drawbacks as well as the advantages of a bird's-eye view of operations from a considerable height, we may arrive at a true appreciation of the value of air-craft for reconnaissance in war.

We shall thus be in a position to form a clear idea as to how far they may reasonably be expected to aid the mounted troops, simplify their tasks, and enable them to economise their strength and utilise their special characteristics to the best advantage in future.

The supreme commander of a force of all arms in the field must consider his mounted troops from two entirely distinct points of view. They are capable, like the aerial machine, of valuable and independent strategical service, such as no other arm can render; but they can also co-operate with infantry and artillery for tactical purposes, and in this connexion they are indispensable.

After they have performed their primary duty in a campaign—gained the upper hand of the enemy's mounted troops—they can be employed in obtaining such strategical information as cannot be got by other means, or on special missions at a considerable distance from the main army. When the opposing forces come within striking distance of one another, they are available for protective purposes, for tactical reconnaissance, for shock action, and to some extent for attack on foot when the occasion calls for such a method of fighting, or in order to augment the fire effect of the infantry in a general action : finally, they are essential in order to carry out a pursuit and to avert or minimise the immediate consequence of defeat.

The swiftness with which they can intervene frequently adds the element of surprise to their intervention on the field of battle, and has a decisive effect which would be denied to slower-moving troops. In spite of the extraordinary development of mechanical transport during the last decade, the horse remains the most serviceable means of conveyance across country, when unusual mobility is essential for tactical purposes or for scouting, and it may be added that the possession of long-range magazine firearms and smokeless powder does not put the mounted rifleman on a fighting level with the cavalry soldier. The latter, besides being able to use his rifle when dismounted, can get in quickly to close quarters with sword or lance against mounted infantry and their horse-holders when opportunity occurs, and the moral effect of the 'arme blanche' in the hands of mounted men remains an important factor, the effect of which is now certain to be intensified in the case of the opposing infantry by the nervous strain of long-sustained fighting in modern battles, which may last for days, together with the more general use of extended order.

Then again, since modern armies, consisting of larger numbers of troops and with more far-reaching weapons of offence, operate on wider fronts than hitherto, these conditions increase the difficulty of making changes in the dispositions of troops. Commanders, in spite of being better provided with mechanical road-transport, are more than ever dependent upon railways and sensitive as to interference with their communications by mounted raids. On the other hand, information as to strategical dispositions can nowadays be obtained from many different non-military sources.

The general trend of railway-lines and roads compels certain lines of advance, and spies, newspapers of neutral countries, telegraphic communication (including wireless), conveyance of news by automobiles and motor-cyclists, all combine to render it impossible to carry out great movements secretly, and therefore tend

to reduce the amount of distant reconnaissance which need be performed by the cavalry, and which in former times fell to their lot. Such extended scouting services as those of the German cavalry in 1870-71 will neither be required nor could they be carried out in the face of anything like a strong opposition, and if successful in obtaining information the transmission by mounted messengers and cyclists might take so long that it would be of no use by the time it reached headquarters. Distant raids on communications or specific offensive missions will, however, still be possible, and the cavalry, horse artillery, and mounted infantry may well be employed on such undertakings when no serious obstacles, in the way of entrenched and prepared positions, entanglements, etc., are to be met with.

It is evident that a supreme commander, taking these various considerations into account, will have every reason to spare his cavalry all unnecessary expenditure of energy in reconnaissance, provided he can obtain the information that he requires by any other means. He will aim at reserving them for fighting purposes as much as possible, since of all troops they are the most difficult and costly to train and to replace. He will consequently welcome the possibility of utilising aerial scouts, as far as they may prove serviceable, from the point of view of both economy and efficiency, either independently or in co-operation with the mounted troops. Further than this, he cannot fail to realise that, since the mastery of the air must in future be a preliminary to victory in the field, the possession of a superior force in air-craft and in experienced aeronauts, pilots, and air-scouts is of preeminent importance, if he is to deal successfully with those of the enemy.

II

Before proceeding to discuss the possibilities of air-craft in war, it is well to emphasise the fact that while the captive-balloon has been fully tested and its capacity gauged in various wars, from those of the French Revolution in the latter end of the eighteenth century up to the recent Spanish operations in Morocco, we have no experience in the use of either dirigible or aeroplane (which alone could be expected to take the place of cavalry in reconnaissance) under active-service conditions. Manœuvres in peace-time can never give any idea of what would happen if their movements were made at the risk of destruction by the enemy's projectiles or in the face of active opposition by hostile air-craft. We must constantly bear in mind, therefore, that our deductions from previous experience must always be made subject to this important qualification.

Taking the dirigible first, a great distinction must be made between small models such as the Beta and the Willows, Clouth,

Astra, Clément-Bayard or Baldwin, and the larger airships such as the Siemens-Schückert, Lebaudy, Clément-Bayard, Parseval, Gross, Zeppelin, or our own naval dirigible. The fact that such a small airship as the Willows dirigible has crossed the Channel is apt to lead to exaggeration of the utility of these small vessels. For military purposes they cannot be reckoned upon to do more than fifteen to twenty-five miles per hour, to carry a crew of two to four persons, and make voyages up to six hours at the above speeds, so that they are only of limited utility for distant reconnaissance. They would be unable to travel at all on very many days in the year, when the velocity of the wind, at altitudes affording reasonable safety from artillery fire, is as much as thirty miles per hour. The larger airships, on the other hand, are capable of average journeys of twelve to fifteen hours at a speed of twenty-five to thirty-five or even forty miles per hour, for short distances, or under favourable conditions. One Zeppelin dirigible as far back as May 1909 travelled 870 miles in thirty-seven hours, and another made a considerable stand against a storm of wind and rain in June 1910, the failure of one of her motors, and not her general design and construction, being principally responsible for her subsequent loss. They are therefore fully capable of distant reconnaissance, they can carry a crew large enough to permit of working in reliefs, and a staff of reconnoitring officers, signallers, photographers and gunners, with a store of provisions, water, tools, explosives, a couple of light automatic guns, search-lights, and apparatus for wireless telegraphy and visual signalling. Once in the air, they make excellent platforms for observation, and will, if not interfered with by the enemy, serve to transport a General and his staff, or a reconnoitring party, over a large expanse of country quite as fast as they could journey by motor-car. Staff-officers are thus enabled to examine terrain inaccessible to wheeled vehicles, to write out reports, photograph and sketch, while on the move, and to travel very much quicker and with much less fatigue than on horseback. Moreover, an airship on returning from one journey can refit and immediately go aloft again, with a second crew, should the occasion demand it. Wireless messages have been received from and sent to a dirigible at distances up to 150 miles, but in many instances a Staff-officer could return from his reconnaissance by way of the air and report in person in less time than it would take him to write out his information and get it transmitted to headquarters by wireless or signal message.

Large airships can rise to six thousand feet above sea-level and then descend and travel many miles under reasonably favourable conditions as to wind and weather. Their gas-containers are so far proof against leakage as to enable them to remain filled for several weeks, when the variations of temperature to which

they are exposed are not large; but great and constant variations, with the consequent abnormal alternate expansion and contraction of gas, are a serious hindrance, as was found in the case of the Wellman airship in her attempt to cross the Atlantic. Rain and snow will also affect the ascensional power of a dirigible and may even bring it to earth, but it has little to fear from mere wind while it is in the air. The moment it attempts to land, however, even a moderate breeze may cause irreparable damage. It can drift safely with the wind-current, but if it attempts to fight the wind by engine-power in a storm it runs serious risk of succumbing in the unequal struggle. Fuel-carrying capacity, to enable it to recover the distance lost in drifting while the storm lasts, is a very great consideration, hence only large airships can afford to go far afield. Previous experience has shown that although a dirigible, suitably anchored, may ride out a wind up to thirty miles an hour in the open, or even stronger winds if the engines can be used to assist her in keeping head to wind, prompt deflation—or, in the case of a rigid airship, a quick rise into the air and drifting before the wind—is safer and more economical in the long run, if a storm should come on while it is anchored. In the case of thunder-storms the dirigible is liable to be struck by lightning while aloft, though the recorded instances of such mishaps tend to prove that they are likely to be rare. Taking it all round, the weather is the most serious obstacle which a dirigible can encounter. Snow and heavy rain—especially rain followed by frost, which turns it to an ice-casing over the huge expanse of the envelope—and high wind will be more serious obstacles to the employment of a dirigible than the enemy's guns. Wet, snowy and windy weather, which will only render the movements of cavalry difficult and wearisome, might tie the airship to the ground. Under such circumstances it can be kept, inflated and ready to start, in its shed, or deflated and packed on its transport wagons, and the moment the weather clears it can be brought out from its shed, or put together and inflated in a few hours. Then, leaving the cavalry struggling with deep snow or roads inches deep in mud, with swollen rivers, broken bridges, and open country spongy after melted snow or heavy rain for many days, the dirigible can proceed about the business of reconnaissance without the slightest hindrance otherwise than from the enemy's fire or the opposing air-craft, if such are in existence.

At 5000 to 6000 feet above the ground-level considerable detail can be seen in clear weather up to a distance of five or six miles, and we know, from artillery and infantry practice at balloons, that the effect of infantry fire and shrapnel bullets at such altitudes is almost negligible; but the result of a lucky burst

of a shell on or inside the envelope would bring it down at once. The special balloon-guns which have been produced by Krupp, Ehrhardt and others to cope with aerial machines fire either incendiary shrapnel or a special shell, the lower part of which is filled with a substance which gives out a trail of smoke by day and of fire by night, enabling the trajectory to be traced by the gunners. The nose contains picric acid and is furnished with a percussion fuse so extremely sensitive as to explode on touching the fabric of a balloon. These guns, mounted on automobile carriages, can travel at fair speed on the roads and to some extent across country, can fire a rapid succession of shots at angles almost up to the zenith, with a range exceeding the altitude attainable by a dirigible, and a hit from one of them on the gas-container would be fatal.

But, even supposing that an enemy had a large number of such guns, it would be impracticable to keep guns and gunners in readiness, waiting for the appearance of an airship, for weeks together, and posted at such close intervals over the country as to deny all passage through the air. The roads or the nature of the surrounding country might be unfavourable to pursuit by automobile, and the target would present itself at rare intervals, and for a short time only, within range—possibly in a bad light, taking every advantage of cover from view by clouds, or moving at a great pace and at a considerable height. Except in very clear weather a dirigible can often obtain cover behind low-lying clouds, and from thence descend to a lower level, to obtain a view for a short time, when it might entirely escape observation. At night it can descend to 1000 feet and reconnoitre to some purpose with little risk, for we have found by experience that, even under favourable circumstances for observation as regards weather, and when look-outs have been warned of its coming, and have the search-light to aid them, it is very difficult to discover it. Even by moonlight a yellow-coloured dirigible is almost invisible. Obviously we can have no experience to guide us as to the probability of airships being hit, and shall have none until they are actually used in war. We cannot provide targets for field-practice to simulate dirigibles moving under their own power, manned by a capable crew, and manœuvring for concealment. In order to baffle the gunners' aim, a dirigible can travel in various directions horizontally at the speed of a railway train, or rise vertically, or at an angle with the horizon, very quickly by throwing out ballast or using its planes. Therefore, seeing how wide a field is open to an airship sent on a strategical mission, and knowing that the importance of obtaining information often necessitates great risks being taken to get it, the probability of hits on such an airship, carefully piloted, seems so small as to

justify the commander in traversing the theatre of war, with reasonable precautions, at any time when the weather will permit. A snow-storm, for instance, would be liable so to weigh down the large expanse of a dirigible as to bring it within easy reach of the enemy, and to start in such weather would probably spell capture.

The case of a dirigible employed in tactical reconnaissance comes under an entirely different category. More detailed information is required and the vessel must get closer to the enemy and remain longer over particular areas in order to facilitate observation. The risk of being struck by projectiles is at the same time very much greater from the fact that, besides the chance of coming within range of special automobile or stationary airship-destroying guns, there is a practical certainty of being exposed to fire from rifles, field-guns and howitzers, since all these latter will have been assembled to co-operate for fighting purposes, and distributed over the comparatively small area under observation. Under such circumstances a supreme commander may prefer to employ his smaller and slower airships on tactical reconnaissance, since they are unsuited for distant missions, and he can afford to risk them rather than the costlier and more useful large cruisers. At the same time we must not forget that small dirigibles have little power against the wind, and consequently may not be able to travel in the required direction if the latter is contrary. Therefore they may be debarred from traversing the particular area about which detailed information is required, or, if able to do so, may have to move so slowly as to make a good mark for the enemy's guns, whereas the more powerful and faster airship may derive immunity from its speed, in spite of offering a larger target. If the information required can be obtained by observation from an altitude of 5000 to 6000 feet, it is certain that in open country a great deal more tactical reconnaissance work can and will be done from any dirigible than from horseback.

III

So far we have dealt only with the lighter-than-air craft; we will now consider those which owe their ability to traverse the air to aero-dynamic reaction alone. Like its progenitor the captive kite, which has been used in modern times for observation in war, the power-kite or aeroplane can, even at its present stage of development, go up and travel against a much stronger wind than the dirigible, and under all circumstances move much faster, and ascend to a far greater altitude. Monoplanes can already accommodate two men, pilot and observer, with ease; biplanes have been constructed to convey twelve, as in the case of the

Breguet 'cruiser' built for the French Ministry of War, and either type is able to descend in lonely spots in an enemy's country and rise again without much difficulty from suitable landing-places. They can travel at thirty or forty miles an hour, and at much greater speed should the occasion require it, and carry enough fuel to remain for several hours in the air, covering a distance of 200 miles or more. Last year Lieutenants Maillol and Desange travelled by aeroplane from Etampes to Blois and back, 127 miles, without stop in three and a half hours. More recently Captain Bellanger made a journey in a monoplane from Paris to Bordeaux, 370 miles, in less time than an express train or motor-car could have carried him, and went on to Pau, say another 120 miles, the following day. M. Prier flew easily from London to Paris—250 miles, without a stop, over land and sea—in four hours, averaging sixty-three miles an hour. M. Regnaux travelled from Paris, with a passenger, 240 miles and landed on a platform of only 100 square yards at the Puy-de-Dôme, at an altitude of 4600 feet, and M. Vedrines covered the 180 miles between Poitiers and Issy-les-Moulineaux in two hours twelve minutes.

Though an aeroplane cannot hover over one spot, it can circle round a small radius or ellipse for considerable periods, and thus afford very fair opportunities for observation. Also, when working against a wind, the speed of an aeroplane, as compared with objects under observation on the surface of the earth, is only the difference between its own speed and that of the air-current through which it is being driven by its propeller or tractor.

Although no experiments of firing at aeroplanes can be made until they are actually used in war, it is evident that the smallness of the target, the height and the speed at which it can travel, would render it a very difficult object to hit unless it should come within close range of some specially prepared ambush, with guns concealed by overhead cover. Certainly the sustaining surfaces would stand being pierced with many holes without affecting its flying powers. Aeroplanes are very cheap compared with dirigibles, and require less transport for themselves, when dismantled, and for their fuel and stores. The carriage of refills of hydrogen or the apparatus and materials for manufacture of gas, which would be necessary in the case of a dirigible if it is to accompany an army in the field, would require considerable transport. The original cost of the dirigible, gas-plant, or hydrogen wagons, and space occupied by their transport on the line of march, could be spared for a larger number of aeroplanes. The heavier-than-air machine can fly round and round the dirigible while in the air, and though the latter can on occasion make a

more rapid vertical ascent by casting out ballast, while the former must soar in spirals, in the end the aeroplane will always overtake its unwieldy adversary, rise above it and pierce the envelope with incendiary darts, bombs, hand-grenades, or other special projectiles, sending it to certain destruction. The weight of projectiles for such a purpose need not be very large, and several aeroplanes could be well spared in order to compass the annihilation of one large airship. Even while remaining in the shelter of its shed or portable garage, the airship, if inflated, would be at the mercy of an aeroplane, for the latter could drop incendiary projectiles of sufficient weight through the roof of any ordinary shed or portable shelter, and pierce the huge gas-bag beneath.

IV

It seems probable that future campaigns will invariably commence with a duel *à outrance* between the forces on each side for the mastery of the air, and the side which comes out victor in this first encounter will have the immense advantage (in reasonably fair weather) of a bird's-eye view of the enemy's every movement which is not concealed by woods or thick undergrowth; besides the facility for transmitting orders and information, unhampered by anything save the elements, while its opponents will be correspondingly at a disadvantage for the remainder of the campaign.

In order to gauge the extent to which aerial craft can support and assist cavalry in a campaign, we will suppose this preliminary duel of aerial forces to have resulted in the complete mastery of the air for one side. The aerial craft on that side are free to move to any place, having to regard only the weather and the enemy's guns and small-arms.

However valuable air-scouts may be for observation from a bird's-eye point of view, it is clear that they cannot entirely supplant the horseman for reconnaissance, because of their dependence on meteorological conditions. Wind, rain, snow, or fog may render their employment out of the question just when they are most wanted. A single storm may create havoc among them, if they happen to be exposed to it, and may even destroy either airship or aeroplane and its portable shelter. Engines may break down, the fuel-supply become exhausted, the reserve to replace missing or damaged parts may fall short, or the enemy's guns may succeed in annihilating either airship or aeroplane by a lucky shot at long range. But as regards observation there can be no doubt that in fine weather, over open country and in daylight, the aerial observer will be able to discern not only the enemy's strategical and tactical movements, but his attempts at reconnaissance. By watching, reporting, and possibly by actively harassing the hostile scouting parties, the aerial scouts may materially assist the cavalry in checkmating their attempts. In high winds, however,

when air-craft cannot ascend in safety, the mounted troops will have to provide for information and protection unassisted, otherwise than by stationary observers suspended in cars from kites, which latter will be at their highest level of efficiency in such weather.

At night the dirigible may be able to render some little help, weather permitting, since it can move slowly at low altitudes, or remain almost stationary, with engines stopped, in order to allow the crew to watch or listen. The aeroplane will be difficult to steer in the dark, the noise of the propellers will constantly betray its whereabouts, and prevent the crew from hearing anything, and the pace will make it difficult for them to see anything but the most prominent objects. On the whole, it seems probable that air-craft will be of small assistance to either cavalry or infantry by night.

In wooded country, even by day, either dirigible or aeroplane will be plainly visible and its propellers audible to the enemy below, but the crew will be able to see absolutely nothing. In misty weather they will be liable to lose their bearings and may be able to make no observations even by flying low, and here again the propeller will proclaim their whereabouts to the enemy. Under such circumstances all scouting must once more be left to those on *terra firma*.

V

It will be interesting to summarise shortly here some of the results of aerial scouting during the French and German manœuvres of last year. In Picardy, Lieutenant (now Captain) Bellanger, scouting for the Blue side on the 13th of September in a Blériot monoplane, perceived the advance of strong Red forces against Beaudeduit, and his reports induced General Meunier to cease his attack and take up the line Hetomesnil-Thieuloy-Hautbois. The same airman flew out and back from headquarters three times on the 16th of September, obtaining useful information, but could only reconnoitre to the front. On the left, the flank where his commander more especially required scouting to be done, his efforts were unavailing on account of mist.

Equally good work was done by Lieutenant Sido (piloted in a Farman biplane by a military aviator named Menard) for the Red commander, General Picquart. Flying on the 13th of September at an altitude of some 1500 feet, he observed and noted the strength of various hostile troops at 6.5, 6.30, 6.32, and 5.40 P.M., and by 7.40 P.M. the result of his observations, which were of considerable importance, had reached the Red commander. During this time he covered a distance of some thirty-seven miles.

The ability to make these observations, and such despatch in bringing the results to the knowledge of the officer who ordered

the reconnaissance, could have been achieved by no other than air-scouts transported by aeroplanes. The dirigibles employed during the French manœuvres were comparatively of little service for reconnaissance owing to the weather conditions, although some were furnished with wireless apparatus. Maps have since been made and photographs taken from aeroplanes at altitudes of 3000 to 6000 feet; but with regard to the accuracy of observation by aerial scouts it is well to bear in mind that even at the comparatively low and somewhat risky elevation of 1500 to 1600 feet, which was about the altitude maintained by the French military aviators, a column of infantry on the march appears as a dark line moving slowly across country, the number of separate units or detachments being shown by perceptible breaks in the line: the strength of the column is indicated by the length. A map to fairly large scale will assist the observer in his estimates of strength; but cavalry merely appears like a lacework pattern; artillery resembles a similar pattern broken by dark points, which represent guns and wagons. To distinguish friendly troops from those of the enemy, otherwise than by their position, or the direction in which they are moving or firing, is extremely difficult. In any case, for observation under such circumstances to be of any use, the observer must be experienced and highly trained in reconnoitring from above. Even Lieutenant Bellanger appears to have overestimated the length of marching columns on one occasion by one-fifth. Troops finding themselves under observation by aerial scouts will also naturally adopt various means to deceive the latter by laying out dummy works and guns, occupying houses, or building overhead cover of branches, straw, grass, or any other material available, for their real trenches and rifle-pits, and by utilising woods and coverts to conceal their movements. During the manœuvres in Picardy the outposts furnished by the 47th Infantry on the Red side literally buried themselves from view by utilising trees, branches, and sheaves of corn as overhead cover. During the German manœuvres the Red side on one occasion succeeded in deceiving the air-scouts on board the Blue dirigible 'M. II.,' which was sailing at an altitude of 3000 feet to 4000 feet, as to the whereabouts of their main position. The weather was rather cloudy; a dummy position with artistically constructed fieldworks, possibly not very clearly seen under such atmospherical conditions, drew the attention of the aerial observers, who in good faith reported it as the enemy's main position, whereupon the Blue force halted all night before it, with a view to attack next morning. In the meanwhile, however, the Reds had entrenched their real position some miles away.

As a set-off to this incident, and as again showing the influence of weather on the efficacy of air-service, it may be recalled that the dirigible Parseval II., being caught in a heavy rainstorm during

the same manœuvres when scouting for the Reds, was compelled to come to earth in the enemy's territory and was consequently captured.

VI

Such incidents as these point their own moral, but it must also be borne in mind that the essence of all good scouting is to see without being seen. Cavalry when on strategical reconnaissance duty avoid all fighting, and act by cunning and stratagem. Horsemen working in pairs or in small detachments may reconnoitre and return with their reports unnoticed by the enemy, but this can rarely be the case with air-scouts. The latter may, if they remain at a considerable height, escape observation, and the noise of their engines and propellers may then remain unheard by the enemy's scouts and sentries; but if they approach close enough to reconnoitre to any purpose they are practically certain to attract notice. This alone may render their observations worse than useless; the enemy, forewarned that he is spied upon, may so change his dispositions as to render the reports of the hostile air-scouts misleading and dangerous. To be ignorant of an enemy's position is bad enough, but to be misled by totally wrong information from one's own scouts is even worse. Setting the possibilities of error and the influence of bad weather against the undoubted moral and material advantage obtained by a bird's-eye view from air-craft under favourable conditions, one is led to the conclusion that, while we may expect very interesting developments in the direction of reconnaissance by air-craft in close association with cavalry, these will not be of a nature to revolutionise warfare. The frequent use of aerial scouts and orderlies will certainly relieve the mounted troops of much hard work, and enable them to keep themselves and their horses fresh and in good condition for both scouting and fighting; and cavalry which has no air-scouts to assist it in the work of reconnaissance will, in fine weather, be blind and handicapped as compared with an enemy which has such assistance. Failing the co-operation of air-craft, they may be held in check and kept in ignorance of the information they are seeking by active opposition of the enemy's troops or by obstacles, both natural and artificial, which air-scouts, by the nature of their special means of transport, could easily surmount.

On the Continent, and wherever forces of any magnitude are arrayed against one another, the cavalry of both sides will be employed at the commencement of a campaign in preliminary reconnaissance, the air-craft on each side co-operating. The inevitable struggle for supremacy in the air will at once take place, resulting in the crippling of one force as regards possibilities of aerial scouting. The winners in this first contest will then endeavour to clear up the strategical situation, which should

co-operation of the air-scouts; but in the opposite case the mounted troops will meet with all sorts of obstacles—frontier guards, thick woods, prepared positions and entanglements, rivers with bridges and fords strongly defended, and bodies of the enemy's horsemen in mobile opposition. However daring and skilful the reconnoitring cavalry may be, it must proceed with more or less caution in view of the possibilities of ambush and in face of smokeless powder and long-range firearms. Realising the futility of mounted men wasting their energy on entrenched frontier-posts and prepared positions, it will endeavour to get round the enemy's flanks, and send scouts to creep through his lines, pushing forward large or small bodies, or officers' patrols, according to circumstances; more rarely attempting a bold raid, but endeavouring by every possible means to get in touch with what is going on behind the frontier or the enemy's cavalry screen. Practically everywhere, however, it will find a carefully prepared scheme of protection, calculated to ward off all attempts at obtaining information. The scouts may gain a little here and a little there, and the Intelligence Staff, piecing the various reports together, may be able to present a patchwork tissue of uncertain value to the supreme commander, but not a clear general survey of the position of affairs. This will not be possible until the weather becomes suitable for the employment of air-craft. The latter will rise superior to all obstacles, and the results of observation from above, combined with the efforts of the cavalry, will probably clear up the fog of war with very little delay. Another period of bad weather will place both sides once more on a level as regards obtaining information, and so it will go on throughout the campaign, the meteorological conditions playing a greater part in the fortunes of a war than has ever been the case hitherto.

On the European Continent it has been estimated that aerial navigation, in the present state of development of human skill and aerial machines, is only possible on eighty to one hundred days in the year. Air-craft would on this assumption be out of action at least two days out of three. From these considerations it is clear that their addition to the forces composing a modern army will not lessen the necessity for careful training in scouting on the part of the mounted troops; it will rather emphasise that necessity. While the strain on the endurance of both man and horse will be appreciably lightened intermittently, thus affording rest and time to recoup for further service, they must always be ready to resume full responsibility for protection and information. Aircraft, in fact, will be excellent auxiliaries, but under no circumstances will they ever be able entirely to relieve the cavalry of the duty of reconnaissance.

H. Bannerman-Phillips.

THE DUTY OF THE LORDS

The constitutional question before the country does not appear to me to have materially changed since the appearance of my article in this Review for July last.[1] I must, therefore, ask the indulgence of those who may have read that article for a considerable amount of repetition. Only, as we are getting nearer to the crisis, I would now urge, more strongly than before, the desirability, on the one hand, of looking at what seem at least to me natural cleavages and importunate realities, instead of party distinctions, cries, and compromises, and, on the other hand, of abandoning that position of indolent apathy which hopes that something may turn up to set matters right, or thinks that at any rate they will last our time. *Après nous le déluge* is not a maxim for Englishmen.

The points, which in the present controversy I have endeavoured to make, are three: First, that the House of Commons, under existing conditions, does to a great extent, and probably will to a greater extent, represent one class or interest, to the exclusion of others; second, that the interests thus excluded, or at least over-ridden, in the Commons, do in justice require an independent representation, which is now practically effected, so far as it is effected, by the House of Lords alone; third, that for the proper discharge of this function, and others, the House of Lords requires a very considerable reform, but one which should proceed, as far as possible, upon existing constitutional lines, and, in particular, should not include any diminution of co-ordinate legislative authority, whether upon finance or upon other questions.

As to the first point, although no exact statistics are available, it cannot be denied that a vastly predominant majority in our English electorate consists, and will apparently continue to consist, of persons not liable to direct taxation at all. It does not therefore seem unreasonable to expect that such electors will be in the main comparatively indifferent to the continuance or increase of a burden which does not affect them, and that the

[1] 'Political Sovereignty and a Reformed Second Chamber,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1910.

candidate who seeks their suffrages dare not make a great point of its removal, however he may personally suffer under it.

Again, there is almost certainly in prospect for us a demand for increased State expenditure in two directions—national defence and the amelioration in the condition of the poor. The latter object, at any rate, is universally admitted, and moreover, from the nature of things, precludes the attempt to meet it by any wide-spread recourse to indirect taxation as a source of revenue. The conclusion necessarily is that the additional burden will fall almost entirely upon the Income-tax payers—as at present, the owners of landed or invested property alone.

Now what would seem, at first sight, a fairly obvious injustice, resulting from this present employment by us of direct taxation, is, I suppose, palliated or obscured, in the view of the poorer among such owners, by the immediate relief and the specious philanthropy of *differential* treatment. It may still, therefore, be preaching, in many cases, to deaf ears, if I venture to maintain once more, that in all direct taxation, except perhaps for some national crisis of life and death—at which we have happily not yet arrived—equality, *i.e.*, simple rule-of-three proportion, is the only equity, and that it is, to say the least, unadvisable for anyone to have a voice in the imposition or disposal of this item of national revenue who does not personally contribute to it.

On the reform which such views obviously suggest, in franchise rather than in finance, I cannot now speak further than to say that it does not appear likely at present to be brought about either by any influence of scientific theories on representation, or by any interchange of power between our existing political parties. In the last elections, most of the speeches on one or other of the orthodox sides partook of the nature, to my profane mind, of either bunkum or red herring. On the other hand, the blunt speeches of the Labour men, who would not be in favour of any such reform, went directly to their own point, evincing a consciousness of growing mastery, and a determination to use it, which marks them as a power to be reckoned with in the future, and, indeed, a very potent make-weight between the present heterogeneous assemblages called the Conservative and Liberal parties.

A reconciliation of the interests of Capital and Labour—more broadly, of the propertied and the non-propertied classes—is the object of all workers for the future who combine common sense with philanthropy. But it is surely one to be brought about by time and experience, by intelligent co-operation, by development of a genuine social feeling, not by levelling legislation and class crusades. I am speaking, or trying to speak, simply on general grounds without any reference to the present log-rolling Coalition, extreme subordination of independence to party discipline. It

must, I think, be admitted that, if experience prove anything, there always will be, in our modern times, two such classes as specified above, the latter one much outnumbering the former: that the cleavage between the two, which it is the interest of both to close, is distinctly widened and emphasised by recent methods of taxation, and that the predominant tendency of a First Chamber, elected on a franchise with little or no property qualification, is, and must necessarily be, to consult the interests and feelings of the working class with comparatively scant regard for those of others.

Among the patent results of this tendency are a readiness to incur great and indefinite national obligations, for purposes which, from their very philanthropic, and of course their popular, character, will render any future reconsideration or modification extremely difficult; a high-handed disregard of inconvenience and expense borne, or injustice felt, by landowners and Income-tax payers—an injustice very obvious to those of the latter class who are near the lines of differentiation; on the other hand, an evident reluctance to urge upon the State-assisted poor that personal contribution which is essential, not only for purposes of economy but for the preservation of honest independence. As to the further and more dfficult questions, how far a temporarily disciplinary treatment may be found necessary in the case of those who appear to have lost the ability or the inclination for self-help; how far 'made work,' usually non-productive, can be employed by the State without doing more harm than good; and how far Tariff Reform may really prove of sufficient advantage as a remedy for unemployment to counterbalance its obvious difficulties and dangers, I venture no opinion. But it may surely be doubted whether such questions can be satisfactorily settled by a practically Single-Chamber government, predominantly representative of the poor or labouring class.

The idea of a Single-Chamber Constitution is of course in terms repudiated by the leaders of the present Government; but the functions which it is proposed to leave to our Second Chamber are merely, on questions within the very elastic circle of finance, a nominal amount of revision and suggestion; and on all cases whatever, in the end, a bare suspensory power, which need not last beyond the first period of delay. For, whatever statutory enactments or conventional understandings may be made and entered into, common sense as well as jurisprudence shows that there is no reliance for the future to be placed in self-imposed limitations upon a Sovereign Legislative, unless supported by some balance of power within that Legislative itself. In the last resort the true sanction or security, for the maintenance of a constitutional rule or custom, lies in the proba-

bility that its infringement will be resented by so considerable a proportion of the members of the State as to make their resentment formidable, either in the old-fashioned way of revolt or in the more civilised modern method of passive resistance.

It is by no means beyond the limits of possibility that matters might come to this, if the present legislative proposals are carried out to the full extent of virtually abolishing the co-ordinate legislative power of the House of Lords—now apparently the sole obstacle to the oppression of all other classes in the interest of one. The representative character which our immediate exigencies are forcing upon this body may sound new to some ears, but it is by no means without example either in our own history or elsewhere. On the latter, I confess I lay but little stress. Our present constitutional crisis has naturally called forth a host of comparisons between other Second Chambers or Senates and the English House of Lords. As a matter of general jurisprudence or political philosophy, I do not know that these have added much to Professor Lowell's 'Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.' In their employment for solution of our present constitutional question, what they most clearly show, to my mind, is how very little practical conclusion, for us Englishmen, can be drawn from foreign parallels. Some of the bodies in question are, in certain respects, copied from the English model, as more or less correctly appreciated by its copiers, and often employed under conditions locally and historically very different from those of England. Some, again, are a direct result from the federal nature of the States to which they belong, and the constitutional consequences of this origin, however they may be in some cases, as in the United States of America, temporarily diminished or obscured, must always give some character of local representation to the whole body, which only appears to a very limited extent in our Scotch and Irish Lords of Parliament. Pure heredity plays a part, but not a very large part, in the still comparatively aristocratic constitutions of Austria and Prussia. Stability of judgment and independence of transient impulse, as compared with the more popular branch of legislature, are aimed at by a longer enjoyment of legislative power, together with the requisition of more mature age or proved experience in each individual member. The last are perhaps the only characteristics which one may venture to predict generally of the modern Second Chamber, one of them—maturity—being as yet notably absent from our own, while our life tenure, which I trust will be firmly maintained, has a decided advantage over the numerous terminal senatorships.

To the above characteristics, which are in a greater or less degree almost universally accepted, I venture to add a third function or qualification, recognised in many foreign systems, and

lying historically at the basis or origin of our House of Lords, though it is now rather of a virtual than a direct or actual nature—the representation of property, or, generally, of other interests than those of labour. The first ancestors of our peers were important feudal tenants or officials, owing their summons by the King mainly to their possession of landed estate. The descent of land by primogeniture, and the right or liability of the heir to service in the field and in council, are so clearly connected that it is not worth while pausing to consider which is cause and which effect.

To this original representation of property has, as every one knows, been added the much more numerous Creation of Peers on various grounds of personal distinction; the rule of summoning the eldest son, as heir, to legislate in Parliament, being followed in all cases, whether there be or be not any subsisting representation of landed property or any continuance of personal competence. (To be brief I omit the case of Spiritual Peers and the few Law Lords.)

The absurdity of the purely hereditary Legislative is admitted and needs no further remark. Neither do I propose to enter, except very briefly as an outsider, into the proposals for reform in the House of Lords. Few thinkers appear to question the advisability of retaining an element of Peerage as, amongst other things, most useful material, under proper conditions and selection, for one portion among the new Lords of Parliament. There are many too, of whom I am one, who would deprecate any interference with the Crown's power of creation, as at present exercised, except so far as to place some limit upon the recommendations of an individual ministry. This limitation would no doubt prevent the wholesale 'swamping' with which we have been occasionally threatened within the last year or two. But, I would ask, does any reasonable person really believe in a measure, depending upon so few and such exceptional precedents, being in the end urged by a Constitutional Premier and acceded to by a Constitutional Monarch, to overpower a House of Lords which, in the opinion of no small number among that Monarch's subjects, is standing up for liberty and private property against Single-Chamber tyranny and Socialism?

On the immediate action, however, of the present Lords I shall postpone what I have to say to the end of this article, and deal briefly here with certain popular suggestions as to a reformed House. That some definite provision should be made for fuller representation therein of the Liberal party appears, I confess, to me not only a rather impracticable pious hope, but a misapprehension of the real cleavage between the interests to be represented in our Parliament at large. In any Second Chamber there will always be a predominance of the Conservative over the Progressive

or Reforming element. That our own House of Lords has become 'the mere tool of the Conservative party' is, I submit, in view of actual events, rather a piece of party claptrap, unworthy of Professor Lowell, from whom it has been so freely copied. And undoubtedly the elimination of a merely hereditary qualification will further diminish the risk of unintelligent opposition to reforms. But, after all, in the view here taken, one main object of our improved Second Chamber is to be predominantly representative of the *bourgeoisie* and nobility combined, as the first is likely to become predominantly, though not of course entirely, representative of the non-propertied or labour class. That the latter, as an interest, or a class, not as a party, should also have its representatives in the Lords, with voting power and tenure precisely equal to that of the rest, is a most desirable point in our reformed Second Chamber, and one by no means, as it seems to me, impossible of realisation. But, on the whole, what the present crisis seems to require is the recognition in our two legislative bodies, not of two parties, with bundles of principles or maxims accidentally or artificially assorted, but of two great interests, or members of our body politic, which ought to be regarded as equally essential to the common weal and equally entitled to an authoritative voice.

Conference and compromise, which have been so effectually employed in obviating insane battles between Capital and Labour, will surely not fail to secure a more important unanimity in national politics, unless the chance of such unanimity is hopelessly debarred from the outset by the dogged resolution of one party not to bate an iota of its claims, which is a natural result of the dictum now, if ever, to be reconsidered that 'the Commons must in the end prevail.'

Deadlocks, the favourite hypothesis of political critics, are not so likely to occur as people imagine, when reasonable Englishmen meet on equal terms. Whether, in cases of very equal division, it might not be reasonably concluded that the matter had better wait; or whether in such cases a moderate use of Royal creation might not better cut the knot by the addition of a few competent persons who would come in rather as arbitrators than party voters, may be left till so extreme an occasion arises. Above all things would I myself deprecate, with every respect for its supporters, a referendum to our present electorate, against which I heartily endorse all Lord Morley's recent objections. I can quite understand the possible utility of such a referendum for a purpose for which I rather understood Mr. Balfour to have first given it his approval, *i.e.* to ascertain the real feeling of the poorer majority on the question of Tariff Reform—whether, for instance, the possibility of enhanced prices

in the cases of necessities, which they, of course, will feel most, would be compensated by that of higher wages and more employment. But as a final court of legislative appeal, or as a legislative body at all, I must demur to our English electorate, differing as it does so widely from that of Switzerland, the home of the Referendum. I may be allowed to doubt whether the same demurrer is not already being largely endorsed under the employment of the same method in our Colonies and Dominions, and at any rate this amount of forecast may be hazarded, that, once established, the Referendum can never be permanently confined, as its admirers may intend, to a mere additional veto.

In view of what has been said, there needs but little space to express the writer's view as to the present duty or duties of the House of Lords. First, undoubtedly, comes that of publishing and discussing as soon as possible their proposals for their own much-needed reform. But in the meantime, before such proposals can take their final shape as a Bill, the Lords will be confronted with the Parliament Bill of the present Ministry and its three proposals, which are apparently to be regarded as ultimata, to be swallowed or rejected whole.

Now it is, of course, somewhat invidious to require from others *de l'audace* for the discharge of a duty in which one can take no direct part oneself. Nevertheless, I venture to suggest that as to the first two of these proposals, compromise or amendment is out of the question, and the only proper thing for the Lords to do is to reject them *in toto*. With respect to the abolition of co-ordinate legislative power in general, there can surely be little doubt. To give up that power is, to all intents and purposes, to surrender their existence as a Second Chamber. With regard to money bills, there is everything to be said, on the score of convenience and reasonable expectation, for retaining the present practice as much as possible. But until some reform can be made in our electoral system that will render the gross injustice and class oppression with which we are now threatened less possible or less likely, the Lords must, as it seems to me, retain or reclaim the power both of amendment and rejection which they have never formally abandoned.

The proposal for shortening Parliaments appears to me a desirable thing in itself, in spite even of the increased expense and disturbance which will result from more frequent elections; but I do not think the arguments for or against it have much bearing upon the subject-matter of the present paper.

E. C. CLARK.

EMINENCE AND HEREDITY

The study of great men, their ancestry and their offspring, has always been of considerable interest to the world at large. There is a natural curiosity to know how genius is evolved, out of what material eminent men have been constructed, and by what means ability has been made available for the race.

Until recent years there has been one great obstacle to bringing such studies even to a satisfactory beginning—an obstacle that the investigator has realised perhaps more acutely than his audience. We refer to the difficulty of obtaining a satisfactory independent standard of genius, of eminence or of ability. It is very easy to attribute ability to a man, and to find afterwards that one has deduced it unconsciously from the fact of the recognised ability of his parents; or to reverse the process, and to convince oneself that so-and-so cannot really have been much of a person, considering the known incompetence of his progenitors. With every wish to be fair, to act in the judicial spirit proper to a scientific study, the investigator of such problems of human inheritance has had to admit that he is but human, and, according to his temperament, is liable systematically to weight his scales either for or against his own particular conviction.

When the late Sir Francis Galton undertook his study of the descent of ability and published in 1869 his results under the title of 'Hereditary Genius,' he made an estimate of the proportion of eminent men to the general male population, based on figures deduced from Routledge's *Men of the Time*, a publication of which the place is now taken by *Who's Who*, and checked that estimate by an investigation of the obituary notices published annually in the *Times*. The inquiry showed that about two hundred and fifty men of eminence may be expected to exist in every million of the male population, of the age of fifty and upwards.

For the study of eminence and ability, we have now the great *Dictionary of National Biography*, which is the acknowledged authority for English biography. This work, then, put together with the utmost care and with very considerable accuracy by persons who were in no wise interested to confirm or even to consider

any particular view as to the inheritance or non-inheritance of great ability, forms an almost ideal independent standard of reference for the student of English biography from the scientific aspect. It is interesting to note that, taking an estimate of the population of the British Isles throughout the historic ages, the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography* arrive at much the same conclusion as Sir Francis Galton—namely, that about two hundred persons in every million of the adult population have attained sufficient eminence to be enshrined in their volumes.

The work which we proposed to undertake was an inquiry into the ancestry and offspring of men of ability, with a view of supplementing Galton's work from the new evidence now available. We hoped to determine whether any particular sort of talent was more obviously heritable than any other; what conditions aided or prevented the establishment of ability; whether there was any truth in either of the two popular beliefs, the one that great men do not transmit their talents to their sons, the other that able parents have able children. It may seem paradoxical to say that, in our opinion, our researches have confirmed both these latter propositions.

We set forth on our investigations in the following manner. The supplementary Index volume of the *Dictionary* gives, in brief abstract, a list with details of proportionate length of all the 29,000 persons whose biographies appear in extended form in the main work. After much thought, we took a standard of over twenty lines of description in the Index volume as an assurance of eminence, while admission to the volume was ranked as evidence of ability. We may perhaps be allowed to say that these standards sometimes gave us results not at all in accordance with our own personal predilections, and that we were obliged to accept as eminent persons with whose names we had been unacquainted heretofore. Moreover, we often felt that literary achievement was unduly emphasised as compared with ability of a more active or more administrative character.

Considerations of time prevented us from attempting to include the whole series of volumes within the scope of our inquiry. Moreover, it seemed probable that a reasonable proportion of the contents would give as definite a result as a survey of the whole publication. Beginning with the letter 'R,' we analysed the volume down to the end of the letter 'W' —a range which included about a fifth of the total publication. Then, in order to get sufficient biographical details for our purpose and to exclude the necessity for dealing with persons still alive or only recently dead, we decided to consider only the ancestry and descendants and collateral relatives of men who had

lived between the years 1720 and 1820. This gave a list of 107 persons, of whom seven were excluded—two as being members of the Royal Family; two on account of sex; two, Adam Smithson, founder of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, and Richard Savage, the poet, who were of such uncertain parentage as to make figures concerning their relatives misleading; and one, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, with his descendants, whom it seemed impossible to place definitely in any one of the three groups into which, for purposes of tabulation, we divided our material.

After a short preliminary study of the material, it was decided to classify the men of eminence for the stated period into three groups.

The first group contains those men who were born into a family possessing a peerage or themselves received peerages. Nearly the whole of this group consists of men who have distinguished themselves in politics or administration, either civil, military, or diplomatic.

The second group consists of men of somewhat similar qualifications who did not receive peerages and were not born into families possessing that distinction.

The third group is made up of men of eminence in literature, science, art, poetry, etc., and includes also divines and bishops. Only one member of this group, Alfred Tennyson, received a peerage.

The following particulars were noted about each of the persons: The number of their fathers and fathers' fathers, of their brothers and sisters and their children, of their father's brothers and sisters and their children, of their sons and daughters and their children who had found admission to the *Dictionary*; then the number of their mothers' fathers and grandfathers, mothers' brothers and sisters and their children, mothers' uncles and aunts and their children who were likewise included.

Figures were also collected, wherever possible, to ascertain how many children had been born to the parents of men of eminence. But it seems probable that the figures given refer more often to the number of children who grew up, rather than to the number of children actually born. This branch of our inquiry gives an average of about 4.5 children to the parents of men of eminence who lived between the years 1720 and 1820.

Thirty-one men were included in the first group. We will give a list of their names:

Sir James Ramsay, 1812-1860; 10th Earl and 1st Marquess of Dalhousie.

Frederick John Robinson, 1782-1859; 2nd Baron Grantham and 1st Earl of Ripon.

George Bridges Rodney, 1719-1792; 1st Baron Rodney.
Hugh Henry Rose, 1801-1885; 1st Baron Strathnairn.
Lord John Russell, 1792-1878; 1st Earl Russell.
Henry St. John, 1678-1751; 1st Viscount Bolingbroke.
John Scott, 1751-1838; 1st Earl of Eldon.
William Scott, 1745-1836; 1st Baron Stowell.
John Sheffield, 1648-1721; 3rd Earl of Mulgrave and 1st Duke of Buckingham and Normanby.
Charles Spencer, 1674-1722; 3rd Earl of Sunderland.
John Charles Spencer, 1782-1845; 3rd Earl Spencer.
Charles Stanhope, 1753-1816; 3rd Earl Stanhope.
James Stanhope, 1673-1721; 1st Earl Stanhope.
Philip Dormer Stanhope, 1694-1773; 4th Earl Chesterfield.
Philip Henry Stanhope, 1805-1875; 5th Earl Stanhope.
William Stanhope, 1690?-1756; 1st Earl of Harrington.
Edward George G. Smith Stanley, 1799-1869; 14th Earl of Derby.
Charles William Stewart (Vane), 1778-1854; 3rd Marquess of Londonderry.
Robert Stewart, 1769-1822; Viscount Castlereagh and 2nd Marquess of Londonderry.
John Stuart, 1713-1792; 3rd Earl of Bute.
Henry John Temple, 1784-1865; 3rd Viscount Palmerston.
Edward Thurlow, 1731-1806; 1st Baron Thurlow.
Thomas Thynne, 1734-1796; 3rd Viscount Weymouth and 1st Marquess of Bath.
Charles Townshend, 1674-1738; 2nd Viscount Townshend.
Charles Townshend, 1725-1767; 2nd son of the 3rd Viscount Townshend.
George Townshend, 1724-1807; 4th Viscount and 1st Marquess Townshend.
Horace Walpole, 1678-1757; 1st Baron Walpole.
Horace Walpole, 1717-1797; 4th Earl of Orford.
Sir Robert Walpole, 1676-1745; 1st Earl of Orford.
Arthur Wellesley, 1769-1852; 1st Duke of Wellington.
Richard Colley Wellesley, 1760-1842; 1st Marquess Wellesley.

Twenty of these men were born into families possessing peerages, and in eighteen cases peerages or increase of rank were received.

Of their relatives, thirty-five fathers and grandfathers, twenty-one brothers, sisters and their children, nineteen fathers' brothers and sisters and their children, twenty sons and grandsons, twenty-six mothers' fathers and grandfathers, eight mothers' brothers, and twelve mothers' uncles and their sons are to be found in the *Dictionary*. We may classify these results somewhat differently by saying that fifty-four relatives of distinction were on the fathers' side, forty-six on the mothers' side, and forty-one were brothers and sisters, children and grandchildren, descendants of the parents of the eminent men.

In the few cases where several members of a family have attained eminence, care has been taken not to count twice over any one person related to them. Each person as far as possible has been considered the first time that his name occurred. By

this means it is possible to get a more accurate estimate of the numbers of able members of a family, although the value obtained for the distribution of them in degrees of relationship is thereby rendered somewhat unsatisfactory. It must be borne in mind that these numbers have been obtained by following up the cross references actually given in the *Dictionary*. They are certainly not exhaustive, more particularly in the case of the mothers' relatives.

Thus we find that these thirty-one men had between them 141 separate near relatives of distinction, divided more or less equally between their fathers' and their mothers' sides respectively and the descendants of their parents, among whom we do not count the eminent men themselves. We shall, however, return hereafter to a consideration of three persons in this group: Lords Eldon, Stowell and Thurlow.

Passing to the second group, which we must confess is somewhat indeterminate in its characteristics, we have a list of eleven men, qualified for admission by reason of administrative talents --political, military, and civil—and therefore of somewhat the same type as Group I. Their names are as follows:

Sir Robert Henry Sale, 1782-1845; Colonel.
Sir Banastre Tarleton, 1754-1833; General and politician.
William Charles Wentworth, 1793-1872; "The Australian patriot."
Samuel Whitbread, 1758-1815; Politician.
Sir Samuel Ford Whittingham, 1772-1841; Lieutenant-general.
Samuel Wilberforce, 1805-1873; Bishop and man of affairs.
William Wilberforce, 1759-1833; Philanthropist and politician
John Wilkes, 1727-1797; Politician.
Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, 1777-1849; General.
James Wolfe, 1727-1759; Major-general.
Sir Thomas Wyse, 1791-1862; Politician.

These eleven men give us six or possibly seven relatives of distinction. Two pertain to the well-known Wilberforce family. Two are the sons of Wyse by his wife Laetetia, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, to whose family we may attribute some share of their claim to distinction. We thus get an average of less than one apiece, none of whom are on the side of the mothers of the eleven men themselves.

The third group contains fifty-eight men of eminence, and the list is one which includes some of the great names of English life and thought in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:

Charles Reade, 1814-1884; Novelist.
Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723-1792; Portrait painter.
George Romney, 1734-1802; Portrait painter.
John Ruskin, 1819-1900; Author.
Sir Edward Sabine, 1788-1883; General and man of science.

Sir George Gilbert Scott, 1811-1878; Architect.
Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1832; Novelist.
Richard Lalor Sheil, 1791-1851; Politician and dramatist.
Percy Bysshe Shelley, 1792-1822; Poet.
Adam Smith, 1723-1790; Political economist.
Tobias George Smollett, 1721-1771; Novelist and surgeon.
Robert Southey, 1774-1843; Poet.
Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, 1815-1881; Dean and author.
Sir Richard Steele, 1672-1729; Author and politician.
George Steevens, 1736-1800; Commentator on Shakespeare.
George Stephenson, 1781-1848; Inventor and founder of railways.
Laurence Sterne, 1713-1768; Humorist and sentimentalist.
Dugald Stewart, 1753-1828; Philosopher.
Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, 1818-1878; Historical writer.
William Sturgeon, 1783-1850; Electrician.
Jonathan Swift, 1667-1745; Dean of St. Patrick's and satirist.
Archibald Campbell Tait, 1811-1882; Archbishop of Canterbury.
*James Napper Tandy, 1740-1803; United Irishman.
*Thomas Telford, 1757-1834; Engineer.
Alfred Lord Tennyson, 1809-1892; Poet.
William Makepeace Thackeray, 1811-1863; Novelist.
John Thelwall, 1764-1834; Reformer and lecturer on elocution.
*Lewis Theobald, 1688-1744; Editor of Shakespeare.
Connop Thirlwall, 1797-1875; Historian and Bishop of St. David's.
Sir Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford), 1753-1814; Man of science.
James Thomson, 1700-1748; Poet.
William Thomson, 1819-1890; Archbishop of York.
John Toland, 1670-1722; Deist.
Theobald Wolfe Tone, 1763-1798; United Irishman.
John Horne Tooke, 1736-1812; Politician and philologist
Richard Trevithick, 1771-1833; "Father of the locomotive engine."
Anthony Trollope, 1815-1882; Novelist.
*Joseph Mallord William Turner, 1775-1851; Landscape painter.
John Tyndall, 1820-1893; Natural philosopher.
Sir John Vanbrugh, 1664-1726; Dramatist, architect and herald.
John Walter, 1776-1847; Chief proprietor of the *Times*.
William Warburton, 1698-1779; Bishop of Gloucester.
Thomas Warton, 1728-1790; Historian of English poetry.
James Watt, 1736-1819; Engineer.
Charles Wesley, 1707-1788; Divine and hymn writer.
John Wesley, 1703-1791; Evangelist and leader of Methodism.
Richard Whately, 1787-1863; Archbishop of Dublin.
William Whewell, 1794-1866; Man of science.
William Whiston, 1667-1752; Divine.
Gilbert White, 1720-1793; Naturalist.
*Joseph Blanco White, 1775-1841; Theological writer.
*George Whitefield, 1714-1770; Leader of Calvinistic Methodists.
Sir David Wilkie, 1785-1841; Painter.
Nicholas Patrick Stephen Wiseman, 1802-1865; Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster.
William Hyde Wollaston, 1766-1828; Man of science.
Charles Wordsworth, 1806-1892; Bishop.
William Wordsworth, 1770-1850; Poet.
Sir Christopher Wren, 1632-1723; Architect and mathematician.

In the histories of these men given in our work of reference

it is clear that great efforts have been made to trace the family history and to show a connexion with any person of distinction; yet we have practically no mention of relatives in six cases—those whose names are marked with an asterisk. It is therefore fair to conclude that of relatives of distinction they had none. For the remaining fifty-two we get the following figures: fathers and grandfathers, sixteen; brothers and sisters and children, sixteen; fathers' brothers and sisters and their children, fourteen; sons and grandchildren, nine; mothers' relatives, six; making a total of sixty-one persons, or about one relative of distinction apiece for the whole group, as compared with the 4.5 apiece realised by our first group. Thirty of these persons are on the father's side, twenty-five are descendants of the parents, and only six can be assigned to the mother's family.

These results are very striking, and at first sight two possible explanations will occur to us. We might conclude that high administrative capacity was heritable while other aptitudes that bring distinction were not so, or were so in a much less degree; or we might assert that the possession of a peerage gave such advantages of position and environment that ability of a much lower type was able, in such families, to come to the front and to make an inordinately great mark, in previous as well as in succeeding generations.

Indeed when we examine the professions followed by the fathers of the various kinds of eminent men in our third division, we may well feel inclined to accept the first explanation and to despair of finding any trace of inherited aptitudes in our list. Taking the artists, we read that Romney was the son of a Westmorland builder and cabinet-maker; Reynolds, of a Devonshire clergyman, in whose family there was some academic and mathematical ability; Turner, of a London barber, and Wilkie, of a Scots minister. The poets do not give us any more help. Sir Walter Scott was the son of an Edinburgh lawyer; Shelley, of a baronet and country gentleman; Tennyson, of a Lincolnshire clergyman; Southey, of a Bristol linen-draper; James Thomson, of a Scots minister; Wordsworth, of a Cumberland attorney and land-agent, while his mother was the daughter of a mercer. Of our inventors, Thomas Telford was the son of a shepherd; George Stephenson, of a miner with some mechanical ingenuity; and James Watt alone may be thought to have inherited his talents from a father who was a contractor and mechanician of no great standing.

If we consider for a moment the proposition involved in our second tentative explanation, which is, in fact, that opportunity makes other persons besides thieves, we shall at once be struck

by the paucity of relatives of distinction to be assigned to the two brothers, John Scott, Earl of Eldon, and William Scott, Baron Stowell, and to Edward Thurlow, Baron Thurlow—for besides a brother and nephew of Lord Thurlow's (the latter a minor poet), no one of their kin appears in our survey, and this, in spite of the unique opportunities afforded to the Lord Chancellors of England for discerning merit in unappreciated relatives. The removal of these three men from the list would increase the average of distinction in that group to five relatives apiece.

Again, it is difficult to see where any young kinsman of Sir Joshua Reynolds could have had a better environment for the development of artistic talents than in the studio of a great master; yet, except two sisters, no other member of his family displayed any hereditary aptitude for art. Sir Christopher Wren's son was neither an architect nor a man of science, nor did the children of Sir Walter Scott follow in their father's footsteps. Wordsworth's children were not poets, nor were Romney's son and his descendants painters, although a brother of the artist had considerable artistic power.

Let us now turn to three names in our third group, which seem to be dissimilar from others in their division with regard to the number of their relatives of mark. These three names are those of John and Charles Wesley, with nine entries, the two Wordsworths, William and Charles (uncle and nephew), with six, and W. H. Wollaston, with four. These five men give us an average of four able relatives apiece, a number almost equal to the average of our first group, and their removal would diminish by one-third the average number of relatives of merit to be assigned to those men placed in group three; leaving forty-two relatives of merit to be divided among fifty-three persons of distinction.

All persons who are engaged in scientific research are taught to cherish their exceptions, for thereon often hangs the key by which new realms of knowledge may be unlocked. We will therefore consider these persons in some detail.

The two Scotts were sons of a successful Newcastle coal-shipper and publican, and their mother was the daughter of a local tradesman. There was no reason to anticipate great ability from such a marriage, yet two out of their family of thirteen children attained to high eminence. But, since there was no other record of achievement in members of the degrees of relationship we have considered, in spite of the unusually favourable circumstances in the way of the disposal of public patronage, we must conclude that the general level of ability in the family was not very high. To a certain extent these two men may be deemed, like the majority of persons in our third class, to be

'sports.' The same considerations apply to the case of the first Lord Thurlow, who was the son of a clergyman. He left no legitimate children, and his brother, Thomas, Bishop of Durham, is said to have 'owed his advancement in the Church to the advocacy of his brother rather than to his own ability.'

If we consider the descendants of these three men, the general want of commanding ability is explained by the fact that no one of them contracted an alliance with a woman from whose forbears we have the right to expect great hereditary qualities.

Turning to our second three names, we find in the history of the Wesleys evidence of accumulating ability of precisely the same character as may be gained from a study of the majority of those comprised within the first group. We begin with their great-great-grandfather, Sir Herbert Westley of Westleigh, in the county of Devon, who married Elizabeth de Wellesley, an Irish lady. Their son Bartholomew (1595-1679), who held the sequestered livings of Charmouth and Catherston during the Commonwealth, married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Colley of Carbury, county Kildare, and granddaughter of Adam Loftus (1533-1605), the Primate of Ireland. John (1635-1678), son of Bartholomew and Anne aforesaid, an Independent who was ejected from his living of Winterbourne Whitchurch at the Restoration, married a daughter of John White (1574-1648), the Puritan divine, called the Patriarch of Dorchester, a man who had had much to do with establishing a colony of Dorset men in Massachusetts. She was also a niece in some way of Thomas Fuller, the Church historian (1608-1661). To these two people were born several sons, of whom only one, Samuel (1662-1735), conformed and took orders in the Church of England. This Samuel, in his turn, when he selected Susana, daughter of Samuel Annesley, a Puritan nonconformist, and granddaughter of another John White (1590-1645), the well-known Parliamentarian, married into a family of appropriate characteristics. Out of a family of eighteen children, the fifteenth and eighteenth, John and Charles, attained high eminence.

Men born of the stock whose putting together we have related above may be said to have sprung from a race well calculated to produce leaders of the type of nonconformity most nearly resembling the Church from which they broke off.

If we consider the further fortunes of these men, we find that John, who published a paper in favour of celibacy and entered upon at least one unwise matrimonial project, married a woman risen from the rank of domestic servant, the widow of a London merchant, who had several children of her own. By her he had no children. Charles, on the contrary, who had considerable musical ability, as well as the gift of ready and effective versifica-

tion, married a Welsh lady, Sarah Gwynne, who had also musical talents, and, with her fine voice, led the singing at her husband's meetings. Consequently we find that their two sons, Charles and Samuel, and a grandson, Samuel Sebastian, were endowed with great musical gifts. Continued hereditary ability of the special type followed upon an appropriate marriage.

Turning to the Wordsworth family, we find that John, father of the poet, an attorney and land agent by profession, was the son of a small landowner. John married Anne, daughter of William Cookson, mercer, of Penrith, by Dorothy Crackanthorpe. Of their five children, two, besides William, had markedly the poetic temperament, Dorothy, the only sister, and John, the sea-captain, both of whom died childless. We will shortly follow the fortunes of the youngest child, Christopher. William married a schoolfellow, daughter of a man of business in Penrith, and though they had children and grandchildren, the gifts bestowed on the earlier family were not repeated.

Taking the history of Christopher, a devout High Churchman, who was a scholar of distinction and became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, we find that he married a Quaker lady, daughter of Charles Lloyd, the banker and philanthropist, of Birmingham. This Charles Lloyd seems to have been a man of great practical ability and business capacity, qualities that remained characteristic of his family; his son, another Charles, was a minor poet of merit. Of the three sons of Christopher, the eldest, John, was a scholar, and became classical lecturer of Trinity College, while the two others, Charles, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Christopher, Bishop of Lincoln, were both men of scholarship, energy and ability—probably showing a very fair mingling of the parental capacities.

The Wollaston family is one of the earliest instances in English society of the descent of scientific and philosophic ability. Until recent years it is probable that the formation of such families has been greatly impeded by the restriction of celibacy imposed on the Fellows of the colleges at both the Universities, where such men most do congregate. Again, we find that the continued transmission of the special qualities is to be attributed to the effect of appropriate marriages.

W. H. Wollaston, physiologist, chemist and physicist, and his brother Francis John, natural philosopher, were the sons of Francis Wollaston (1731-1815), also a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of his wife Anne Hyde, of Charterhouse Square, whose characteristics are not stated. The elder Francis was the son of another William, moral philosopher, whose principal work, *Religion of Nature Delineated*, went through many editions. The mother, Mary Fauquier, was a daughter of a

director of the Bank of England, and her brother, Francis Fauquier, F.R.S., Governor of Virginia, was also a distinguished writer on finance and economic subjects. A daughter of Francis and Anne Wollaston married William Heberden, F.R.S., an eminent physician, and their son, William Heberden the younger, F.R.S., was likewise a distinguished physician and scholar, 'whose success was aided by every favouring circumstance of education, position, and family connexion.' (*Dictionary of National Biography.*)

Before we deal with the general results obtained from the survey of which we have given this brief account, there is a point to which it might be well more closely to direct the reader's attention. In the case of a man in whose family there is no previous record of ability, it seems as if the particular marriage of the parents had brought the required elements together in a manner which could not have been foreseen. Out of the hundreds of thousands of chance alliances, usually in the middle classes and seldom of a very low social standard, some one marriage will give birth to a man of eminence, but in what department of life he will be eminent there is no means of predicting. His coming seems to be the result of this one union, and to have no connexion with the previous family history. This point is emphasised by the frequent appearance of ability of the same type, but of a lesser degree, in the brothers and sisters of the eminent man of this class, while his other relatives rarely seem to rise to distinction. The figures we have given above do not show this point as clearly as it has been impressed on the writers of this paper, because, to give one instance, the history of Dorothy Wordsworth, the sister, comrade and inspirer of William, is included in her brother's entry, whereas Dorothy, the daughter, who published a slight book of travel, is given a separate entry.

If we depart for a moment from our standard work of reference and the dates within which we have limited our inquiry, we may recall the sisters Brontë, the brothers Tennyson, the Rossetti family, and other fraternal groups which could be added to that of Reynolds and his sister, Romney and his brother, the brothers Wilberforce, the two Southeys—poet and doctor respectively—the Scott brothers, the Thurlow brothers, the two Wordsworth groups, and the two pairs of Wesley brothers.

But when we read the full biographies and make especial note of the marriages of our men of eminence in the third group, we realise that in so far as their talents have shown themselves unexpectedly and are at variance with those of their relatives and

associates, there is usually little chance of their contracting a marriage with a person possessing the corresponding qualities to their own.

We do indeed get groups of people mating among each other in every region of specialised industry. We have probably whole classes possessing marked commercial, legal, industrial ability where like-to-like mating constantly occurs, and where the innate ability of the specialised type is duly graded from top to bottom of the group. These types are extremely valuable from the national point of view, and nothing can be more desirable than that they should persist and flourish in their own department of the communal life. The localised geographical distribution of the various departments of industry throughout the country probably helps to secure this effect. But only in the cases of the few acknowledged leaders are their merits recorded in the *Dictionary*. As a rule they do not rise to a standard of importance to the nation which would justify their inclusion.

The truth seems to be that in Groups II. and III. we are usually dealing with persons who are anomalies to their social surroundings, and by birth belong to classes where the most satisfactory performance of daily duties does not bring with it any public notice. Out of hundreds of thousands of such people, two or three only attain eminence and are enshrined in the *Dictionary*. If these men marry among their accustomed associates before they have risen to eminence, their children revert to the normal type of the family. If they wait for success, either they do not marry at all, or, marrying late in life, they prove unfertile or leave but few offspring. Only very occasionally, as in the case of Charles Wesley, do we get an instance of an admittedly appropriate marriage.

But we do not know where to look for further chance manifestation of ability, and in this sense our great men do not appear to transmit their ability to their descendants.

When we turn to the list of names in our first group, and more especially when we read their family history and recall the gradual building up of the social life of the country, we are aware that, through long centuries, the national stock of political, administrative, military, and legal talent has been separated out by a slow process of like-to-like mating and the formation of a class which, if not apart from, is undoubtedly distinct from, the general mass of the population. Now administrative ability is essential to a nation at every stage of its development, and consequently has been sorted out earlier and possibly to a far larger extent than any other characteristic, by the mere fact of successful national development through the last thousand years of history. From intermarriages among the picked members of this class, we obtain

a constant and assured succession of men of a certain type of ability and character. We have created the conditions which we failed to find in the life-history of the majority of members of Groups II. and III., and to the absence of which we were forced to attribute the failure of the hereditary principle. From a consideration of our first list, we can say emphatically that able parents have able children.

It is impossible to call attention individually to all the brilliant and appropriate marriages in our first group. To do so would be to rewrite a great portion of the social and political history of England during the eighteenth century. Thus we cannot doubt that the fortunes of the Stanhopes were largely bound up in the two marriages with members of the Pitt family, and that the Robinsons have gained in quality what they lost in quantity through the marriage with the co-heiress of Philip Yorke, second Earl of Hardwicke (himself the son of a Lord Chancellor and Margaret, niece and eventual co-heiress of Lord Somers, another Lord Chancellor), and his heiress wife. Indeed all the pedigrees of the persons in our first group well repay careful study, more especially those of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, with his extraordinary family record, to which Galton called attention, of Lord John Russell, with some ten near relatives of distinction, of the Townshends, the Wellesleys and the Stewarts.

When we look at our subject from the point of view of numbers alone, we cannot fail to be struck by the immense accumulation of ability of a special sort in one small class of persons. Our standard of eminence gives us in all about one hundred names for the period considered. Of these names, thirty-one, or about one-third, belong to the minute section of the community who inherit or acquire peerages, and of the total number, 212, of near relatives of distinction, 141, or about two-thirds of the whole number, must be assigned to the same group. As we have said before, we believe that the *Dictionary* tends to underestimate the claims to distinction of ability of that type specially associated with members of this class.

It will be said that, in all the cases named, the effect of environment has been great, as it was in the case of the Wesleys and Wollaston. That is undoubtedly so, and rightly so. No greater good fortune can befall an able man, or the nation to which he belongs, than that he should be born into a family of character, ability, and achievement of like sort to his own. It is exactly this good fortune that the creation of families with such marked hereditary talents brings within the realm of assurance.

But, as we have seen, the environment does not produce the succession of able men out of the majority of instances that make

up by far the larger portion of Groups II. and III. In so far as they represent exceptions to the normal attributes of the families and classes to which they belong, they appear to be of little value to the racial possibilities of the nation. No doubt the struggle to rise above the mediocre level of their surroundings has been most severe, purely owing to the lack of the suitable home environment, and greater persistence has been required to overcome depressing circumstances. But even when the rise has taken place, the next generation seems seldom able to profit by the vantage-ground.

Thus it appears that we can only secure a constant succession of the various types of ability, and we can only make certain that that ability should have all 'the favouring circumstances of education, position, and family connexion,' by some application of the hereditary principle.

This aspect of our subject leads us to a consideration of the meaning and uses of the class distinctions that exist among us and have existed, as far as we can tell, in every successful civilisation.

It is impossible on this occasion to dwell at all fully on this most complex and almost unstudied branch of sociology. We must realise, however, that any social phenomena which are as widely spread and as deeply ingrained as class distinction and class association must be playing some useful, probably some essential part, in the biological development of society, and that they are probably absolute necessities for successful and healthy social evolution. Laboriously we subdivide our animals into classes and cherish the distinctions among them: dogs that hunt by sight and dogs that hunt by scent, horses for speed and horses for strength, sheep for mutton and sheep for wool. All these efforts on our part are attempts to make available to the utmost degree the qualities latent in the canine, equine, or ovine races. We cannot get all the best out of any one species without specialisation and inbreeding.

And on this analogy it appears probable that the class distinctions and segregation of type which exist among us and in all civilised races have a real evolutionary meaning—that they appear and grow with civilisation, multiplying as the needs of man increase, crystallising out as the fields of his activity separate progressively from each other—that they also are approved methods for securing specialisation and development in the inherent abilities of mankind through social association and its corollary of like-to-like mating. Whether it would be possible or even desirable to join families of constant emotional and artistic gifts is a very difficult problem. We may well question whether the

balance of such wayward and elusive talents and perceptions be not too subtle for any systematic creation. But it is clear that, by the habit of association and the custom of intermarriage among families of similar type, social conditions can be established and maintained by which certain sorts of ability, depending on a combination of character and intellect, can be brought into existence and made available for national purposes in constant and regular succession.

W. C. D. AND C. D. WHETHAM.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PORTUGAL IN THE 'SIXTIES

It was in the winter of 1859 that I first met the good and charming Princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern, the future Queen of Portugal, whose early and tragic death aroused at the time so much sympathy and interest. She was even then engaged to Don Pedro, an exceptionally gifted young Sovereign, whose head and heart gave promise of a most felicitous reign and happy days for the country he was to govern.

The Princess Stephanie was, when I saw her at Weimar, under the protection of the Princess of Prussia, later Empress Augusta of Germany. This kind and highly endowed Princess loved to have young girls about her, and as her own ladies were of mature age, she often borrowed me from her daughter-in-law (the Princess Frederic William of Prussia, Princess Royal of England), whose lady in waiting I was.

The Princess of Prussia had come to Weimar to be present at the birthday of her beloved mother, the Grand Duchess Maria Palowna of Saxe-Weimar, who was the eldest daughter of the Emperor Paul of Russia and the sister of the Emperor Nicholas. The Grand Duchess was a most venerable and dignified old lady, the very prototype of a great and benign Princess. Her children adored her, and the Princess of Prussia never missed coming to her mother's birthday wherever she might be at the time.

The Princess of Prussia had not, at that period, won for herself the sympathies of the nation, but those who knew her well appreciated her great qualities and were not astonished that, when more scope was given to them, as Queen and Empress, public opinion should have entirely veered round in her favour.

She had a slightly stilted way of speaking and a rather artificial manner, contracted from having been obliged as a child to make "cercle" before the trees of the parks belonging to the castles where the Grand-ducal family happened to be living, each tree representing a gentleman or lady of the court, to whom she had to say an amiable thing.

It was the middle of a very hard winter and we started from Berlin in the dark, arriving at Weimar after midnight. During nearly the whole of the journey the Princess insisted upon reading out the papers to me, which she could only accomplish by sitting upon the arm of the seat, so as to get as near as possible to the dingy and dirty oil-lamp of the unwarmed ordinary railway compartment in which we were travelling. When I begged to be allowed to read out to her she said, 'No, no, dear child, you must not try your young eyes.'

The next morning when I went to the Princess's rooms I found the Princess Stephanie already there. She had come from her home at Duesseldorf, where she lived with her parents. Her father was the head of the Roman Catholic and non-reigning branch of the Hohenzollern and her mother was one of the three daughters of the charming Stephanie Beauharnais, the niece of Joséphine, and whom Napoleon married (very much against the young man's will) to the Duke of Baden.

The Princess Stephanie was to accompany the Princess of Prussia that morning to some function, from which I had been dispensed, as the day happened to be a sad and recent anniversary for me. She was dressed in a pink silk frock, in spite of the intense cold. The rest of her attire bespoke the Spartan simplicity in which she had been brought up. Her soft brown hair framed the round and childlike contours of her face. There was something angelic in her expression, which was most attractive and endearing. Two or three months later, as she stood decked out in regal splendour in the Hedwigs-kirche, the great Catholic fane of Berlin, she looked a beautiful young Queen. She was married by procuration to her brother, who accompanied her to Lisbon.

Don Pedro had sent rich and gorgeous presents to his bride, by the Duc de Loulé, the Marquis de Ficalho and many other Portuguese nobles, some of them accompanied by their wives, who were to be the Queen's ladies. The Marquis of Ficalho, who looked the very incarnation of one of Valasquez' portraits, high-bred, tall and extremely thin, with a pointed white beard, refused, when it came to his turn to kiss the Queen's hand, to kneel as the others had done. He said, 'Je ne m'agenouille que devant Dieu et ma Dame.' La Reinha Estafania, as she was now called, smiled and put out her hand.

This young Princess, who was as noble-minded as she was lovely, was carried off a few months after her marriage by a mysterious illness, perhaps diphtheria, which in Portugal was unknown. Don Pedro never recovered her loss, and when a little more than a year afterwards he fell ill of typhoid, to which one or two of his brothers succumbed at the same time, there were

some who said that he had allowed himself to die, though others attributed his death to other causes.

When we arrived at Lisbon,[1] Don Luiz, Don Pedro's brother, had been on the throne about five years. He was a fair, fat, amiable, blue-eyed little Sovereign, fond of cooking German dishes in his own private kitchen, and with a quite remarkable talent for the violin.

He had married three years before Maria Pia, the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont. She was fourteen when she arrived in Portugal. When I first saw her at the New Year's reception of 1867 she was seventeen. She startled me by her peculiar beauty. She was tall and stately, though very thin, but her shoulders were broad and she moved well. No smile ever flickered over her small pale face, which was overshadowed by a forest of reddish golden hair. Her turquoise-blue deep-set eyes gazed with a *farouche* expression, very like her father's, from under russet-coloured brows. She wore a pale blue satin gown, absolutely simple except for a piece of priceless lace swathed around her shoulders. Chains of pearls and rubies were wreathed about her head, her neck and arms. It was with difficulty that she could be induced to speak to strangers, perhaps from shyness, but she clung with passionate affection to everything Piedmontese and was very communicative to her father's Envoy and his wife, though she was an English lady. Report says that at present she clings with equal fidelity to everything Portuguese, and, indeed, she has returned to a transformed country; instead of Piedmont, she has found Italy, of which she even barely knows the language, much less the habits of the people! They, who knew her very well, always said that she was a very fine character.

She lived in the great and solemn Palace of the Ajuda, where I sometimes went to see her, for on every Thursday afternoon she received any of the ladies whom she knew. The Portuguese ought to be moved by the sad fate of this Princess who came to them a mere child, and felt so lonely and forlorn during the first years of her stay there that she wrote on the walls of her Palace the pathetic words 'Je m'ennuie!'; and who yet has become so passionately attached to the country of her adoption that her exile from it, even after the ghastly events of two years ago, appears a crowning misfortune.

Though I do not remember ever hearing that there were any court festivities, and the King and Queen lived in the most retired way, they were even then very much pressed for money, and in a letter from Sir Augustus Paget, written to Lord Stanley, he says

[1] My husband was appointed as British Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal in September 1866.

on February 26, 1867: 'The intended journey of the King and Queen to Paris, London, etc., has now become pretty generally known and causes great dissatisfaction, at which one cannot wonder much in the notoriously impoverished condition of the Royal as well as the public treasury. To defray the expenses of the journey, the King has, it is said, contracted a loan in London, and it is well known that he is already much in debt. They are, I believe, to go to Italy after Paris and London.'

It will be seen by this that the financial embarrassments of the Royal family, which contributed so much to the present discontent in Portugal, dated already from King Manoel's grandfather, nearly fifty years ago.

A month later Sir Augustus refers to the same subject: 'I hear rumours that the King's journey abroad is to be given up and, considering his pecuniary position, it would be the wisest thing he could do. To obtain the necessary money he would have to mortgage the Braganza estates, and to enable him to do this he must apply for a law to the Cortes, as they are entailed upon his eldest son. If the application is made, it will be grounded on the plea that the money asked for is to improve those estates, whereas everyone knows the real purpose to which it will be devoted.'

And then again on the 30th of March:

'There seems to be great mystery and uncertainty about the Royal movements. Some say the journey is postponed and my own impression is, that it forcibly must be so, but the Queen is exceedingly annoyed, and last night it was said no decision had really been taken. One thing is certain however, that they can't go without any money, and as the Royal treasury is as empty as the public one, this money will have to be borrowed, and moreover the sanction of the Cortes to the King's leaving the country must be obtained, and King Fernando's opposition overcome. I don't see how all this can be done in a week.'

I will not enlarge upon a description of Lisbon, as all that ever can be said about it has been said by Lord Byron and Beckford, but I must dwell for a moment upon the ecstatic sensations the first experiences of the real South awakened in me after having passed so many years in the extreme North.

I had at Southampton retired to my cabin amidst bitter November sleet and rain. When two days later I emerged on the sun-bathed deck, to listen to the strains of music and inhale the scent of orange groves which came wafted on a gentle breeze from unseen shores, I felt intoxicated with happiness. Another day brought us to the mouth of the Tagus, and there we were informed that we should not be allowed to land at Lisbon, but must undergo

five days' quarantine on the opposite shore, because, though we had a clean bill of health, the cholera had been in England in the summer.

We had to go into the Lazzaretto, a kind of fort on a cliff overlooking the Tagus, a place where one was much more likely to catch an illness than get rid of one. The discomfort of this establishment cannot be described. The beds were simply boards with coarse sheets over them. The furniture was of the most common and uncompromising kind, the food absolutely uneatable; in fact, it was an establishment for fleecing the wretched foreigner whose ill luck lands him into this den, for the prices were far above those of the most sumptuous hotels in Paris or London. Whilst shut up in this prison we were not allowed to see our friends except across an abyss about twenty feet wide and with gratings on both sides, through which we had to shriek out.

In a private letter to Lord Stanley, Sir A. Paget, after touching upon the extremely antiquated and inconvenient custom-house regulations, goes on to say: 'I don't know whether it is because I have been a recent sufferer, but I certainly feel very strongly that if ever the present negotiation takes a practical turn we ought to insist upon the modification of their sanitary laws. Here we have in a free and constitutional country a body which, avowedly totally independent of the Government, is exercising the most unlimited powers in the most arbitrary manner. You can have no conception the injury it does to trade, not to speak of the inconvenience to travellers. It is atrocious that people coming from a clean port and in a ship with a clean bill of health should be subjected to be detained for any number of days in prison, at the caprice of this medical board, and as the term of observation is generally longer for merchandise than it is for passengers, the annoyance and loss to the mercantile community is much greater.'

This horrible quarantine was the cause of my missing one of the most remarkable sights of the nineteenth century—the shower of falling stars which took place at midnight on the 14th of November 1866. The hours dragged on so slowly that I sought consolation in sleep.

We were not allowed outside the prison walls, and the only place we had to pace about in was a small sandy court.

We departed with sighs of relief, but not without my husband leaving many forcible wishes behind him, for an unwashed nation, that dared to lock up clean and healthy English people in their disgusting Lazzarettos. We lived at first in a large hotel which stood on the square where we landed. On waking the first morning, I was fascinated by the charm of outdoor southern life. The noise, the bustle, the colour under the blue vault of heaven, with a sun such as I had hardly ever seen in July, and all this in the

second half of November! There were half-naked fishers with their nets and Callegos women gracefully balancing great water barrels on their heads; children selling lemons and oranges and fruit of which I did not even know the name, women with the straight black cloaks and white kerchief on their heads, a dress which in Portuguese is called 'Capot e lenzo,' and the fan, without which no lady or beggar-girl is ever seen, and men screaming out their wares with strange wild cries, which I never learnt to understand. It all appeared enchantment to me. We at once set to work to find a house, for though Lord Stanley had told my husband we were only to stay six months at Lisbon, a change of Government during that time might have also changed this disposition.

We soon found a very delightful house high up in the Rua San Francisco, where it widens into a little square. Though only a stone's throw from the most animated part of Lisbon I never, during the six months I was there, saw a carriage pass, except those that drove up to our door. It was utterly deserted. The house itself put me in mind of a gilt cage, it was so smart and frivolous. It was full of light and sunshine, but its great charm was a little garden which seemed to hang in mid air almost above the Tagus. Fathoms below, roofs were piled upon roofs, and the eye ranged over the half of Lisbon and the wide blue river to the marble walls of the Almeida and the purple lines of the Arrabidi mountains.

In the garden stood pepper trees, magnolias and aromatic shrubs, the walls of the house, which on two sides formed the boundary, were covered with camellias as large as saucers, ranging from pale yellow to flaming red, and the mauve blossoms of a Wistaria fell in thick fringes over the slender banisters which encircled the garden east and west.

A rather unpleasant surprise was vouchsafed to us when we proposed giving our first dinner. We found that all our plate-chests had been rifled in the custom house. Nor were we able to recover any of the stolen articles, though we engaged detectives, who traced them, but after some time gave us to understand that they were under orders to desist.

There was no real political work in Portugal, but a number of rather annoying current questions and the dilatory and not very straightforward dealings which my husband had to encounter tried his patience to the utmost. I will give some extracts from his private letter to Lord Stanley in which he speaks of the affair of Consul Vines, and which will give a picture of what the state of things in Portugal was then. After having said that the Prime Minister M. Cazal Ribeiro, whenever a thing does not go as he

wishes, 'Speaks more like a disappointed child, who has been baulked of a pretty toy, than a sensible man having the interests of his country at heart,' he continues, 'I am afraid this affair of Consul Vines will give a great deal of trouble. . . . Even taking the Portuguese version of the case, I do not, I confess, see that they have much to allege against him, and certainly their secret and underhand proceedings are not to be justified.' It appears that Mr. Vines had stated that the ill-feeling against him had been got up by one of the members of the Cortes and that M. Cazal Ribeiro had been strongly influenced by this and had taken part against him.

Sir Augustus continues : ' However all this may be, I perfectly understand that we must try for a peaceful settlement of the affair, and I shall again call upon M. Cazal in a day or two, when perhaps he may be in a more reasonable temper than he was just after his disappointment about the treaty.'

Then a few days later :

' I send you the result of my appeal to M. Cazal Ribeiro in the case of Mr. Consul Vines, and it has been, I am sorry to say, very unsatisfactory. Everything which has been done is, according to him, in conformity with the usual mode of procedure and law in Portugal, and the report of the legal adviser to the Legation supports his assertion.

' I can only say under these circumstances that it is a great pity we gave up Conservatorial Court, for a more unjust system of procedure it seems to me difficult to imagine. Conceive an accusation brought against a man in England, the magistrate conducting a secret trial, behind his back and unbeknown to the accused, and consigning him to the Old Bailey on the evidence produced in this secret ordeal, which he has no opportunity of replying to. To me it seems like condemning a man without any trial at all, for of course when the real trial comes on, the bias of the jury must be against the accused by reason of the verdict already pronounced against him, which verdict has been obtained behind his back. M. Cazal Ribeiro says such is the universal law on the Continent. I know not how this is, but if it's the case it is another reason why I thank God I'm an Englishman and not a foreigner ! '

' M. Cazal Ribeiro disclaims as you will see any personal feeling in the affair, and it is possible that he speaks the truth, but the visit I received from the Deputy of St. Michaels will not fail to strike you in connexion with what Mr. Vines says, as to his being employed in the business.' How this business ended I do not remember, nor do I find any more allusions to it, but in the next letter Sir A. says :

' I wish I could think that I take too gloomy a view of the

state of things, but all my information is derived from the most authentic sources, and there can be, it seems to me, but one inference. No wonder, as you say, that we find so much difficulty in getting our claims settled. If they would only be good enough to answer, it would be something, but they don't even condescend to do this. I have three cases now to which I can't obtain a reply, notwithstanding my repeated applications. Cazal thinks I suppose, that if he can only get to the day of his departure with the King, he will be all right, at all events for some weeks. I do not wish to appear cynical in my despatches, but the fact is, the whole machine is rotten from top to bottom, and it is such a pity, for there never was a country possessing more natural elements for prosperity. There is said to be a great deal of agitation in the country especially in the North, but I shall not be surprised to see it settle down.'

There is no doubt that a country which once had the mines of Golconda at its disposition, and suddenly lost this source of untold wealth, was in a most difficult position, and the nation's character, or rather want of character, failed to adapt itself to the new situation.

Nobody can tell into what the recent events in Portugal will develop, but there is no doubt that this splendid country, administered by an incorrupt, intelligent and frugal Government, might, like Egypt, be transformed out of poverty and misery into one of the most thriving, most prosperous and happy countries of the world.

M. Cazal Ribeiro may have been very tiresome in business, but he afforded us constant amusement; the clever and witty American Envoy, Mr. Harvey, was quite especially entertained by the Prime Minister's vagaries.

M. Cazal was still young, small, dark, slight and alert; he was involved in everlasting flirtations. At that time he was devoted to a piquante brunette, who, however, showed a certain 'penchant' for a very young, good-looking and lively attaché of our Legation. He was a mere boy, and spent the time during which he did not copy despatches in the nursery playing with my children. He was, however, a thorn in M. Cazal's side. Mr. Harvey, who was just as much tried by the latter's business methods as my husband was, mischievously encouraged this sport, and I, who had not forgiven M. Cazal for baulking us in the recovery of our plate, own to having thoroughly enjoyed the fun; besides which, whenever he came to dine with us, I used to vex his spirit by saying it was so fortunate we had that fine Government plate, or we should not have the pleasure of seeing him at our table, as all our plate had disappeared in the most mysterious

way. Mr. Harvey used to be in fits of laughter when at balls and parties, assiduously frequented by M. Cazal, he peered round the doors trying to avoid me. The whole thing was infinitely droll, more like the happenings in an opera bouffe than in real and serious life.

Lisbon was during the winter a very gay town. Society appeared to me to be a mixture of Louis XV. manners and usages and Alice in Wonderland. It was a never-ending source of surprise and amusement to those who had sufficient sense of humour and romance to see the picturesqueness and not mind the inconvenience. Countess Penafiel gave brilliant balls. She was the daughter and heiress of Count Penafiel, and had fallen in love with a penniless Brazilian, whom she was forbidden to marry. She did so, however, after her father's death, and the hospitality and extravagance of her house was unbounded. Then there was the Duke of Palmella, who also held his title from his wife, a very frequent occurrence in Portugal. The Duchess was a nice quiet woman, half English through her mother. Their dinner parties were what one might imagine banquets to have been in the days when Portugal held sway over Peru. The viands were, it is true, rather weird and eerie, but the topaz-coloured port flowed in goblets, dusty perhaps, but of untold value. Golden pheasants sat, feathers and all, on platters of embossed vermeille, and there were other contrivances such as are only recorded at marriage festivities in the Middle Ages.

The King and Queen never appeared in society, but the King's father, Don Fernando, a very clever agreeable man, went to great Portuguese houses. He was very tall and good looking, and spoke German with the strongest Coburg accent. He was married morganatically to a German actress, whom he had created Countess Edla, but he did not then, as later on, introduce her into society. Lisbon was not yet ripe for this innovation. He lived at Cintra in his castle of La Penha, on one of the highest peaks. The steep slopes of this mountain are covered with gigantic camellia trees, which are studded with thousands of coral blossoms all through the winter. Under them grows the aromatic white Mediterranean heath, often six feet high.

There were many very beautiful women at Lisbon in those days. The most remarkable one was the Marchesa Ficalho, who looked from head to foot like the 'Donna Inez' of Romance. There were also some very good looking Spanish exiles, driven away from Madrid by the constantly changing régime. The diplomatic corps was particularly well composed, and lived together in amity like a large family. The Russian Legation especially was a great resource. Both the Minister and his wife

were Poles, who spoke English to perfection. They were a middle-aged couple, and spent their life under a pear-tree in their garden, where they gave everybody who came to see them an excellent cup of caravan tea. Their hospitality was unbounded, like the kindness of their hearts. They as well as their secretaries were great whist players, in fact everybody at Lisbon was, and when one went to a party all the rooms were filled with innumerable whist tables, and there was hardly anybody to speak to.

Prince Alfred (Duke of Edinburgh) came with his ship and remained about a month. He and his suite went out a great deal, and were most popular in society. Many of our men-o'-war used to come and lie in the Tagus, and we sometimes went on board for Divine service, which I always thought most impressive in those wonderful surroundings.

The English church at Lisbon, situated at the highest point of the town, stands in the most beautiful cemetery in the world. Huge cypresses rise into the translucent sky, and scarlet geraniums, with stems as thick as trees, wind in and out of the deep green branches and cover every marble tomb and iron railing. Beyond the whitewashed wall, lavishly draped with crimson Bougainvilleas, the azure river melts into the azure hills. The glow and richness of all this red and blue and deep green, with little patches of pure white wall, is such as no words can render. The peace and brightness of this God's Acre is very touching. Many English are buried there, for Lisbon always was full of them.

Once only I was induced to go to a bull-fight, for I was told that there was no cruelty attending them, as the horses that were used were good ones and never were hurt. Unfortunately for me, the first bull that came into the ring was a very savage one, and immediately badly gored a man, who was carried away, upon which he turned upon another one, whom he killed. I fled, wondering what people could find in such pastimes. It is certain that such spectacles must rouse cruelty, the worst of all passions, in the breasts of the onlookers, and very much retard the moral advance of a nation.

All the accounts of the great earthquake of 1758 had a weird fascination for me, and the fact that the word 'earthquake' could never be mentioned at Lisbon, as it was considered as tempting Providence, made the fascination even greater. I visited with curiosity the ruins of the Carmine church, which was still lying as it fell, and any other vestiges I could find of this fearful commotion of nature. A tidal wave 60 feet high swept up the Tagus and over Blackhorse Square (thus christened by the British tar on account of the equestrian statue in the middle) and swallowed

up 20,000 people. The impression and the horror have never been effaced from the minds of the people, and a stranger who dares to allude to an earthquake is at once peremptorily silenced. The old gardens of Lisbon had a most mysterious attraction for me. They had been laid out in the splendid days, when the gold mines of Peru were at the disposal of the great nobles, but now no mortal foot ever trod their moss-grown paths, except the girls who gathered the lemons and oranges. They were full of thick high hedges, moss-grown statues, and quaint devices, and my children and I used to run along and play amongst their enchanted green mazes, without any fear of ever being disturbed.

Sometimes we drove to the beautiful Moorish cloisters of Belem, with the fountains and the rose trees in their courts, or to the shore beyond, where the Tagus flows into the Atlantic, the very place where the Royal fugitives embarked the other day.

Some miles inland lay the vast gardens of the Countess Farobo, a very great lady, whose husband had long been Governor of Madeira, where they dispensed princely hospitality to all the English wintering there. These gardens were full of strange, wild, untended flowers, even in the middle of winter. The Portuguese ladies never had a flower in their rooms, for they feared their strong scent, but finding that I loved them they filled my house with nosegays.

Only those who have taken the trouble to visit some of the palaces and gardens around Lisbon can understand the subtle old-world charm which emanates from them.

One day I persuaded our Italian colleagues to accompany us to the Palace of the Almeida, on the opposite side of the Tagus. They kept us waiting a long time, and when they joined us, one of their secretaries, who was a Florentine and had the wicked tongue of his birthplace, confided to me, that what had made his chief late was that he could not manage to concoct a despatch in Italian. Count Cavour had just then put an end to the optional writing in French, which had been allowed to Italian diplomats, and the North Italians were in despair, as many of them were incapable of writing their own language, and among their number was our poor little friend, who was a Genoese. This day another terror was added to his woes, for the playful Dolphins would pass and repass under the bows of our little craft bumping up against her, and my husband amused himself by telling stories how they sometimes even upset a boat. He was terrified.

As we neared the shore, I was absorbed by the Almeida, which stands like one of Claude's ideal structures close to the margin of the water, the little wavelets lapping over the lower steps.

There were great flights of stairs, and tall columns and porti-

coes, all of sober grey, and the whole was entirely forlorn and abandoned. At the back a wilderness of myrtle hedges as high as houses, carpeted with spring flowers, led one up into the hills.

Another Royal Palace, Quelus, is the Portuguese Versailles. Here the rooms are partly furnished in a quaint unreal kind of way, a sort of French exotic Louis XV. The gardens are famous for their waterworks, and out of every stone, and bush, and statue, a shower of spray is thrown up. I strayed out of the formal gardens, away from my friends, attracted by the most delicious overpowering scent of orange blossoms, and I came to a grove, a wood, a forest, of orange trees, such as I had never beheld before. The thick-stemmed trees, with their shining foliage, white flowers, and heavy golden fruit, seemed to stretch for miles. The branches were bowed down to the ground with the weight of the fruit, and the ground was strewn with white blossoms; I thought myself in fairyland. What makes Quelus so curious, is that it lies, a green and luxurious oasis, amidst a desolate desert of sand and rock.

There were hardly any railways in Portugal in those days, and the 'Posadas' (inns) were of the most elementary description, and all of them infested by a ferocious kind of little scarlet sand-flea. In despite of these terrors we made several rather long excursions into the inland provinces. We went to see the famous shrine of Batalha, and to get there we traversed an entirely uncultivated and desolate country, sometimes coming to a squalid village crowned by the ruins of a medieval castle and peopled by swarms of filthy half-naked beggars, who insisted upon thrusting their maimed and distorted limbs into our faces, as the horses were being changed. Disgusting and repulsive as these poor wretches were, I remember one exception, a little boy who touched me very much. We met him at the bottom of a long hill which we had to ascend. There was apparently no house near to which he might belong. He was barefoot and hardly clad at all, he had fair hair and blue eyes, like many descendants of the Visigoths, and his age might have been five or six. As his little limbs were all in perfect order I suppose he thought it useless to beg and vociferate, so all he did was to fold his little hands together, as if he were praying, and to follow the carriage silently in this attitude. I need not say that he did not do so in vain.

On the afternoon of that day, as we were driving on and on through the dreary brown undulating fields, I suddenly saw, close before me, or more truly, just below me, a vision which seemed too surprising to be real.

The land fell very abruptly, almost like a quarry, only instead of stones there were the never-ending cornfields, and out of the

middle of this cup, not a quarter of a mile in diameter, rose the spires and towers, the roofs and columns, the arches and cloisters of world-famed Batalha, so beautifully bewildering to the eye, so utterly unlikely to the imagination, so entirely different from anything I had expected, that my breath stopped for a moment, and the only word I could formulate was an exclamation of surprise. Even now, after so many years, the impression is quite fresh in my mind, but no words can describe or render this unique work of the human brain and hands, built up to the glory of God.

Here the Gothic Moorish style is melted into perfect harmony, and whilst the inside of the Cathedral is mystic and solemn in its noble simplicity and carries the thoughts and prayers of the devout upwards, without distracting them by a single detail, there is not one foot, nay, I may almost say inch, of the exterior that is not worked and wrought over with the most elaborate design and beautiful tracery, as if to say to the world, 'Behold! can the house of the Almighty be decked out more wonderfully than this one is?' As I gazed at these marvellous cloisters and courts, now overgrown with giant nettles and tangled thorns, I felt almost giddy with the wealth of new-found impressions which rushed in upon me, and I looked in wondering silence upon the richness and lightness of the ornaments; no ancient lace is more delicate in design.

The most astounding part of this indescribable fane is perhaps the 'Capella Imparfeita,' which lies on the south side, and never was finished simply because it was not possible to finish it, such is its unbelievable elaborateness. Conceived by the brain of an enthusiast it can only have been put together inch by inch by hands as patient as they were dexterous. It is so unlike anything else in the world that it is useless to try and describe it.

Lisbon might I think have appeared an uneventful place in the long run to those who did not appreciate its perfect climate, its Southern splendour, and the old-world picturesqueness which lurked out from amidst much that was repulsive and unlovely to our Northern sense of cleanliness and order.

A few men in society were cultivated and well-mannered, and some of the ladies who had travelled and seen other countries were pleasant and distinguished, but the great mass of people struck me as a very mixed race, very '*arriéré*,' as the French would say, and entirely given over to the pursuit of material profit, no matter how it was attained.

We were extremely fortunate in the composition of the staff of our Legation. Mr. Lytton (later Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India) was first secretary. He had served in the same capacity at

Copenhagen when we were there, and we now made the acquaintance of his charming wife.

A very old and close friendship united him and my husband. It had begun when they were quite young men at the Hague, and continued at Copenhagen. It lasted true, warm, and sincere until the younger friend passed over, a loss which created a sorrowful void in the last years of the elder one's life.

Mr. Lytton's delightful conversation, keen sense of humour, brilliant imagination, and above all, his warm heart and affectionate disposition, endeared him to all who knew him. His very peculiarities and oddities only made him more attractive. The Lyttons lived at Cintra, and many were the happy hours we spent together in those fairy woods.

When in the spring, barely six months after our arrival, my husband was appointed to the Legation at Florence, which had just become the capital of Italy, I was of course delighted, but I could not repress a sigh of regret for Lisbon's serene skies, its sunlit gardens, with their unreal dreamlike fruit and flowers, and, above all, the stately azure river on its eternal journey to the ocean.

There is a Portuguese word, 'Saudades,' which perhaps best rendered my feelings. It is untranslatable, but unites within itself something of the German 'Wehmuth' with the English longing and a spice of other emotions for which I cannot find expression.

WALBURGA PAGET.

LORD ACTON ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The student of history in England to-day, and especially a man of that younger generation for which, at Oxford, twenty years ago, Stubbs was already a classic and Froude a fascination, takes a well-merited pride in the name of Lord Acton.

University teaching in general, and the school of history in particular, is not so highly organised in this country as to permit us a general satisfaction with its methods or its results. But the national genius for spontaneity, for exceptional and individual things, and for what, by a modern term, is called 'character,' is apparent even in this field. Though Lord Acton's training was not English, yet his vast learning and his use of it may properly be claimed for this country; still better may this country claim the choice of such a man in the circumstances and at the moment which saw that choice made.

It is with the last posthumously published selection out of his manifold work that these few pages are to deal: his lectures upon the French Revolution, which were delivered in the four years between the autumn of 1895 and the summer of 1899; and at the outset of any study, however brief, concerning these lectures, there should first be noted what powers and resource lay in the man who thus summarised his view of but one (though that a capital) period of European history.

The foreign student who should take up this book and consider it as a specimen of what an English University could give him in our time would with justice treat it as the work at once of a general master and of a specialist. Its breadth, its order, and its direct conclusions, remarkable as they are, are less remarkable than the amazing accumulation of detail, noted, stored, remembered and used, which crowd the 400 pages. At the Sorbonne or in Leipzig, in Nancy or in Berlin, this book put into a student's hands would at once be recognised as the work of a full expert in the period under its survey. But what gives us pause in any attempt to appreciate even a portion of Lord Acton's

work, is the knowledge that the same man could, with perhaps the same ease, have produced a similar book—a similar series of lectures—upon any one of, say, a dozen historical subjects or special periods he might have been called upon to illustrate or might have chosen to expound. It is the knowledge of this universality in the man which checks a pen that might be ready to note slips in statement or a lack of acquaintance with the most modern research. Of the three qualities that build up historical scholarship, memory, information and judgment, in the first two at least Lord Acton quite outdistanced any rival. And if upon the last factor critics hesitate a little before they praise, it is only because, in contrast with such an amazing wealth of accumulated and digested knowledge, the historian's human conclusions are necessarily limited (as are those of lesser men) by temperament and the personal experience of a single life.

In turning the pages of Lord Acton's lectures the first thing, perhaps, which the reader will note is the strictly historical method to which their author has confined them. If it is a fault (as probably it is) in modern thought as a whole to exaggerate that method, and if it is an error to squeeze ideas into the category of time, yet it is a fault or an error which surely may be pardoned in the historian of all men. If it is a virtue which has outlived its day—for there was certainly a time when an historical corrective to pure political ideas was needed—yet we must note in Lord Acton's work, first, that he recognises and admits throughout to what criticism the purely historical method should be subjected, and, secondly, that he belonged to a generation which could remember the time when the historical method was first used and most needed. He had been trained just at the moment when the historical treatment of political conceptions, the judging of political morals by the standard of actual institutions, and the criticism of political blunders rather than of political crimes, was both new and useful to the mind of Europe. A younger generation has outlived any such necessity. We know now well enough, as our fathers knew, that what men must discuss in politics is the issue of right and wrong, and that the useful or necessary in public affairs is only useful or necessary according to some standard which must of its nature be ethical. Those who appear to contradict so obvious and simple a point of view by their insistence upon the historical method, came, we must remember, upon a Europe which was willing to experiment indefinitely, and indefinitely to attempt the creation of new institutions, without the object-lesson of human experience; and the object-lesson which human experience provides for the politician is called history. Moreover, as I have said, Lord Acton, though strictly confining himself to the historical method and even exaggerating it, per-

mits us to appreciate, in passage after passage of his narrative, what reply the mind can make to this method, what reply, perhaps, his own mind was making as he wrote; and he even admits not a few touches of irony which lend salt to this perception.

None the less is one a little startled at this time of day to find the first two chapters of so important a study entitled 'The Heralds of the Revolution' and 'The Influence of America. One would rather have expected some few inaugural titles upon the theory of the Revolution, and upon that motive in it which certainly escapes th limitations of time. What men most need to-day is that religious or philosophic interpretation of the past which the purely historical method can never give; and any modern history of the French Revolution, however elementary or superficial, does well to begin with a plain statement of the theory of democracy.

It should here be mentioned, as a foil to any disagreement the reader may have with Lord Acton's insistence upon the dead or dying historical method, that he himself not only sees most clearly, but indirectly admits its defect, in the admirable passage (upon pages 16 and 17) which deals with Rousseau. The sentence 'Rousseau is the author of the strongest political theory that had appeared amongst men,' is, for its decision and, one had almost said, its violence, characteristic of a mind that both believed and knew what it believed. To say of Rousseau that 'his later writings are loaded with sound political wisdom,' is to admit at once that such a wisdom rises from an inward spring, and may be corrected but not taught by the mere example of the past.

When Lord Acton leaves this question of origins to deal with the facts of the Revolution in action, certain strongly marked and personal views begin to appear. Among the most curious is the definite and reasoned admiration which he shows for Sieyès.

It is not the admiration lent by a disciple to a master, nor even by a student to his model. In the whole of Lord Acton's treatment of this character (which comes in again and again from the beginning to the end of these lectures), it is a multiple and comprehensive knowledge of the man which appears, and, coupled with that knowledge, a thorough appreciation of the hard, strong texture of his mind.

It is not within the competence of the present writer to say whether a more final and better-supported study of the man exists in European literature than is to be discovered in the references of this book. Certainly in English literature there is not only nothing which can touch it, there is nothing to which it can for a moment be compared. Lord Acton evidently feels his insistence upon the efficiency of Sieyès to be a little startling and a

little novel. He tells us upon page 163, for instance, 'What I have just said will give you a more favourable view of Sieyès than you may find in books.' And he is careful to point out that the fixity of his gaze upon that one figure is due to no moral altitude in it nor even to any very exceptional public abilities. But upon the very next page he does set down with full gravity this judgment: 'I should not hesitate to acknowledge him as the first political intellect of his age.' That is a strong and, if the adjective can be pardoned, an exaggerated sentence. I quote it to show how loud a note this preoccupation with Sieyès sounds in Lord Acton's study.

Coincident with so fixed an admiration for so academic a type, we have running throughout these lectures a dread or a contempt of what the author calls 'violence'; it may be merely an academic, or it may be a moral condemnation. Thus he tells us upon page 171, in mentioning another ecclesiastic of a very different type, Gregoire, that he was of 'as much sincerity as is compatible with violence.' This dislike of, opposition to, and perhaps contempt for, violence in a violent age is a striking mark throughout the book. Unfortunately it is not in Lord Acton's method to tell us what so general a word as 'violence' connotes to him. He regards it as incompatible with wisdom and, in the passage just quoted, as even incompatible with sincerity. That violence should be incompatible with wisdom is a commonplace with superficial men, but Lord Acton was the very opposite of these. That violence, as we ordinarily use the word, is incompatible with sincerity, we know from all our experience of men to be false. We must conclude, then that Lord Acton meant by this term some particular form of looseness and some particular effect following upon an insufficient mastery of one's own soul.

I trust that the reader will here permit a short digression or parable which is not wholly without its use, for it should convey a lesson. It is taken from that same Revolutionary time—one of a hundred anecdotes. It is an extravagance all of a piece with the energy that drove men to Andalusia and to Moscow and that kept alive the unceasing war for over twenty years. Among the cavalry generals of the Revolutionary wars was one who, upon giving the order to charge, was in the habit of riding to the head of his brigade, stripping to the waist, and so accoutred shouting: 'Here am I dressed like a beast. Charge!' The action was quite inexcusable, the energy behind it enormous, and the local effect customarily decisive. If this riding fellow were violent, at least he was sincere, and his judgment in that narrow field wherein he was called to exercise it was excellent.

Violence colours and distinguishes the whole of those years. It is violence that makes them escape, as it were, from the

ordinary limitations of time and cram into a few months the work of a century.

To approach the Revolution, then, with a contempt for or a hatred of violence, as Lord Acton has done, would seem to be at the outset an obstacle to the comprehension of the period. But, as has been said above, the word must have connoted something special in the lecturer's mind, and probably more a lack of self-control, and therefore of tenacity and consecutiveness, than anything else.

We should next note another character running through the volume, and that is the very strong personal attachment of the author (which, for all his historical method, he is at no pains to conceal) to what may be termed autonomy. Lord Acton's predisposition in favour of a man's, a corporation's, a district's, a society's rights over itself and powers to react against the central authority which co-ordinates it with other similar units, appears everywhere in these pages, but nowhere more strikingly than in his discussion of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

This, the eleventh lecture, and the central portion of the book, is, perhaps, the most typical section of the whole. Lord Acton writes as one in communion with the Church which came into conflict with the Revolution. That conflict was determined by the Revolutionary law known as the 'Civil Constitution of the Clergy.' It is a conflict that has endured to our own time. It has been productive of consequences not only greater than those following upon any other single Act of the period, but also increasing with time. The quarrel between the Republic and Catholicism has become, as it were, the major business of all.

Now in this connexion it is remarkable to note Lord Acton's predisposition against the central authority of the Papacy, and, if one may say so, the way in which this predisposition of his leads him into an unreal world.

It is generally conceded that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was the chief error of the early Revolution, and the cause both of the civil war and of the long opposition to democracy that followed throughout the nineteenth century. Those who, upon the Continent at least, approve the act, approve it because they are definitely and confessedly the enemies of the Church. They regard the organisation of the Church, its traditions and its very doctrines—its whole atmosphere—as the active opposite of democracy. And it must be confessed that in this attitude of theirs they are not a little supported by those who continually postulate democracy to be Anti-Christ. But that is not Lord Acton's attitude. His sympathy with the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, his suspicion of the Papal power, proceed from a purely abstract doctrine which as a man, if not as a historian, he evidently

cherished. And that was, as has been said above, a conviction of the moral right and practical claims of autonomy. To autonomy he would perhaps have sacrificed all the sacred forms and bonds that constrain and therefore unify mankind.

The federal idea in politics which Lord Acton so constantly praises throughout these pages is precisely of this sort. It is a conception that the unity of the State exists only for the benefit of its individual parts, and that the surrender of any tittle of self-government by local portions of a federal State to the central power is only made reluctantly and because some such central power is necessary to preserve against external enemies the existence of the smaller body.

He almost regrets, though it is not his in this book to pronounce upon the matter, the transference of power from the States to the Federal Government which resulted from the American Civil War. In religion (to return to that) a parallel idea evidently pervades him. There was nothing in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy more unreal, nor to us more ludicrous, than the 'election' of the schismatic bishops and priests. Not because election was a principle in any way immoral, still less because distant and forgotten embryonic origins might not be quoted in its favour, but because it jars absurdly with the known character of a known institution. To propose popular election at our time of day as the machinery that should produce a bishop or a priest, with our experience of what a caucus may be, and with our knowledge of all that 'voting' leads to, is simply jocular. It is not a sufficient criticism upon it to say, as Lord Acton does on page 170, that 'the principle of election had a great tradition in its favour.' One might as well say that the popular acceptation of an English monarch by acclamation had a great tradition in its favour, or that the parcelling off of modern men into titheings with one man responsible for the other nine had such a tradition, or the registration of men to-day as 'tenants of a manor.' The phrase 'a great tradition' would be true but most emphatically not to the point in discussing any practical suggestion of reform.

Lord Acton is also singularly unreal in his treatment of the Papal claims. He tells us that Bossuet would have supported the Schism (for it was no less), and that the 'denial of Papal institution' was in the spirit of Gallicanism. To use such phrases as that is to introduce a definite bias into history. The national leanings of the Church in Gaul, its suspicion of Papal encroachment, its adherence to ancient and local custom, and all the rest that we call Gallicanism, were one thing; the putting of bishops over a Catholic diocese who should have been elected upon a civil register including men of all religions and anti-religions, the affirmation by a purely civil law that such men

would be within the unity of the Church, and the monstrous proposal that that unity was safeguarded by a letter to Rome mentioning their election and no more, was not Gallican: it was not a form nor even an aberration of Catholic thought; it was self-evidently designed by men who had forgotten what Catholicism meant.

There are points in this chapter where, for all his vast learning, Lord Acton becomes definitely unhistorical. Thus the sentence, 'When it became clear that Rome wished to gain time (the King) on August 24th gave his sanction (to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy)' is historically simply untrue. There is no untrue word used in the phrase, but the effect produced is the opposite of historical truth. The reader would think, had he no other acquaintance with the time, that Louis the Sixteenth waited to see what the Pope would do, hoped he would accept the Civil Constitution, lost patience, and finally allowed it to pass into law rather than wait any longer for Rome's decision.

That is so far from the truth that it is the opposite of it. Louis the Sixteenth was in an agony upon the decision. He ardently awaited the support of the Pope in his rejection of the Schism, he signed the Bill—to use his own words, and they are poignantly true—'with death in his soul'; he hated it with all his heart; and it should be noted in this connexion that Lord Acton in his book does not make us feel how profound and sincere was the religion of this last of the Capetians.

In noticing a work so commanding and thorough as this, definite errors and even minor inaccuracies should not be passed over. The conspicuous faults in this connexion which marred the Cambridge History of the Revolution (a work originally designed under Lord Acton's influence) have, of course, no connexion with such slips or insufficiencies of information as this fundamental study may be found to contain. Nevertheless, those slips and those insufficiencies, though they appear in a mass of immense and detailed learning, must be noted. They argue a fault upon which even the greatest of historians is open to attack, and they proceed, as a rule, from the very extent of Lord Acton's learning. Delighting in 'special information,' as it were, personal anecdotes with which few are familiar, family traditions, and excerpts from particular memoirs which prove the vastness of his erudition, he sometimes consents to take but one out of many, set that down as if it were the sole evidence, and thus leave us with an impression which may be even demonstrably contrary to fact.

It is true, for instance, that Talleyrand came to Marly in the crisis before the royal session of June 1789, and begged an audience of the King. But there is no mention in this passage of the one critical point which research in recent years has discovered—to

wit, that it was Barentin with his sharp note 'il faut couper court' who really decided the matter. And again, when he tells us that the law of Prairial was Robespierre's work, it is true enough—for that law was written in Robespierre's own hand; but he does not tell us, what is of capital importance, that the moral authors of it were the Committee of Public Safety, who only used Robespierre and his popularity as a tool. We know upon the best of evidence, for it is a man's evidence given against himself, that the members of the Committee told Fouquier Tinville that 'Robespierre had been charged with that piece of work.' The whole position of Robespierre as a sort of despot is exaggerated and unhistorical. Robespierre was not, and could not have been, anything of the kind. It was not he who called all prisoners accused of high treason to Paris, without which the law of Prairial would have had no meaning. As for the remark on page 284, that Robespierre 'had sent Danton to death because he had sought to restrain bloodshed,' that is even more positively unhistorical.

Robespierre was the one man in the Committee who tried to save Danton—for some few weeks at least. That he yielded we know, and why he yielded we can guess. That when he had yielded he furnished notes to St. Just in his attack upon Danton is common knowledge. But to say that Robespierre was the author of that sacrifice is as though one were to say that Pitt was the author of the war policy against France, or that Mary Tudor was the author of the policy whereby the Abbey lands were preserved in the hands of the English Squires.

One cannot help thinking as one reads this nineteenth chapter that Lord Acton's immense train of historical knowledge had here run on rails, as it were, and followed a line of least resistance. It is quite easy to explain the Terror as a Robespierrean thing, if your readers do not know the complexity and intrigue of the time. It is much the most obvious popular solution. Sardou made a fortune by using that sort of history for the purposes of the stage; but it is not true history. It does not square with sound psychology, and it is absolutely incompatible with five or six hard pieces of evidence that we cannot get rid of.

In this, as in other parts of the study, Lord Acton seems to give more weight to memoirs written long after the event, and with the direct object of exculpating or enhancing their authors, than he does to contemporary events, and to strike so ill a balance is an inexcusable breach of the canons of history. Where these errors appear they are almost invariably errors due to a failure to weigh one kind of evidence against another; and to see, of several sorts, which may be, which must be, which might be, and which can hardly be true.

For instance, we have on page 299 the passage with regard

to the wounding of Robespierre: 'What follows is one of the most disputed facts of history. I believe that Robespierre shot himself in the head, only shattering the jaw. Many excellent critics think that the wound was inflicted by a gendarme who followed Bourdon.'

It is quite true that the incident has been widely disputed, but no modern historian writing since the last discussion of it ought to say that he believes Robespierre to have shot himself. There was no mark of burning on the face; the bullet was an almost spent bullet. Robespierre was right-handed; the pistol was a long-barrelled one; the wound was on the left side of the head, the bullet going in under the left cheek-bone, passing under the ear and lodging in the left muscles of the neck. It is quite impossible that a right-handed man should have inflicted this wound upon himself in a moment as hurried and as desperate. He could hardly have done so even with the most elaborate contortion, by twisting his wrist violently round and pressing the muzzle of the long pistol-barrel up against his face; and had he succeeded in this he would have blown away the flesh. Had Lord Acton only written that a dispute had risen on the subject the passage would stand; but those words, 'I believe,' fatally show that he had read many an opinion on the subject, but did not grasp the canon that a physical limitation is of more value in history than the opinion even of contemporary witnesses, let alone a secondary historian's; contemporary evidence, by the way, is heavily in favour of what is now the proved truth in the matter of Robespierre's wound.

That passage in the book where an inability to appreciate the balance of evidence is most striking is the Twelfth Lecture, which deals with the flight to Varennes. In this division of the book there is no mention of the repeated recognition of the King as he proceeded towards the frontier. He was recognised at Viels-Maisons (less than a third of the way) by the postilion Picard; he was recognised again at Chaintrix (rather more than half-way) by Vallet, the son-in-law of the postmaster. The presence of the royal family was known to Viet, the postmaster at Chalons, and the Mayor of Chalons, Chorez, was warned. Again, the delay of the berline which contained the royal fugitives can be amply accounted for without our placing any credence in the third-hand story that it was due to a long, early dinner taken at Etoges. The travellers took less than six hours to go from Ferté to Chaintrix, and their average speed over this portion of the road was, if anything, slightly higher than their average speed over the rest of it. Here, again, a physical fact is worth all the personal anecdotes in the world. There simply was no time for the supposed 'early dinner,' which appears, as I have said, at third-hand, in a bit of

hearsay *fifty years* after the event. The accounts of the exact moment when Choiseul was expecting the King naturally differ; there is nothing upon which men's recollections differ more than upon exact points of time. But the balance is certainly in favour of one o'clock, and there is no sufficient weight of evidence to give it (as it is given on page 185) as half-past two. Choiseul did not move away with his escort in despair of the King's coming at three o'clock; here we have very definite evidence. Choiseul moved away close upon five o'clock at earliest, and a few minutes after five at latest, and the point is not only of material but of determinant importance.

Again, Drouet did not 'pass' the carriage in Varennes (page 188). The whole point of the coincidence by which Drouet just managed to catch the royal family was that he had come into Varennes by the Blainville Hill road, and searched the lower part of the town *before* he sought the High Street, and so came upon the carriage of the fugitives from below.

Finally, though Bouillé's own account would naturally make it so (for he was excusing himself), Bouillé's cavalry did not come up upon the heights above Varennes after nine o'clock, when 'the King was already miles away on the road to Clermont' (page 190). Bouillé's cavalry appeared on the sky-line while the retreating column of peasants with their royal prisoner was still in sight. Nay, certain of the mounted men came down to the river Aire, which lay between them and the road, and tried to cross it. If any captain or lieutenant had appreciated that the Clermont road crossed the Aire a little further down, it would still have been perfectly possible for Bouillé's cavalry to have attacked and intercepted the retreat of the King towards Paris.

The same sort of error is made in connexion with Mirabeau's interview with Marie Antoinette. You may read twenty documents telling you that the interview was to have been held on Friday, the 3rd of July, and hundreds of pieces of second-hand evidence that it was held on the 3rd of July; but the whole lot together do not weigh against our definite contemporary knowledge that Mirabeau passed the night of the 3rd of July at his sister's house and went on in the early morning of the 4th of July to St. Cloud. The point is not unimportant. History, to be accurate, must be living, and to be living must be visualised. If we imagine and visualise an evening scene, when the scene was as a matter of fact an early-morning scene, our history is not only inaccurate in a detail, but wrongly pictured altogether.

There are certain verbal errors that must be put down rather to editing than to the fault I have mentioned. Thus, Ste. Menehould is not, and could not be, a masculine name, for it was a real person who gave the town its name, and that real person was

a woman. The accent printed on the first 'e' is to-day redundant—but that may pass. Again, Thermidor (page 300) is not June, of course, but July, etc., etc. But every book, however learned, suffers from such errors, mainly typographical. One may even say at a risk of paradox that the more accurate and detailed it is, the more risk there is of such petty blemishes.

In conclusion, one cannot leave this remarkable volume without a word upon the character of a style which could unite and marshal so many facts and yet remain current and lucid; which could allow an undercurrent of personal opinion and philosophy to inform a lengthy volume while yet making of that volume nothing in the main but a plain exposition of 'objective' history. The more one reads Lord Acton's work, the more one concludes that, even more than in his learning, certainly more than in his memory, the marvel of it lies in this power to integrate and to present in orderly and simple English everything: simple or complex, event or idea, fact or criticism; and so to blend the whole as to produce a homogeneous and definite block of writing. In this respect the book is a triumph, and in comparison with that triumph not even the occasional admission of strong personal bias or the over-insistence upon anecdote of a man who was almost as travelled as he was learned, and who was moulded by so peculiarly wide an acquaintance with the generation preceding him, should weigh with us.

H. BELLOC.

HOSTELS FOR WOMEN

On the 15th of February 1911 a deputation, organised by the National Association for Women's Lodging Homes, called the attention of the London County Council to the necessity of providing clean and respectable lodgings for working women, and they suggested an extension of the system of municipal lodging-houses at present provided for men of a similar class. The deputation included representatives of the National Council of Public Morals, the National Vigilance Association, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Travellers' Aid Society, and the Young Women's Christian Association, all prominent social workers and all acquainted with the evils and dangers due to the inadequate provision of cheap and yet respectable housing accommodation for young girls and women. They were sympathetically received by the Housing Committee of the London County Council, and a through investigation into the need for the suggested reforms was promised. On the 17th of May the National Association proposes to hold a conference at the Guildhall, to which representatives from all the greater municipalities in the United Kingdom have been invited. It is felt that the time for concerted action has arrived, and that steps must be taken to provide the respectable accommodation so urgently required for women workers, either in co-operation with the various municipal authorities or by independent action.

Although it may not be wise to generalise from isolated experiments, there is good reason to believe that an institution of the character we recommend might be conducted on a sound financial basis. The municipal lodging-house for women instituted at Glasgow in 1872 pays 4 per cent., and an average of 99 per cent. of the beds are filled throughout the year. The original house has been twice enlarged, and now accommodates 248. Such satisfactory results encourage one to hope that the London County Council may see its way to establishing a similar hostel in London. Manchester is at present the only English city providing respectable accommodation for women. The splendid new lodging-house appropriately named after Councillor Margaret Ashton, who did more than anyone to persuade the Corporation to build, is a model of the requirements of such lodgings. The building cost 18,000*l.* to

erect, and accommodates 220. One obvious objection is the heavy initial expenditure as compared with the small annual returns; but in this connexion we cannot do better than quote the remarks of Councillor Jackson, Chairman of the Municipal Lodging-House Sub-Committee, at the opening ceremony:

'They did not expect the institution to prove a financial success, but they recognised that they were dealing with a social problem which would have to be faced sooner or later. They recognised that it was incumbent upon them to fulfil certain functions which private enterprise was not willing to undertake. They expected, however, that the lodging-house would become self-supporting.'

Smaller lodging-houses to accommodate fifty women each could be built at a comparatively small cost in the various districts of London, and would probably be more constantly and more fully occupied than one single large institution in a central district; women require to be near their work, they cannot afford to spend their earnings on transit, and they have not the time or the strength to walk miles to and from their various occupations. Decentralisation, therefore, is an essential to success.

Another essential hardly less important is cheapness. In the Glasgow lodging-house the charges range from 3½*d.* to 6*d.* a night; in Manchester a working woman can enjoy:

(*a*) A good clean bed in a separate room;

(*b*) Facilities for washing—baths (hot and cold), foot-baths, abundant wash-basins, soap and towels, and facilities for drying her garments when she comes in wet;

(*c*) Every convenience for washing clothes and drying them at once in hot cupboards;

(*d*) A well-cooked meal of her own providing, by the attendant in charge; or, if she prefers, the use of a hot stove, where she can cook for herself;

(*e*) A well-appointed dining-room, a comfortable sitting and day room, and a private locker;

(*f*) The privileges and freedom of an hotel—

for 4*d*. In Manchester, therefore, a woman can live in clean and respectable surroundings at a rate of 2*s*. 4*d*. a week, exclusive of food. Assuming, on the experience of Glasgow, that similar houses will in time pay 4 per cent., the responsible authority will over a period of years be repaid a considerable proportion of the initial outlay, in addition to the annual interest on capital. It must also be remembered that a large sum of money will be saved both in Poor-Law relief and hospital accommodation by the provision of cheap and sanitary accommodation for the hundreds of women who might otherwise be driven to tramp the country or roam the streets. These considerations should appeal to the commercial instincts of those who are inclined to view with suspicion any extension of the field of municipal activity. With

economical construction and scientific planning, so as to provide the maximum of convenience for the minimum of cost, these houses ought eventually to be as self-supporting as the Rowton Houses for men.

It is a regrettable fact that the only steps taken by the public to provide shelter for poor and temporarily homeless women are the rescue-homes conducted by various religious bodies, or the lodging-houses controlled by the Girls' Friendly Society and the Young Women's Christian Association, who, of course, cater primarily for their own members. Excellent as these institutions doubtless are, they do not provide for one great need. The fact that a woman cannot obtain decent accommodation in any of our large towns except through the charity of a religious institution or by entering a rescue home is an intolerable injustice to the worker. Another noticeable feature is the fact that the accommodation provided by the Girls' Friendly Society and the Young Women's Christian Association is as a rule beyond the means of the poorer class of worker. The terms of the Girls' Friendly Society vary from *7s. 6d.* to *1l.* per week, those of the Young Women's Christian Association from *10s.* to *17s. 6d.*, and are regulated by the classes served, which are mainly business assistants, teachers, students, and sometimes servants. The poorer women are, in a measure, provided for by the shelters and homes of the Church Army, the Salvation Army, the Jewish and Roman Catholic Homes—the greater percentage of which are connected with rescue work.

The logical deduction from these facts is that the woman who cannot afford to enter a Girls' Friendly Society or a Young Women's Christian Association Lodging-home may, in the natural course of events, drift down to the level of the rescue home. No provision is made either by the municipality or by the charitable public to prevent her gradual deterioration. It is assumed that a respectable woman can find respectable accommodation or that she can live at home, and philanthropy only comes to her assistance when she has been reduced to either poverty or degradation. This is a very serious misconception, and one that should no longer lull the public conscience. Those who have investigated the real conditions at first hand tell us that the only accommodation available to the ordinary woman worker earning an approximate wage of from *7s.* to *8s.* a week, or for the woman moving from one town to another in search of work, is : (i) a room or a share in a room in what are let out as furnished rooms ; (ii) a bed in a common lodging-house, where men and women are herded in close proximity ; (iii) a bed in a woman's lodging-house usually kept by a person whose profession is not solely what it appears to be. These lodgings and the 'casual ward' are the only provision made for the ever-growing bulk of struggling self-

supporting womanhood. It follows, therefore, that the respectable girl leaving her home in order to find work in a town either as a servant, a factory hand, a shop assistant, or even in higher grades as a post-office assistant, a clerk, typist, actress, governess or school teacher, except in those latter instances where the Young Women's Christian Association and Girls' Friendly Society Homes offer suitable but comparatively expensive accommodation, is unable to find a respectable lodging, both sanitary and wholesome, at reasonable prices. The independence acquired by paying for a room, however small—yet one's own—the pride of decent self-support—the love of liberty—the satisfaction of standing alone, unaided, free from charity or dictation, of living a clean, healthy, untrammelled life, buoyed by the moral pride born of self-reliance, is still denied to a woman. Curiously enough, it is not because she is unable to pay more than a small price that she is debarred from the freedom of choice, it is for the simple reason that her want has been overlooked—unwillingly, perhaps, by those in possession of the facts, willingly by others, who still refuse to differentiate modern conditions from old, and who drift into an attitude of passive hostility, alarmed by the difficulties and complexities which attend the progress of great reforms.

It is imperative that the true conditions should be known. Public indignation heralds reform, and prejudice, however pristine, must be crushed by the avalanche of accumulated evidence which recent research discloses. It would take too many pages to relate even the least repulsive aspects of the trials and hardships endured by Mrs. Higgs in her 'Tramp among Tramps.' Dressed as a working woman, she penetrated common lodging-houses and casual wards alike; she passed nights of indescribable discomfort and days of heavy toil; her food in the casual ward was insufficient and unsuitable; it neither preserved strength for the amount of work imposed nor was it conducive to health or digestion; when one pauses to think that the evening meal of gruel and bread usually preceded a hot bath, one does not wonder that Mrs. Higgs, together with many real tramps, spent an ensuing sleepless night of illness, suffering agonies from thirst which it was impossible to assuage. The work imposed on the wretched woman who once enters the casual ward, together with the treatment she receives, well accounts for the popular odium treasured by the poor against this hated institution.

Both Mrs. Sidney Webb in the Minority Report of the Royal Commission, and Mrs. Mary Higgs in *Glimpses into the Abyss*, have exposed the evils of a system universally condemned by every student of Poor-Law administration. They have suggested reforms to be carried out in imitation of approved and popular systems already in use in European countries. Workmen's Homes and

Relief Stations similar to those established in Germany are improvements on the casual ward, and by their practical adaptation to the needs of a working man in search of work appeal equally to the genuine unemployed and to the practical administrator. Uniformity in the application of workhouse regulations is advised; at present too great power is left in the hands of the matron in charge—she may or may not be a just and humane comptroller. More stringent regulation regarding inspection of common lodging-houses and furnished rooms is strongly advocated. As regards the latter, Mrs. Higgs tells us: 'These rooms as they exist at present are a grave social danger. They should also be inspected and under municipal control. A man can let *each room* at a price that may cover the house rent—8*d*. per night is a usual charge in the North.'

Considering the question of the common lodging-house, Mrs. Higgs comes to the distressing conclusion 'that it is exceptional to find a town that has any adequate provision for lodging single women apart from men—except as a matter of charity in more or less restricting institutions.' Either the common lodging-house or women's lodging-house, usually in close proximity to a similar hostel for men and sometimes managed by the same landlord and his wife, is therefore the representative poor woman's hotel. Let us for a moment look inside the doors of one of them. Mrs. Higgs describes her arrival at a common lodging-house in a town not twenty miles from Manchester. Mrs. Higgs first ascertained that there was not a single lodging-house for women only in the whole town. There were only three places where lodgings could be obtained, and in each 'married couples' were also taken.

'One was described to us as "full of gay girls"; a second was small, and the single men had to pass through the sitting-room to reach their bedroom; we were assured, however, that the proprietress did her best to prevent "carryings on." The third being described as "the best in the town," we decided to try it.'

After paying 6*d*. for a double bed, Mrs. Higgs and her companion walked up a short stair and found themselves in a large airy room, which might have been pleasant had it been clean. There was a small sink in the corner, but the water was cut off. 'There was absolutely no convenience for washing of all kinds—personal, family, or for culinary purposes—save this sink.' The water had to be fetched from another room, and the sanitary conveniences were out in the yard, and apparently common to both men and women. The room itself had long tables with benches, most of them well filled. There were single women and little children, married couples and rough navvies; the conversation was loud and mostly cheerful; many good stories were told,

especially as the evening grew and the flow of beer increased. The floor was covered with sand—everything in the way of refuse and dirt that accumulated there was simply covered with a fresh layer. At various hours a thump sounded on the door, and shouts of 'bed' summoned the inmates. It was about eleven before all had retired, and the children were not taken to bed until after nine.

'We were shown into a small room, which we afterwards heard was the only one for single women. It had two large double beds and a single bed. By the dim light the sheets looked fairly clean. Two women came to bed at the same time, and one of them, a single woman apparently, explained that she did not know who would be her bed-fellow; she hoped it would be someone decent and clean; she had "a terror of a woman" the night before—so bad, in fact, that "Jim" (who apparently was the lodging-house keeper) had to turn her out.'

It was a horrible night of noisy interruption and disturbances, but, worst of all, the bed was unclean, and tenanted by insect pests.

'I am not enough of an entomologist to be able to name the animals we found, as I had never before made the acquaintance of their species—big and little, all sorts and sizes! I must state deliberately that I do not believe that a woman who slept in that bed could possibly get free again under lodging-house conditions. Her cleanliness would be effectually destroyed by that one night.'

And let us remember that this is the only accommodation for a clean and respectable girl, widow, or single woman, offered by most of our towns, and for that she pays at the rate of 2*s*. 4*d*. a week. When she has found her own food, her small wage of 7*s*. a week or less is practically exhausted. If she is out of work, there is one fatally easy way to earn more—can a life in such surroundings be expected to lead to anything else? 'Practically the house is no cleaner than the dirtiest person in it, and is a most ingeniously contrived hotbed of infection.' The Sanitary Officer's inspection should be rigorous, yet often a low standard of inspection prevails. A London lodging-house was visited and showed the same undesirable conditions, the cooking facilities were poorer and the price higher. 'I learned that in London a bed was not easily got under 6*d*.'

Of the women's lodging-house visited by Mrs. Higgs, also in the North of England, in one of our large manufacturing centres, she says:

'The inmates, probably about sixty, young and old, were living a life of sin, and we were told that the proprietor of this lodging-house owned fifteen others. We learnt that a house could be taken for 2*l*. 11*s*. a week, and 8*s*. for a servant. We discovered that most of the girls came home very late—many as late as two o'clock, and in such a state that they kept the others awake, singing and talking, drunk or maudlin. The house was open till two at any rate every morning.'

The accommodation was better and cleaner than in the common lodging-house, it catered for a class who had more ready money to spend; the whole atmosphere of the place suggested vice and tawdry comforts. The girls were mostly dissipated, the conversation shameless. There were no precautions taken against the spread of disease and infection, yet it was not an uncommon occurrence for a girl to be condemned to the Lock Hospital. Most of the younger women seemed to get more or less drunk every day. There was no matron to discipline the rowdy element, or to give moral encouragement and support to those who wished to earn their living decently. On the contrary, the only condition exacted was payment—the only crime, the impossibility to comply—the only punishment, expulsion. Fear of the 'Bobby' and of prison were minor calamities. 'Bless you, they don't mind being "pinched,"' said one woman; 'it gives them a rest.'

Such is the provision which an enlightened and Christian country makes for the future mothers of the race. Let us rather assume, as has been said above, that the need has been overlooked. Investigations have disclosed facts that can no longer be ignored. I have quoted a few of the personal experiences of Mrs. Mary Higgs; a number of social workers have been examining the subject for some time past; the evidence accumulated is voluminous; it all points in the same direction. The lack of respectable housing for women is a far greater danger to the State than the absence of decent accommodation for men, and yet the State has made provision for the latter by building municipal lodging-houses and the public has supplemented the endeavour with Rowton Houses. Such evils as the White Slave traffic, the degeneracy of the race, and the high rate of infant mortality can be traced to the absence of moral supervision and the impossibility to acquire clean and healthy habits of life in the lodging-houses which the girls are obliged to frequent. It is certainly not to the advantage of the community to expose its young womanhood to the temptations and almost certain degradation of this type of common lodging-house during the most eventful years of a girl's life, namely, from thirteen to twenty, for it is during these first few years of independence that a woman's future is determined. Thrown on her own resources, obliged to eke out a living as best she may, sensitive to her surroundings, keenly alive to ridicule, fearful of herself, easily discouraged, she is far more susceptible to example than man, and far more dependent on her surroundings. Where man can pass without hurt a woman is unable to survive, and yet Society still permits women to suffer the indignities and degradation of the common lodging-house, while men are accommodated in what have sometimes been described as workmen's palaces. When Lord Rowton built his hostels for men he

contended that there would be too many difficulties connected with a scheme for similar houses for women. The greatest objection was on the plea of morality. The house might offer shelter to one of ill-fame, and because of this supposition thousands of respectable girls are condemned to live under conditions that may drive them directly to the very status against which the Rowton House would shut its doors.

In the cause of humanity as certainly as in the name of logic we can claim that it would be preferable for an orderly and moral lodging-house to shelter for a time three or four immoral women, rather than allow hundreds of decent girls to be driven down the gradient in the vile and degrading surroundings of a common lodging-house. That the objection mentioned is moreover not well grounded further facts will prove. In all well-regulated lodging-houses for women the doors are closed at 10 P.M., and the hour for rising in the morning is correspondingly early. There is also a matron, sympathetic and yet observant, whose duty it is to ascertain the character and habits of each individual member of her large family. With these deterrent factors, it would be impossible for a woman to practise an objectionable trade for long without detection, and any influence she might have obtained with her fellow-boarders would probably be easily counteracted by the moral atmosphere and the habits of cleanliness and privacy she will have acquired, as opposed to the degrading and uncomfortable conditions of the common lodging-house. It is advisable that women's lodging-houses should be smaller than those for men, so that the personal influence between matron and lodger can be more easily established. The fear expressed that the community might be sheltering those of unenviable repute would thus be met, though it is difficult to understand why legislation for women should always be retarded on account of this dread. Rowton Houses may harbour criminals or men practising a questionable trade, but that supposition has not prevented a growing number of Rowton Houses. We may, therefore, argue that the knowledge that moral and happy surroundings tend to elevate the character and to improve the standard of living does, in fact, influence movements such as this one. The record of the Municipal Lodging-house for Women at Glasgow shows a satisfactory absence of the undesirable lodger, so that theory and facts are for once in incontrovertible agreement. There is no doubt that if the London County Council could see its way even to a tentative experiment in the direction of a municipal lodging-house for women in London, such a step would give the needed impetus to the movement. The effect of example is sure to encourage reform, private enterprise will answer to the call, and the establishment of model lodging-

houses for women, similar to the Rowton Houses for men, would be one of the desirable results achieved.

The great need for such reform has been more than proved in books such as *Where shall She live?* or *The Homelessness of the Woman-worker*, by the joint authors, Mrs. Higgs and Mr. Hayward, and *Glimpses into the Abyss*, by Mrs. Higgs.

Manchester has led the way in England by building a municipal lodging-house for women. A great movement is on foot in every part of the country attempting by private endeavour to cope with the question. The chief difficulty is to secure the necessarily large initial sum wherewith to build the houses, and it is very earnestly hoped that liberal donors may become sufficiently interested to form companies and to build women's lodging-houses on the same lines as those on which the Rowton Houses for men were originally planned.

The need is immediate and imperative. The present condition under which the great class of women workers are living is disgraceful in itself and deteriorating in its effect on the women themselves. The charges are unjustly high for the standard of living provided, and the surroundings, as well as the habits acquired while living in the common lodging-house or women's lodging-houses are demoralising and degrading. The number of women workers is increasing every year. There are at present a million and a half more women than men in Great Britain, and the obligation to provide housing accommodation for their needs is bound to become more and more urgent. Existing evils have not stayed the increasing independence of the woman wage-earner, nor are they likely to act as a deterrent to the girl who is obliged to leave her home in order to find work. It is time to face the true conditions, to reform by more rigorous administration the houses already in existence, and to model cheap and respectable lodgings on moral and sanitary lines, so that the self-respecting woman worker shall be at least as fairly treated as the self-supporting man.

CONSUELO MARLBOROUGH.

OUR DEBT TO LATIN POETRY AS DISTINGUISHED FROM GREEK

II

Poetry of the Silver Age

The tragedies of the Silver Age were designed only for the study. None of them was put on the stage. Those of Seneca seem to have been quite unknown to his contemporaries, though they were the only dramas of the time which had any influence whatever on subsequent Art. 'Seneca' says Polonius 'cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light.' So Shakespeare knew at least of the existence of Seneca as a tragic poet; but he had probably read some of his tragedies. The prayer of the Chorus in *Hercules Furens* (1068 sqq.) that Sleep may come to Hercules and save him from madness, has many phrases which remind us of well-known expressions in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and 2 *Henry IV*. This is the passage (abridged):

> Tuque o domitor
> Somne malorum, requies animi,
> pars humanae melior vitae,
> frater durae languide Mortis,
> pax errorum, portus vitae,
> lucis requies noctisque comes,
> qui par regi famuloque venis:

> O sleep, triumphant over pain,
> Rest of the soul and better half of life,
> Calm brother of grim Death, surcease of travail,
> Haven of life, Day's rest, Night's pursuivant,
> That visitest Emperor and Clown alike.

Can the grand adjuration of Sleep in *Macbeth* (II. ii. 36) be wholly without reminiscence of the Senecan passage?

> Macbeth does murder Sleep, the innocent Sleep,
> Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,
> The death of each day's life, sore Labour's bath,
> Balm of hurt minds, great Nature's second course,
> Chief nourisher in life's feast.

Here we have thoughts far beyond the reaches of Seneca's soul. But does not the whole passage by its very structure disclose that it is an echo of the Senecan? The last line, too,

> Qui par regi famuloque venis,

may have suggested to Shakespeare another famous apostrophe of Sleep, which deserts the King and woos the ship-boy (2 *Henry IV.* III. i.). Two other parallels, both in *Macbeth*, would seem to show that Shakespeare when engaged on *Macbeth* was fresh from the study of Seneca's *Hercules Furens*. The Senecan passage is (*Herc. Fur.* 1265-1269):

> Cur animam in ista luce detineam amplius
> Morerque nihil est. Cuncta iam amisi bona,
> Mentem, arma, famam, coniugem, natos, manus,
> Etiam furorem. Nemo polluto queat
> Animo mederi:

> There is no reason why I should longer live,
> And linger on. I have lost all I loved:
> Mind, wife, good name, sons, arms and hands to wield them,
> Nay, even my frenzy. None can minister
> To a diseasèd mind.

Morerque is feeble, and redolent of the Prize Poem, with which the present writer is familiar as having won, missed, and often adjudged the same. The rest is rather fine, but nothing like so great as the Shakespeare parallels. The first is V. iii. 22:

> I have lived long enough . . .
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have.

The end of the Senecan passage, *Nemo polluto*, etc., probably formed the nucleus of the sublime lines (*ibid.* 40):

> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of the perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart?

Every reader of Sophocles must have been struck by the dignified reserve which he maintains about the results of the tragic connexion of Oedipus with his mother. The incest hangs on the verge of the play, and is the more tragic because it is not dragged into the light. But Seneca dilates on the subject. He delights in pointing out all the strange affinities which sprang from the initial tragedy. Oedipus is his grandfather's corrival, the brother of his sons, and the father of his brothers; while at one birth

Jocasta bore to her husband sons and to herself grandsons. Never (not even in the primitive lispings of Naevius and Livius) does Latin show such ineffectual fire as when we compare the crude realism of the Senecan Oedipus with the majestic reserve of the same unhappy King in Sophocles, except perhaps when we put the declamatory rhetoric of the Latin *Troades* beside the 'passionate scroll written over with lamentation and woe,' which we owe to the least inspired of the extant Greek tragic poets.

The Silver Age, as we have said, could not attain the simple dignity of Republican and Augustan literature. To conceal this impotence that age had recourse to wild exaggeration and tortuous preciosity. Of the first the best example is Lucan, of the second Persius. These are very un-Hellenic defects. We all remember the hyperboles of Lucan, how the victim of the serpents in the African marsh was 'not a corpse, but one huge wound,' and how the bodies swelled so much that their graves rose into mountains. Pharsalia was more far-reaching in its results than all the great world-contests of history. The fisherman's boat which carried Caesar and his fortunes was assailed by all the fierce winds that ever came out of Heaven—Corus, Aquilo, Boreas, Eurus, Notus (v. 598-654):

> The sea had risen to the sky
> In mighty mass, had not Olympus' chief
> Pressed down its waves with clouds.[1]

Hence the boat was in a very parlous condition,

> Its sails in clouds, its keel upon the ground,
> For all the sea was piled into the waves
> And drawn from depths between laid bare the sand.

No boat, no epic, before or after was ever tossed on such a turgid tide. But Lucan felt (and his admirers felt) that he had out-bellowed 'the surge and thunder of the Odyssey,' and that the tempests of Virgil were to his but storms in a teacup.

But the qualities by which Lucan will live are not those in the possession of which he challenged the Greeks or sought to outdo them. In the descriptions of battles and storms the restraint of the Greek compares very favourably with the exuberance of the Latin. But in his two strongest points Lucan owes nothing to Hellas: first, in those fierce apostrophes which suggest rather a satire than an epic, and which find no place in Greek poetry; and, secondly, in his *sententiae*, his brief and epigrammatic enouncements of general truths, in which according to Quintilian lay his chief strength. The *sententiae* have been put

[1] Sir E. Ridley's translation is employed throughout in quotations from Lucan.

forward for admiration in every essay on Lucan, and shall not here be paraded for the hundredth time. Of the fierce apostrophes to which I have just referred a good specimen is in Book vii. 419 ff., which I will give in Sir E. Ridley's spirited version:

> How great art thou,
> Rome, in thy fall! Stretched to the widest bounds
> War upon war laid nations at thy feet
> Till flaming Titan nigh to either pole
> Beheld thy empire, and the furthest East
> Was almost thine; till day and night and sky
> For thee revolved, and all the stars could see
> Throughout their course was Roman. But the Fates
> In one dread day of slaughter and despair
> Turned back the centuries and spoke thy doom.
> And now the Indian fears the axe no more,
> Once emblem of thy power. Now no more
> The girded consul curbs the Getan horde,
> Or in Sarmatian furrows guides the share.

Again, vii. 454 sqq.:

> Careless of men
> Are all the Gods. Yet for this day of doom
> Such vengeance we have reaped as deities
> May give to mortals; for these wars shall raise
> Our parted Caesars to the Gods; and Rome
> Shall deck their effigies with thunderbolts
> And stars and rays, and in the very fanes
> Swear by the deeds of men.

Comparison with the Latin will well repay the trouble. How fine is

> Ut tibi nox, tibi tota dies, tibi curreret aether,
> Omniaque errantes stellae Romana viderent.

Very striking, too, is the thought in the second passage that man will take vengeance on the Gods for their indifference by raising departed Caesars to their level and giving to the mighty dead the honours due to Heaven.

The magnificent passage on the grave of Pompey (viii. 789-822) is too familiar to be quoted; but we must give one specimen—there are many—of Lucan's skill in summing up the salient points of a great man's nature. The English version is from the pen of Goldwin Smith, a great Oxford man, whose recent loss all the learned world must deplore. The Latin will be found in i. 143:

> Not such the talisman of Caesar's name,
> But Caesar had in place of empty fame
> The unresting soul, the resolution high
> That shuts out every thought but victory.
> Whate'er his goal, nor money nor dismay
> He owned, but drew the sword and cleft his way;

Press'd each advantage that his fortune gave;
Constrain'd the stars to combat for the brave;
Swept from his path whate'er his rise delay'd,
And march'd triumphant thro' the wreck he made.

A couple of examples of the contorted preciosity—a quite u
Greek quality—of Persius will serve *instar omnium.* 'You
a good Stoic' is not a sentiment which ought to strain the resourc
of the Latin tongue. But Persius can find no simpler way
expressing it than 'The letter which spread into Samian branch
has pointed out to you the steep path which rises to the righ
We can just see a gleam of meaning in the line when we rememb
that Pythagoras was born at Samos and that the letter Y w
a symbol in the Pythagorean philosophy, the two diverge
branches figuring the alternative paths of right and wrong.
iii. 81 philosophers are described as 'mumbling mad-dog silenc
rabiosa silentia rodunt. What an expression! Again, Merc
was the God of treasure-trove or unexpected gain. Therefo
when the poet refers to a man who is so greedy that his mou
waters at the sight of gold, he describes him as 'gulping do
Mercurial spittle.' Literature had to await the era of Browni
for such tortuous preciosity. There is not, even in Persius,
darker utterance than the last stanza of *Another Way of Love:*

And after, for pastime,
If June be refulgent
With flowers in completeness,
All petals, no prickles,
Delicious as trickles
Of wine poured at mass-time,—
And choose One indulgent
To redness and sweetness;
Or if, with experience of man and of spider,
June use my June-lightning, the strong insect-ridder,
And stop the fresh film-work—why, June will consider.

Lest it should be thought that I have divorced the passage fr
its context, I will give the foregoing stanza, which is quite
Cimmerian in its darkness:

Well, dear, indoors with you!
True! Serene deadness
Tries a man's temper.
What's in the blossom
June wears on her bosom?
Can it clear scores with you?
Sweetness and redness.
Eadem semper!
Go, let me care for it greatly or slightly!
If June mend her bower now, your hand left unsightly
By plucking the roses,—my June will do rightly.

In this passage from Browning the obscurity of the language may be said to be due to the intensity of the thought. I cannot offer an opinion. I have no idea what the thought is. I have no idea what lies hidden under June and June-lightning, and spiders and film-work. But Browning is often, though very obscure, yet not quite dark enough to conceal the thought entirely. In these cases we sometimes find that the thought, like the Persian 'You are a good Stoic,' has in it nothing very deep or intense. It is a sufficiently commonplace reflection that the inventor often profits little by an invention which becomes a source of gain, even of opulence, to others. This is the form which it assumes in the *argot* of preciosity :

> Hobbs hints blue—straight he turtle eats;
> Nobbs prints blue—claret crowns his cup :
> Nokes outdoes Stokes in azure feats—
> Both gorge. Who fished the *murex* up?
> What porridge had John Keats?

The passages both from the ancient and the modern source show how a commonplace thought can be so overlaid with unrealised figures as to wear to a hasty glance the appearance of profundity. In thus instituting a comparison between the ancient Roman and the modern English poet, I am far from denying that each has fine qualities and splendid passages. But they are both martyrs to preciosity. Both have marred fine thinking by contorted language, and the English poet has further degraded his high calling by distorted and grotesque rhymes. We feel sure it was the fashion to admire Persius as it is now the fashion to admire Browning. Browning is the favourite poet of those who never by any chance read poetry by him or anyone else. I was amused not long ago to read in one of those confessions of faith which are believed to alleviate the dulness of dull coteries : 'Favourite prose writers—Guy Boothby and Fergus Hume, favourite poetical ditto —Browning.' I observe also that the heroes of novels by ladies (with whom Eton and Christ Church are absolutely congested) when starving in the Bush and the Jungle never have any assets save a briar-root pipe and a Browning.

But preciosity, which found its high priest in Persius, did not lack other votaries in the Silver Age.

When Pelion sinks below the horizon it is described by Valerius Flaccus (ii. 6) as having

> Its ashen tree-tops level with the tide
> (Fretis summas aequatum Pelion ornos).

Vulcan occupied in Valerius (ii. 90) only a day and a night in his

fall from Olympus, but he fell with a crash, *insonuit Lemno*. The timed bird (vi. 264)

> Implorat calamos atque irrita concitat alas.

The same affectation reappears in Statius (*Theb.* viii. 377–8), where Death

> Let loose from Stygian murk enjoys the air (*caelo fruitur*)
> And darkens with his flight the field of battle (*bellatorem campum*).

But the overdone conceits of the Silver Age reach a climax in Manilius (if he may be ascribed to that age), who describes as *sine funere funus* the sad procession which conveyed Andromeda to be sacrificed to the monster.

The poets of the Silver Age have often been compared with those of the Augustan period, and it has been pointed out that exaggeration takes the place of vigour, contorted preciosity replaces felicitous ease, and minute description constitutes the chief merit of the later age. This will be seen by putting side by side the Sibyl of the sixth Book of the *Aeneid* and that of the fifth of the *Pharsalia*, or a shipwreck as described by each poet. But a more interesting comparison and certainly more germane to our design is to put beside each other a Latin poet of the Silver Age and a Greek of the Alexandrine School, which in drawing largely on the resources of erudition and in many other ways stood in the same relation to the *Di Majores* of Greek poetry as in Latin the Silver Age stood to the Golden. We have fortunately materials for such a comparison in Apollonius Rhodius and Valerius Flaccus, who both took the story of the voyage of the Argo and the loves of Jason and Medea for the subject of an epic. Jason is perhaps a more attractive hero in the Latin poem than in the Greek. But the Medea of Valerius is signally less effective as a heroine. The passion for magic so prominent in Lucan shows itself again in Valerius, and Medea is as in Seneca 'a sorceress first and a woman afterwards,' to use the apt phrase of Mr. Butler, whose book on *Post-Augustan Latin Poetry* is full of instruction and suggestion, and shows remarkable literary insight and critical faculty. In Apollonius Rhodius and in Euripides the sorceress is merged in the woman, and to Apollonius we owe the most striking portrait in Virgil, that of Dido. Virgil in the opening lines of the immortal fourth book of the *Aeneid* tells how Dido's thoughts ran on the ancestry and prowess of Aeneas—and this was the mental attitude of the Valerian Medea. But Dido thinks too of his looks and his words, like the Apollonian Medea in *Argonautica* iii. 453 sqq.:

> It all lived before her—his presence, his garb, his words, how he sat him down, and his goings out: in her day dreams she thought there ne'er was such

man, and ever rang in her ears his voice and the honeyed words that he spake.

he Valerian Medea thinks of Jason only as the hero of the great attles of Cyzicus and Colchis. It is an accurate review of the tuation which meets us in Valerius (vii. 10-25) when the princess wakes from her troubled sleep. It is a passionate woman who . Apollonius (iii. 77 sqq.) in like circumstances wishes she had ied or ever she had looked on the false Thessalian's face. The ıceting of the lovers is described by Valerius in a passage loosely :anslated from Apollonius. By one of those strange similes so ear to Alexandrian poets, they are likened to forest trees which :and still and silent till a wind arises and makes them vocal. ike those forest trees the lovers first stood mute, but when ove's gale breathed upon them at once they burst into speech. he parallel passages are in Apollonius iii. 966 sqq. and Valerius i. 438 sqq. It is in the parting words that the passion of the reek heroine flames out beside the gentle resignation of the oman. The Roman Medea asks Jason why did he ever come her land, or invoke her help rather than that of his Grecian itelary goddesses. She brings forth her saving charms, and begs im, if ever again Pelias sends him forth on some perilous quest, ot to trust too much to his comeliness for his success. Again 52) before she puts the charms in his hands she appeals to him let her go back still innocent to her unhappy sire. Then (474) e sees in her mind's eye the Minyae setting sail without her. he cannot bear the thought. She grasps his hand and adjures m to remember her as she will never forget him. She is going meet her father's vengeance, he to a happy home in his own ountry. The Medea of Apollonius prays that if ever Jason rgets her a voice of denunciation from far away may reach him Iolchos, or that the storm-wind may bear her with curses in her 'es to stand by his hearthstone and rail at his unfaithfulness and gratitude. This is more like the Medea of Euripides and the ido of Virgil. But the Medea of Valerius is not unrealised, e Seneca's.

It is not, however, in the delineation of character that Valerius most successful, but in the creation of an atmosphere and his cturesque, generally onomatopoeic, presentation of natural ects—both un-Hellenic arts. What an atmosphere of awe and ead he generates in the scene (vii. 371-409) where Medea companied by Venus goes to the help of Jason. Medea, who re for once is rather girl than sorceress or princess, fears to pass en with her divine guide through the city wrapt in sleep and ence. She is compared to a new-fledged bird whose mother uld launch her into the untried air, but the frightened bird

would fain return to her nest in the tree. So Medea shudders at the sleeping houses of the silent city. We think of Wordsworth's

Dear God! The very houses seem asleep.

Another passage (ii. 388-399), where the poet depicts the first night of the Argonauts at sea, recalls Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*:

We were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea.

We think, too, of the same poet's eerie passage beginning

As one that on a lonely road
Walketh in fear and dread.

I give the version of Mr. Butler, which could hardly be improved upon, even though it were in verse:

The dark hour deepened their fears when they saw heaven's vault wheel round, and the peaks and fields of earth snatched from their view, and all about them the horror of darkness. The very stillness of things and the deep silence of the world affright them, and the stars and heavens begemmed with streaming locks of gold (*effusis stellatus crinibus aether*). And as one benighted in a strange place 'mid paths unknown pursues his devious journey through the night and finds rest neither for eye nor ear, but all about him the blackness of the plain and the trees that throng upon him looming greater through the gloom deepen his terror of the dark—even so the hero trembled.

The polished elegance of Mr. Butler's translations makes his book delightful reading; and the same may be said of another recent and very attractive work, Mr. Duff's *History of Latin Literature*.

The second of the two qualities to which I have referred—onomatopoeia—is illustrated in many passages of Valerius, but in none more perfectly than in his description of a cave on a wild sea-coast as

An abode of bale that thrills to the sob of the deep
(Infelix domus et sonitu tremebunda profundi).

We can feel the gloom and the din, as in Swinburne's magic verse,

As in some flooded cave
Sobs the strong broken spirit of a wave.

The *Argonautica* has been compared by Mr. Butler to the *Idylls of the King*, and justly. Both poems *ont ses longueurs*, but they both achieve great heights of felicity, and both are strong in onomatopoeic effects, like the splendid passage in the *Morte d'Arthur*:

Dry clash'd his harness in the icy caves
And barren chasms, and all to left and right
The bare black cliff clang'd round him as he based
His feet on juts of slippery crags that rang
Sharp smitten with the dint of armèd heels.

Onomatopoeia is one of those few flowers which embroider the dissolution of Latin Poetry, like rare blooms flourishing on decay in a cemetery, or like some beautiful Roman arch which survives the departed empire that it once commemorated.

I dwell upon this poetic device because it is so very characteristic of Latin poetry (especially of the Silver Age) as distinguished from Greek. Here I shall be met at once with alleged famous examples of onomatopoeia from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But I submit (with all due respect for a prevalent opinion) that the cases cited are only apparent. Such a trick would seem to be alien from the *insouciance* of literature so ancient as the Homeric epics. The father of epic poetry does not thump the table or bite his nails in the throes of composition. In the words of Persius (who, no doubt, did feel the labours of literary parturition):

Nec plutum caedit nec demorsos sapit ungues.

Primitive ballad poetry is of its very nature free from mannerism. Nor is this particular mannerism to be found even in the Alexandrian Greek poetry, where we should have expected to meet it, if anywhere. Such *tours de force* after became popular. I have no doubt that Virgil imitated the galloping of horses in

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum,

and that Tennyson was conscious of a certain literary effect in

The flaring atom-streams
Ruining along the illimitable inane.

But such devices are un-Greek and signally un-Homeric. All the examples quoted from Homer are cases in which a preponderance of dactyls is supposed to indicate rapid motion. The Greek writers on style see literary artifice everywhere. Demetrius *De Elocutione* adduces the well-known verse (Ψ 116):

πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον,

as intended to suggest broken grouud. The fact is, dactyls enormously preponderate in the Homeric hexameter. In the context of the line just quoted, 107-117, four have five dactyls in every line, and six have four. Indeed, in the sixty-six feet of which these eleven lines consist there are only eight spondees exclusive of the unavoidable spondee in the last foot. The fact that the line cited by Demetrius has five dactyls is not due to design but to chance, and there are five lines in the immediate context similarly constructed, where no design to suggest roughness or haste can be alleged.

We are all familiar with Pope's doctrine in the *Essay on Criticism*:

> The sound must be an echo to the sense;

but this is not applicable to the naïf infancy of Art. The oft-recurring verse

> ὁ σφιν ἐυφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν

ought on the Popian theory to indicate a rushing torrent of words, but it introduces speakers and speeches of every kind. And surely the leap of Iris from Olympus should be described by a flight of dactyls, but it finds its expression in one of the heaviest lines in Homer ending in three spondees:

> βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἀΐξασα,

and of the like form is another line (K 359) which contains an express reference to speed:

> φευγέμεναι· τοὶ δ' αἶψα διώκειν ὡρμήθησαν.

In the familiar passage in the *Odyssey*, xi. 593-600, though the rush downhill of Sisyphus' stone happens to be expressed in five dactyls, yet the marked pause after the first word of the line seriously mars the supposed onomatopoeia:

> τότ' ἀποστρέψασκε Κραταιΐς
> αὖτις· ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.

Observe, too, that the ten verses narrating the process of pushing the stone uphill contain twenty-three dactyls and only eleven spondees exclusive of the final foot. Pope in his translation of the *Odyssey* is careful to make the sound an echo of the sense. The ascent of Sisyphus is thus mimicked:

> Up a high hill he heaved a huge round stone,

and the descent finds expression in a galloping line:

> Impetuous thundering bounds and smokes along the plain.

Pope was led by the literary proclivities of his age to attribute mannerisms and *tours de force* to poetry however primitive and free from self-consciousness. Demetrius rightly remarks ἁπλοϊκοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, but he ascribes to them devices quite inconsistent with that just pronouncement.

Of the debt of Martial to the Greeks there is not much to say. He is very un-Greek in his willingness to sacrifice poetry to point. He was no Stoic, like Persius, and his epigrams present to us a somewhat contemptible personality. But we occasionally meet

a shrewd critical observation; I always relished that pentameter in an epigram addressed to his friend Creticus (vii. 94):

> Aequalis liber est, Cretice, qui malus est.

Books of uniform merit are apt to be dull. And the same remark applies to poems of any considerable length; it would be easier to pick out defects in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* than in Austin's *Door of Humility*. Gray's *Elegy* is a triumph of musical moralising, but it is in places ambiguous and obscure. Milton's *Lycidas* has crying defects. Its subject is inconsiderable, and what could be more incongruous than Sicilian shepherds discoursing on Church Government? It is nearly as absurd as when Cinderella or Little Golden Hair in the pantomime comments on Asquith, the Budget, and the Lords' veto. Yet its starry diction and divine rhythm make it wellnigh incomparable among English poems.

The relation of Statius to his Greek examplars is unique. In the other poets whom we have been considering, the Greek model was above criticism, and the Latin imitator followed *non passibus aequis*. Statius seems to have had a bad model, at all events for his chief poem, the *Thebais*, in the cyclic poet Antimachus. Till very recent times it would have been held blasphemy to contemplate the possibility of a banal Greek poet. Now what we have unearthed some fragments of the *Persae*, that egregious *nome* of Timotheus, we know that a Greek poet of the end of the fifth century B.C. and the beginning of the fourth could write in a style of ludicrous pomposity and pretentious feebleness; that the ancient world had its Bunns, its Fitzballs, and its Montgomerys. Statius was probably far superior to his Greek predecessor Antimachus. The greatest fault of Statius is his prolixity; he requires six and a half Books to bring his heroes to Thebes, but Antimachus took four-and-twenty. In another place I have pointed to a Sapphic poem by Statius in which he apostrophises childlessness, and have called one line in it,

> Orbitas omni fugienda nisu,

perhaps the very worst verse in Latin poetry. Perhaps the best verse in Statius is that (*Theb.* vii. 478) in which he describes Jocasta coming before the chiefs:

> Eumenidum velut antiquissima portis
> Egreditur magna cum maiestate malorum
> (In the infinite dignity of her sufferings).

Silius Italicus was consul in the year 68 A.D.—the only consular writer of Latin verse save Cicero, whose Tuscan villa and tomb he possessed. Pliny, who is the chief authority for his life, says

his verses show diligence rather than genius. Martial calls his poems immortal :

> Perpetui nunquam moritura volumina Sili
> (The deathless volumes of immortal Sily),

a judgment which can hardly have been sincerely held by one who had in him much of the critic. Yet a great English critic is on Martial's side. Macaulay admired the *Punica* greatly. We may ascribe Martial's praise to the fact that Martial was a professional beggar and Silius was a wealthy man who scattered gifts on the Saturnalia. It is as hard to account for the admiration of Macaulay as for his depreciation of Goldsmith's exquisite tale *The Vicar of Wakefield*, the more so as the battle pieces of Silius, with their single combats, archaisms, and anachronisms, vividly call to mind similar blunders amusingly exposed by Macaulay in the *Satan* of Robert Montgomery.

The weakest points in Silius are the absence of rhetoric and other notes of distinction, and his wearying diffuseness. He gives to Trebia above two hundred verses, to Cannae four hundred, and to Trasimene nearly seven hundred. His account of the self-sacrifice of Regulus has been praised. It is poor enough, but it is not disfigured by the bathos which spoils the Ode of Horace on the same theme. I fear I shall offend the goodly company of Horatiolaters, but I cannot suppress my sense of certain annoying limitations in the art of Horace, much as I admire the exquisite music and diction of his *Odes*, the light touch of his *Satires*, and the 'rugged maxims hewn from life' which make his *Epistles* so precious and so charming. But he spoils a fine ode when he tells us how Regulus went back to exile and torture as coolly as if he were going to the Venafran weald 'or the Lacedaemonian Tarentum.' One cannot but feel the depth of bathos in *Lacedaemonium*—a frigid allusion, in the climax of an impassioned tale, to the mythical founder of Tarentum. It is as if an English poet should conclude a narrative of noble self-sacrifice by assuring his readers that the hero of the piece was as undaunted

> As if he sought the braes of Windermere,
> Or Eastbourne owned by Dukes of Devonshire.

I cannot claim the diligence which Pliny ascribes to Silius, and I have only dipped into the wearisome *Punica*. But I have been surprised now and then to find, in the words of Sheridan, 'a lump of marl on a barren plain'—an example of that clever use of onomatopoeia which is so characteristic of the decline of Latin poetry. This prosaic versifier of the far more poetical Livy, whose *volumina* hardly transcend except in length the average

Prize Poem, hits now and then on a felicity. One could cite half a dozen instances, but let one suffice. In xiv. 550 he describes the sob of the sea as it rushes into the hull of a wrecked and derelict ship and escapes again by the lee scuppers:

> Singulante anima propulsa refunditur unda
> (Anon the wave with a sob is render'd back to the deep).

This reminds us of a fine passage in Swinburne already quoted. Was this felicity a mere chance? I am inclined to think it was, and so in other similar cases. Keats tells us of occasional great thoughts:

> Writ by the magic hand of chance,
> Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance.

The Bronze Age of Ennius and Accius was succeeded by the Golden and Silver periods. The *Elocutio Novella* made a futile attempt to create a new poetry by a reversion to the Bronze Age. It failed, as in our own literature a somewhat similar effort of William Morris proved abortive. But the *Elocutio Novella* had two very signal results. It broke up the Latin of the Silver Age and opened the age of the base metals, into which we will not follow Latin Poetry. And further it gave rise to a new Latin which became a common speech for Europe and was the basis of the Romance languages and many notable literatures, and even gave a new spring to poetry a thousand years after the *Pervigilium Veneris* had rung its enchanting bells.

R. Y. Tyrrell.

CANON BEECHING AND THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC

CANON BEECHING[1] has done useful service by dissociating the really important questions which underlie the proposals for Prayer Book revision from the crowd of trifling alterations which go by this common name. But his description of one, at least, of these really important questions seems to me to take no account of the true character and effect of the particular change he advocates. In giving my reasons for thinking this, it will be convenient to take the arguments used in the order in which Canon Beeching himself arranges them.

I begin, then, by questioning the correctness of the view he takes of the origin of the present movement. Some ten years ago, he tells us, 'it was realised by the responsible governors of the Church of England that something must be done.' I believe that this statement exactly describes the frame of mind of the English episcopate, and to a certain extent of Mr. Balfour, at that time, and I do not deny that there was then some foundation for it. The House of Commons had witnessed a revival in a very weakened form of the excitement which gave birth to the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. Even a forty years' interval had not convinced it that the introduction of new wine is always attended with some degree of disturbance to the old bottles, and that if the new bottles are not ready, there is nothing to be done but to put up with the consequent inconvenience. But when the bishops and the Prime Minister are agreed, they have always a way of escape open to them in the appointment of a Royal Commission. For the moment, therefore, the something that had to be done took this customary shape.

In dealing with the difficulty in this fashion, Mr. Balfour, it may be, was not unmindful of the probability that he would not be in office when the commission presented its report. The bishops possibly hoped that the commission would be more fortunate than its predecessors on the same road, and would agree upon a recommendation which would please all parties. In the end this policy had the result which commonly follows a determination to act arrived at in ignorance of what the action ought

[1] *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1911.

to be. The Royal Commission met, examined witnesses on all sides, and produced, thanks chiefly to the evidence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a most comprehensive and illuminating narrative of the Ritualist controversy. The main recommendation, so far as my present purpose is concerned, ran as follows:

> Letters of Business should be issued to the Convocations with instructions (*a*) to consider the preparation of a new rubric regulating the ornaments (that is to say, the vesture) of the Ministers of the Church at the times of their ministrations, with a view to its enactment by Parliament; and (*b*) to frame, with a view to their enactment by Parliament, such modifications in the existing laws relating to the conduct of Divine service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and of its present needs seems to demand.

It will be seen that in this recommendation, the commissioners draw a significant distinction between the Ornaments Rubric, which is dealt with in (*a*), and the modifications in the existing law which are referred to in (*b*). A different line of action is recommended in the two cases. As regards the vesture of the Ministers, the Convocations were directed to 'consider the preparation' of a new rubric in place of the present Ornaments Rubric. As regards the conduct of Divine service, and the fittings of churches, they were to frame such modifications in the existing law as will secure that greater elasticity 'which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England seems to demand.' In the Letters of Business actually issued—not, be it observed, at the instance either of the Government or of the House of Commons, but, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was careful to point out, in compliance with the request of the two Archbishops—this distinction is carefully maintained. The Convocation are desired to debate and agree upon 'the desirability and the form and contents of a new rubric regulating the ornaments, that is to say, the vesture of the Ministers of the Church,' and also of any modification of the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine service, and the ornaments and fittings of churches. But although Letters of Business were issued by the Crown in 1906, and again in 1909, no attention has yet been paid to the first and most important of the directions contained in them. We are no nearer a conclusion upon either the desirability, or the form and contents, of a new Ornaments Rubric than we were four years ago. Canon Beeching is no doubt right when he says that 'the revision of the Prayer Book suggested to Convocation by the Royal Commission, and allowed by the Crown was a revision of rubrics rather than of text.' But from the task thus committed to it Convocation has very naturally shrunk.

Anyone who looks at the present text of the Ornaments Rubric with its plain directions (so far as legislation by reference can ever be plain), and asks himself how he can turn it into a rubric which shall be permissive and comprehensive, and yet make no alteration in the actual position of parties in the Church of England, will soon, I think, see how impossible the task is.

I cannot follow Canon Beeching in the distinction he draws between the difficulties which stand in the way of enforcing the law of the Church as it stands, and those which would stand in the way of enforcing the law of the Church as it is proposed to revise it. 'A revised law, which should take account of new needs and modern conditions, would be a law the enforcement of which, however disagreeable, would not be a sheer impossibility.' From this I infer that in his opinion to enforce the law as it stands would be 'a sheer impossibility.' I submit, on the contrary, that in this respect the existing law and the suggested law stand exactly on the same footing. What was it that prevented the enforcement of the existing law after 1874? Not any doubt about its provisions. The Judicial Committee were quite clear as to what the Ornaments Rubric meant, and they dismissed as irrelevant the plea that it seemed to say the exact contrary of the sense they put upon it. It was not till the enforcement of this plain law was taken in hand that the difficulty presented itself. Many of the very people who had demanded that the law should be put into force disliked seeing men whom they thought very perverse, but quite good, sent to prison. It had been hoped that as soon as they realised what disobedience meant, the offenders would submit. When it turned out that they meant to go on disobeying the law as interpreted by the Judicial Committee, public opinion went round; Ritual prosecutions became unpopular, and the bishops determined to use their veto. All this will be repeated unless the Ritualist clergy—I use the term solely for convenience sake, not in the least as admitting its accuracy—meet the attempt to enforce the new law, supposing it to be made, in an opposite temper to that in which they met the earlier attempts. There will be just as much, or as little, impossibility in the one case as in the other.

Canon Beeching will perhaps say, first, that the permission to use vestments under proper restrictions will deprive resistance of all meaning, and next that when the public recognise this, the dislike that they have hitherto felt to prosecutions will disappear. When foolish sentiment is out of the way, the recalcitrant clergy will be left to suffer the natural consequence of their obstinacy. This view seems to me to misread the significance of the Ritualist victory. If anyone will take the trouble to look over the litera-

ture evoked by the Gorham case, he will find repeated assertions that the Church of England must either repudiate the claim of the Judicial Committee to be a spiritual court, or forfeit her own claim to be a portion of the Catholic Church. There was no such repudiation in any corporate or official sense, and it soon became evident that nothing of the kind was to be looked for. From that time onward the Tractarian Movement became in form what it had all along been in fact—a soldiers' battle. Abandoned by their natural leaders, men fought for their own hand. If the Privy Council could not be displaced, it could be disobeyed; and unpunished disobedience, if it is carried on long enough, is much the same thing as displacement. This was the principle which lay at the bottom of the Ritualist resistance. We are asked, they said, to obey a court which has no authority over our consciences—a court which we cannot obey without denying in act the headship of Christ over His Church. Everybody knows what followed upon this protest. The accused clergy refused to appear when they were summoned. They retained no counsel. They paid no heed to the decisions of the court. They went to prison rather than acknowledge its authority. And in the end they won. The decisions of the Judicial Committee are no longer law, except to one English bishop and one Colonial archbishop. The men who gained the day, or their successors, are now asked to forgo the fruits of their victory, and to accept the sense which the Judicial Committee puts upon the Ornaments Rubric as of equal authority with the rubric itself. That they will not do this I feel confident. I cannot, of course, pretend to be equally sure that public opinion will once more stand their friend. Canon Beeching may be a better judge in this matter than I am, and I imagine that he expects that this time imprisonment will evoke no sympathy, and that when the offending clergy find that they have no longer either friends or imitators, they will speedily listen to reason. I cannot think that this reading of the future is likely to prove correct; and even if I am wrong, I find it hard to believe that either religious peace or the security of the Establishment will be promoted by such a course.

It may be objected that in this forecast I assume that the Ritualist clergy will be actuated by what in secular matters would be called 'pure cussedness.' On the contrary, I think that by accepting a rubric making the use of vestments merely permissive, as a governing addition to a rubric which, if words mean anything, makes it a matter of obligation, they would be throwing away every advantage that they have gained. They would exchange a position which, from their point of view, is impregnable for a position in which in the majority of cases each man would be at the mercy of his own bishop. As things stand, they are protected by what they hold to be a plain law of the Church of

England. Under that law every priest who ministers at an Anglican Altar is ordered to wear what Cranmer called 'the vesture appointed for that ministration,' what Canon Beeching calls 'the customary robes of the minister from time immemorial.' When a clergyman wears these customary robes he does not indeed suppose that in themselves they symbolise anything. That to which they do bear witness is the identity of the English Church of to-day with the English Church before the Reformation and with the rest of the Catholic Church alike in the West and in the East. The value of the witness lies in the use of these 'customary robes' being ordered. If they were put on merely to please a generation which has developed a new taste for pomps and pageants of all kinds, they would be worthless. In themselves I grant they have no special meaning. 'There is no doubt,' says the report of the Royal Commission, 'that the Eucharistic vestments were originally the dress of ordinary civil life, and that for four or five centuries the civil and ministerial dress of the clergy was identical.' But they are not identical now. The dress which a Roman Catholic priest or an Orthodox priest wears at the altar is not now the dress of ordinary civil life. English congregations are not well informed upon points of ceremonial, but they are quite able to notice the resemblance of one priest to another, and in this way the Eucharistic vestments become a testimony to the identity as regards Eucharistic worship, of the several portions—in other respects so much divided—of the Catholic Church. This testimony would be worthless if their use were merely permissive. What High Churchmen claim is that the vestments reappeared in the Prayer Book at a time when all the probabilities pointed the other way. It was difficult enough, as we know from the Advertisements, to get even the use of the surplice made universal, yet notwithstanding this set of public opinion in the Puritan direction, the vestments came back on paper if not in use, and were for many years the principal evidence of that Catholic reaction which, beginning with Hooker, reached its highest development under Laud. With the motives which led to their replacement under Elizabeth and their retention under Charles the Second High Churchmen are not concerned. What does concern them is that every English priest is ordered to wear them, and to contend that no change worth mentioning will be made by making their retention optional where now it is compulsory is to lose sight of the real and vital distinction between the two terms.

It is not in the least necessary to my argument that this account of the vestments in the post-Reformation Church should be historically accurate. My purpose is only to

of England use them is that they believe that they are expressly ordered by the Prayer Book, and that the whole force of this contention would be gone if permission were substituted for command. The 'section of the Evangelical clergy,' which Canon Beeching describes as taking fright, and forming an alliance with 'the *non-possumus* moiety of their High Church brethren,' were acting consistently. Each side knew perfectly well what was at stake in each case. It was nothing short of their position in the English Church. The Evangelical clergy are as much convinced that the Prayer Book orders the use of the surplice at the Altar, and so by implication forbids the use of the vesture previously 'appointed for that ministration,' as the High Church clergy are convinced of the contrary. So long as consistent High Churchmen and consistent Evangelicals are equally certain of their position, there is no reason why they should not remain with a good conscience in the same Church. But if the use alike of vestments and of the surplice is made simply permissible, the position of both parties will be undermined. 'Whichever you please, my little dear,' is not a formula calculated to conciliate men who hold that it is of immense moment to religion whether the Prayer Book orders one thing or the other. They may be as foolish as Canon Beeching probably thinks them in attaching this importance to the meaning of the Ornaments Rubric; but so long as they do attach it, to leave the question open by express enactment, is to run the risk of two schisms instead of one.

It is quite possible, of course, to argue that even if this be true we have only a choice of evils—schism, if we act; disestablishment, if we remain inactive. The opponents of revision are charged by Canon Beeching with refusing to face the controlling fact of the situation; namely, that 'some means had to be formed for bringing to an end an intolerable condition of lawlessness.' 'Intolerable' is commonly a question-begging epithet, and in the present instance its employment seems to have an unusual measure of this characteristic. I do not deny that when 'the last Conservative House of Commons' passed a resolution that 'if the efforts now being made by the archbishops and bishops to secure the obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the existing law of Church and Realm,' a good number of people may have thought the situation alarming. But the last Conservative House of Commons has now given place to a decidedly Radical House of Commons, and I see no probability of a similar resolution being voted until the country squires have reconquered their Parliamentary position. Certainly such an expression of opinion would not have secured a majority in the Parliament of 1906, nor would

When Canon Beeching says that the real issue lies 'not between revision of the law of worship and no revision, but between an authoritative revision by the Church and the private revision already proceeding at the uncontrolled whim of parties and individuals,' he seems to me to forget the actual condition of the Church of England. It is not one Church, but two, or more truly three. The High Church party, the Evangelical party—not to mention that large body of church people which belong to neither, and have no clear notion of what the distinction between the other two really amounts to—are in essentials different Churches connected by an historical accident, but possessed by different ideals and working towards different ends. How is an authoritative revision by such a Church to be carried out except by giving the victory to one or other of these sections? Among High Churchmen there are some who would welcome the prospect of a more homogeneous Church than is likely to be realised under present conditions. But to take any active steps towards this end would, I submit, be to forget how greatly the parties have benefited by their mutual contact. The points of agreement between them grow in number. In whichever direction we turn our eyes there is evidence of an increasing unity in the Church. The High Church party is certainly more homogeneous than it was twenty years ago. I remember a newly-appointed bishop once saying to me something to this effect: 'My object will be to drive a wedge into the High Church party, to gather the moderate and the extreme men into different camps.' I have watched with interest his efforts to carry out this purpose, and the failure in which they have ended. If anyone will take the trouble to look at the various lists of Lent preachers in the present year, they will see how largely they embrace moderate men and extreme men. There is an immense variety of uses in the Churches which the preachers serve, but that variety no longer hinders their common action. No doubt there is not the same amount of agreement between High Churchmen and Low Churchmen. The interval is wider, and naturally it is less easily bridged over. But even here there is real progress—progress towards unity of feeling if not towards unity of conviction. What was there like this in 1898, when Sir William Harcourt thundered in the *Times*, or in the year in which 'the last Conservative House of Commons' looked forward with satisfaction to 'legislation to maintain the existing law of Church and Realm'? Or, to come to the present time, what volumes of correspondence and speeches would once have been called forth by recent ecclesiastical troubles at Brighton. Of course, if I am told that consciences are offended by this growth of friendly feeling, I cannot blame their owners

for trying to put a stop to it, though, in the larger interests of peace and goodwill, I may hope that their efforts will fail. But I question whether, on second thoughts, Canon Beeching would describe the present condition of the Church of England as one of 'intolerable' lawlessness. A condition of lawlessness it may be. Lawlessness is a customary incident of times of revolution, and no candid man, I venture to think, will deny that since the birth of the Tractarian Movement, the Church of England has been living in a time of revolution—a time, that is to say, of large changes brought about by the action of individuals, not by any constituted authorities, and tending to issues which cannot yet be foreseen. But to speak of what has been going on all these years as having become 'intolerable' implies that things have been growing worse instead of better. Coming from the Church Association, this would be an intelligible statement. It is hardly intelligible when it is made by Canon Beeching, and all the less so that on a later page we read that, in his judgment, 'the best thing that could happen would be a new decision of the Court of Appeal that the Ornaments Rubric means what it says, and prescribes the vestments of the first book of King Edward the Sixth. Then, if the Evangelical clergy proved as law-abiding as ever, the vestments would be worn by everyone, and no question as to any special significance could arise.' I cannot see that anything would be gained by taking this way out of the difficulty, even if it were within our reach. I have no wish—I know no one who has any wish—to see any clergyman compelled to wear the vestments. The last thing to be desired is that they should be treated as merely pretty adjuncts to Divine service, much as waggon-loads of white flowers are considered by many people to be specially appropriate at weddings and funerals. High Churchmen have not been contending for them all these years because there has been 'no question as to any special significance' attaching to them. The special significance does not, it is true, reside in themselves; it has come to them from circumstances. But being there, it has grown to be of very real importance, and the universal adoption of vestments on the score of their meaning nothing would be a poor exchange for their gradual adoption on the score of their meaning much. There is no question here of 'Romanising.' High Churchmen only claim, as Newman did in the noon-day of his Oxford time, to hold, with Bishop Andrewes, 'the Mass all but transubstantiation,' and with the Catholic Church of all ages, that Eucharistic mystery which transubstantiation is only an attempt to identify with a particular philosophical theory.

Canon Beeching anticipates from the four Houses of Convocation meeting in conference 'a recommendation which will ex-

press the largest body of clerical opinion, and, it may be hoped, unite all parties in agreement.' I am afraid that the results thus bracketed are not necessarily identical. What is needed to secure the second is a clear appreciation of what minorities consider indispensable. If this is disregarded, the largest body of clerical opinion animated by the best possible intentions may be at fault. Moreover, the constitution of two of these four Houses offers an obstacle which Canon Beeching passes over somewhat too lightly. The Lower Houses of Convocation, he tells us, 'are declared to be unequal to the task of revision, on the ground that they are insufficiently representative of the clergy.' Canon Beeching meets this by the statement, 'Representative, nevertheless, they are.' But this no one denies. What is denied is that they are sufficiently representative. The old House of Commons was representative; what the reform party challenged successfully was its claim to be sufficiently representative. It proved useless to deny this in the face of rotten boroughs, and if ever Letters of Business come to be things of serious import, it will be equally useless to deny that a House which contains an immense preponderance of the official element, and as regards the elected element restricts the franchise to the holders of benefices, is not sufficiently representative of the clergy. If revision is as important as its advocates contend, it is equally important that it should be carried out by general consent, and the most obvious way of securing this object is to make sure that the representative bodies to which it is in part entrusted deserve the name. 'But the real answer to this plea,' Canon Beeching continues, 'is that the constitutional part played by the Lower Houses of Convocation is secondary and advisory. We are still an episcopal Church.' Undoubtedly we are. But it is also true that the actual constitution of the Church of England gives to the second order of the clergy an unusual amount of importance. This advantage may have been the growth of accidents which had little to do with ecclesiastical controversies, but having got it, we may well be thankful for it, and be resolved not to let it go. However well qualified the bishops may be to 'gauge the desires of the presbyterate,' I submit that, so long as the presbyterate has a House of its own, it is by the action of that House that the desires of the presbyterate will be best ascertained. Indeed, while the official element is as strong as it is, it is not even the bishops who perform the gauging office. It is the Deans and the Archdeacons. With such a system of representation as this, a reform of the Lower Houses of Convocation ought to take precedence of any ecclesiastical legislation of real moment.

The prospect of a reference of changes in the Prayer Book to Parliament as the final authority has no terrors for Canon

Beeching. 'A National Church, which enjoys the privileges and responsibilities of establishment, cannot complain if the state exercises a somewhat jealous supervision over its ritual and ceremonial regulations in the interests of the whole body of the people. We are not a sect, and should not claim the immunities of a sect.' I wish indeed that Churchmen saw more clearly than they do, that our only real protection against coming evils lies in claiming the immunities which belong to a sect, and in surrendering the 'privileges and responsibilities' which prevent us from being treated as one. But so long as we glory in being an Established Church, I agree with Canon Beeching that it is idle to dispute the right of the state to exercise supervision over our ritual and ceremonial regulations. I do not see indeed why this supervision need be 'jealous,' but that is a matter for the state to decide. Supervision is nothing more than the price, or part of the price, which we pay for being established. If we think it too high, the remedy is in our own hands; and so long as we shrink from availing ourselves of that remedy, we shall do well to keep silent about state interference. But while I am entirely at one with Canon Beeching as regards the right of Parliament to pass final judgment upon all schemes of Prayer Book revision, I am surprised at the lightness of heart with which he looks forward to the possible exercise of this prerogative. So long as we leave the Prayer Book alone, it remains part of the statute law, and I fully recognise the advantages of the position thus secured to us. But to give up this position—and by asking Parliament to give the finality of statute law to what, so far as the changes extend, will be a new Prayer Book, we do give it up—is to incur a risk which may easily prove very much greater than the revisionists seem to think. A House of Commons which had once entered upon the field of Prayer Book revision might warm to its work as it went on, and in that case the supervision it would exercise over the ritual and ceremonial of the Established Church, might become not 'somewhat,' but very jealous. This is not a prospect which alarms me, because I think that the changes made by a committee of the House of Commons would be of a kind which would lead numbers of Churchmen to demand disestablishment in preference to revision. But if this issue were once raised, the ultimate result would hardly please Canon Beeching. The almost proverbial dangers of pulling about old buildings are not less present when the subject of the experiment is an old institution.

D. C. LATHBURY.

Note.—This paper was in type before the publication of Dr. Frere's *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform.*

THE EDUCATION OF THE DOMICILED COMMUNITY IN INDIA

By the expression 'Domiciled Community' is to be understood that section of the population of the Indian Empire which, although generally English in sympathies, bearing for the most part English names, and speaking with more or less purity the English tongue, makes its permanent dwelling-place in India, while it continues to refer to and think of England as 'home.' The greater proportion of this Community is of mixed European and Asiatic blood, and has hitherto been known in ordinary parlance as 'Eurasian' ; but this term has fallen into disfavour, and is, I believe, to be discarded at the coming Census—in any case it labours under the disadvantage of not being sufficiently comprehensive. For the Interests of the whole Domiciled Community are identical, and they furnish at the moment one of the gravest and most pressing problems that confront the Empire.

In old days the lot of the Domiciled was far from unenviable. The eighteenth-century adventurer who, after stormily fighting his way to an assured position and fortune, married a native lady and settled upon his or her estates in semi-regal power and almost regal splendour, had little to complain of, provided that he cherished no excessive yearnings for the land of his birth; the descendants of such have rendered no small service to the country and races of their adoption, and some of them still continue to do so. Others, on the contrary, have sunk low and gone to swell the stream of unhappy humanity whose lot to-day excites the compassion of all who have eyes to see and ears to hear. The decadence of an old 'county family' of this type is cleverly depicted by Mrs. Perrin in her novel, *A Free Solitude*. Another type is furnished by the descendants of regular as well as of irregular unions of the officers of the old 'John Company' days; these were often tolerably well endowed with lands and money; they could afford a passable education in the country for their children; and their children did credit to their ancestry, and acquitted themselves respectably, and sometimes with distinction,

in the Services. The rest, whose forefathers, perhaps, were of a humbler type, found a natural haven in clerkship in the public offices and subordinate positions in the Police, Forests, Public Works, and other departments. They were able to live comfortably on the salaries available, and the pensions that followed at the close of their service, with a reasonable expectation that their sons would be afforded the opportunity of treading in their footsteps and allowed to enjoy the same advantages. The educated native had not yet arisen in sufficient numbers or ability to dispute these posts with them; their course in life lay clear; and there was no apparent reason for anxiety. Nor were the numbers of the Domiciled population in earlier days sufficient to cause uneasiness. That they were increasing rapidly was plain, but only the far-sighted among them could foretell the developments which have landed them in the difficult *impasse* in which they now stand. For them the world jogged along pleasantly and satisfactorily, and their ranks were constantly augmented by old soldiers and Europeans of that stamp, who settled comfortably in the country, and took to themselves the pretty Eurasian girls to wife, and lived according to their notions in clover, raising numerous families to do the same after them.

The dangers of the situation were, however, foreseen by statesmen and thinking men from a very early time, and were even to some extent guarded against. Mr. Penny (*Church in Madras*, chapter vii.) has recorded how the East India Company began to interest itself in the education of the children at Fort St. George as far back as 1670. In 1678 Mr. Ralph Ord was appointed to be a schoolmaster on a salary of 50*l.* a year; his successor, Mr. John Barker, was paid half that sum. The school was part charity school, part orphanage; the care of both these and the raising and administration of the needful funds devolved upon the chaplains and churchwardens, and special qualifications were required from the chaplains for the performance of these educational responsibilities. One of these chaplains, the Rev. George Lewis, was an enthusiast in his duties, and went so far as to translate the Prayer Book, the Church Catechism, and portions of the Bible into Portuguese for the use of the Portuguese Eurasian children at his school. Later on, under Mr. Lewis's successor, the arrangements were remodelled and improved; and a charity school (on the model), as it would seem, of the schools 'for blackguard boys' which Robert Nelson and his friends of the S.P.C.K. were then busily founding in England) for thirty British Eurasian children, with the provision of hostels for boys and for girls, was founded in 1715, and attached to St. Mary's Parish, Fort St. George, while the S.P.C.K. assisted with gifts of school books and 'part of one of the bales of green perpets, sufficient to

cloathe the said children.' Thus at the outset of our rule in India the English Church assumed the responsibility for the education of the children of the Domiciled Community, which it has held from that time until now, and the S.P.C.K. began that long series of good offices to the cause of education in India which it still continues. As the oldest Presidency, Madras led the way, and in every old cantonment and garrison town in the South of India, as well as in Madras itself, there is now a school for the children of the Domiciled Community, established by former chaplains, with the liberal assistance of the resident civil and military officers; and as time went on the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay followed suit. In 1784 the Free Schools in Calcutta were founded by the united efforts of the leading men in the place, who raised 30,000*l*. for establishing and endowing them; and these schools are still doing a great work. The fine Martinière Schools at Calcutta and Lucknow were founded by a bequest of that gallant French soldier of fortune, General Martin; Sir Henry Lawrence established the School-Orphanage at Sanawar; and the Church started schools in the Hills at Darjiling, Naini Tal, and Masuri. The numbers of the Domiciled Community, though steadily increasing, were then comparatively few, and members of the English Services were well paid and able to be liberal in their contributions towards the work of educating them, so that in this respect, at least, all went well.

The next landmark in the progress of the Domiciled Community is furnished by the cataclysm of the Indian Mutiny. In this they shared the lot of their English kinsmen, and had their share of the 'massacre, torture, and black despair' that befell white men and women in that terrible time; and they proved their essential worth by more than one daring and heroic deed. Probably the Martinière School at Lucknow is the only public school in the Empire which has a record of active military service to its credit, and it has a right to be proud of the distinction. When the season of peril was over the sense of obligation to the Domiciled Community was still warm, and the authorities began to consider seriously what was to be done for them. Bishop Cotton, one of the greatest in the line of distinguished prelates who have filled the Metropolitical See of Calcutta, set himself seriously to develop and organise a definite and well-considered plan for the provision of efficient schools for this class throughout the peninsula, planted at strategic points where they were most needed and most readily accessible. The school called after his name at Simla was built as a thank-offering for deliverance from the Mutiny. Government was sympathetic, and heartily seconded his efforts; and the English public in India did the same to the [illegible] of i[illegible] v[illegible]n th[illegible]n diminishing [illegible]bility. From 1859 wh[illegible]n [illegible]

came out to India, until his untimely death by drowning in 1866, the Bishop devoted himself zealously to this work, and the fruits of his labours are to be seen in the 'Bishop Cotton Schools' still dotted about the country, founded either during his lifetime on his own personal initiative, or after his death in grateful memory of his labours. For the most part these schools are still (though under many disadvantages and difficulties, which will be noticed hereafter) doing useful and indispensable work; while that which they have already accomplished is beyond praise. And their support and the expenses of upkeep, apart from the assistance generally accorded by the Government, has been borne throughout by the Church of England and its members in India.

In 1880, or thereabouts, there opened yet another chapter in the history of the Domiciled Community. From very early times the Church of Rome had realised its importance and the advantages to be gained by winning its members as a whole for the Roman Communion. Mr. Penny quotes instances of friction upon this score with the Roman clergy in Fort St. George as far back as the late seventeenth century. Formerly, as Archdeacon Hyde has shown in an illuminating article in the *Guardian*,[1] the Roman Church had led the way in active missionary effort, under the aegis of the Portuguese power, in the western and southern portions of the peninsula; but with the decay of that power their missions steadily fell off both in numbers and influence, and internal dissensions reduced the Roman Communion in India to a group of warring factions. With, however, the coming of a Roman Catholic Viceroy to India in 1880 the tide began to turn. Up to that time the Roman Catholic Missions in India were regarded as poor and inconsiderable; but about that period they began to receive large remittances from Europe and definitely started upon a great forward movement. The money was said to come mainly from France, where it was raised by the sale of property which was supposed (rightly, as the event proved) to be in danger of confiscation; and it was sent to various parts of the world for missionary purposes—which in practice include proselytising from other Christian communions—and especially to countries flying the British flag, where it was considered safe from molestation. In 1885 the Roman Church succeeded in healing its internal dissensions in India, and the Pope and the King of Portugal (who had hitherto claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction in India under the Bull of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493) signed a Concordat under which the administration of the Roman Catholic Church in India was practically unified under a Papal Delegate. Now that there is no longer a kingdom of Portugal, it may be presumed that the

[1] Since reprinted as a leaflet by the Indian Church Aid Association.

authority of the Pope over Roman Catholic India will be supreme. The country is now divided into nine provinces, with twenty-nine completely organised dioceses and seven vicariates and prefectures, well equipped with churches, chapels, theological seminaries, diocesan and monastic institutions, and, above all, schools. And the central object of their policy, carried out with the standing consistency which marks all their labours, is, it is clear, the capture of the Domiciled Community.

The present situation is thus sketched by Archdeacon Hyde (I have ventured to abbreviate his description somewhat):

> A tremendous advance in pastoral administration has followed the establishment of the new Roman Hierarchy. The stream of men and money is steadily increasing, and seems inexhaustible. Convents of foreign nuns, admirably equipped as seminaries of female education, are becoming numerous everywhere. Roman Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods carry on also other benevolent works; but the main streams of influence are those connected with education, both primary and secondary, and also academic of the highest standard. In the North of India the truly admirable Irish Christian Brothers have two thousand Eurasian and European boys under their charge in eight schools and colleges, all of them furnished with scholastic and scientific apparatus up to the latest Government requirements. The Jesuits have many schools and colleges for higher education. Eurasian girls are to an ever-increasing extent only kept in Protestant schools until they are old enough to benefit by the superior polish expected from the nuns at the local convent. The influence quickly established over their pupils, particularly by the nuns, is profound and life-long. The influence of the Irish Christian Brothers and that of the Jesuit teachers is scarcely less penetrating. As school-teachers both they and the Jesuits are known to be thoroughly successful in satisfying all Government and University tests. That they are rapidly becoming the leading educational bodies in India is due to the zeal, tenacity, and large forethought with which they prosecute their high and single-hearted purpose.

And as an example of the ingenuity with which the financial situation is handled I quote the following passage, also from Archdeacon Hyde's paper:

> The Government system of grants-in-aid operates enormously to the advantage of the celibate teaching orders. These grants are based not only on examinations and school attendance, but upon the scale of teachers' salaries. The Roman Catholic Brother or teaching Sister is naturally rated in the school-books at his or her full market value, the scale being set by schools which depend for their teachers upon salary inducements. Thus, perhaps, a Christian Brother is rated at Rs. 80 a month, and on that rating the management draws Rs. 40 a month grant from Government. His actual maintenance perhaps costs but Rs. 30. Thus each Christian Brother not only costs nothing to the Mission for his maintenance, but represents a small steady income to its funds, apart from the fee-income earned by his work.

Lastly, in order that there should be no mistake as to the nature of the challenge thrown out, the new Roman Catholic schools and colleges have been for the most part built in the same places, and

even in close juxtaposition with those of older standing erected long since by the Anglican Church; they charge lower fees than the English Church can afford to do, and in case of need will even take children free or at little more than a nominal charge. The difficulties in the way of our schools, as at present worked, encountering such tactics with success are well-nigh insuperable.

The leaders of the Roman Church, indeed, have been quick to see that time and opportunity were on their side. The impulse of friendly feeling towards the Domiciled Community after the Mutiny was not long in exhausting itself. Even Bishop Cotton's great scheme, adapted only to the India of his day, was never completely carried out. The school which he desired to found at Cuttack was never built, and though a small Church school maintains a struggling existence, I am told that the principal Christian school in the place is owned by the Baptists. Meanwhile buildings grew old and out of date, and the increase and shifting of the Domiciled population, and the change in economic conditions occasioned by the spread of the railway system, affected unfavourably the educational work of the Anglican Church, which was no longer equal to the calls made upon it. Steadily, too, if slowly, the springs of private liberality began to shrink and dry up, not from any lack of goodwill or generosity on the part of members of the Services (the Metropolitan and others have borne frequent and emphatic testimony to the relative liberality of English Churchmen in India), but from the shrinkage in their own incomes induced by the increased economies of the Government and the disastrous fall in the exchange. 'The unequal competition between old buildings and new, old equipment and up-to-date improvements,' says a well-informed correspondent, 'between schools without much money and schools which had plenty, was what ruined so many of the old-established Church schools.' The Bishop Cotton School at Nagpur was saved by the action of the Indian Church Aid Association in England, undertaken at the urgent request of the Bishop of Nagpur; and the Bishop Cotton Schools in Bangalore were rescued by the self-sacrifice of the Warden, the Rev. Pakenham Walsh, and the Brotherhood which works with him, backed by friends at home. Both these schools were brought to the verge of ruin through unequal competition, and both were saved by money collected in England and India, which was readily forthcoming as soon as their needs were clearly stated and made known. English ladies, too, have not been backward to help, and it is due to their unobtrusive efforts that the girls' schools, in which they teach and work without salaries, are in a better state generally than those for boys. The St. Hilda's Community has saved the girls' schools in the Punjab, and the great Anglican Sisterhoods—Cowley-Wantage, All Saints', Clewer, and

Kilburn—have done first-rate work in various parts of the country.

No statement of what has been done for the Christian education of the Domiciled Community would be complete which omitted any reference to the labours of the non-Episcopal bodies both of England and America. The schools owned by these bodies, though few in number, are large and well equipped, and are liberally supported by the parent societies across the seas. But the comparative strength of the three groups of schools throughout India may be reasonably inferred, I think, from the following statement, which gives particulars of the schools for the Domiciled Community in the Lucknow Diocese at the present time, and in Bengal in 1908:—

	Roman Catholic.	Anglican.	Non-Episcopal.	Undenominational.
Diocese of Lucknow . .	18	9	2	1
Bengal	28	11	6	22

The twenty-two 'undenominational' schools in Bengal include fourteen schools maintained by the railway companies for the children of their employés. But it would not be far wrong to assert that the actual number of Roman Catholics, as compared with Anglicans, among the Domiciled Community is in more than inverse ratio to the number of schools provided by the two branches of the Church; and this supplies some measure of the leakage from the Anglican Church which must be in progress. It has been reckoned that only 17 per cent. of the Domiciled children in Calcutta attend the Anglican Schools, though more than 50 per cent. are nominally Anglicans. The rest go to the cheaper Roman Catholic schools, and gravitate naturally to the Church of Rome. And the leakage is not from the Anglican Church alone. Throughout India Nonconformist parents depend largely upon Anglican schools for the education of their children, and though the majority of the Domiciled Community are normally and by sympathies Churchmen, yet there are plenty of English Nonconformists settled in the country whose children are being drawn into the Roman schools, in the same way, by the cheapness of the terms and by the excellence of the education offered. The Central Provinces, for instance, occupy an area little less than that of the United Kingdom; and the two Church schools at Nagpur and Jabalpur are the only non-Roman schools available. Had the Nagpur school gone under (as it very nearly did a year or two ago) every English-speaking child in Nagpur, Nonconformist as well as Anglican, would have had to attend the Roman Catholic school or go without teaching altogether.

What makes this overlapping and rivalry the more deplorable, apart from the damage inflicted upon the English Church, is the fact that the educational opportunities which exist are not nearly

sufficient for the needs of the case, and that there is plenty of unworked ground available without invading that which is already occupied. The arrangements which sufficed when the Domiciled Community numbered only a few thousands, and occupied a secure economic position, are wholly insufficient when their numbers are approaching a quarter of a million[3]; when the cost of living has doubled and trebled, and is still advancing; when the opportunities of employment once open to them have been grievously contracted and diminished by the competition of the educated native; and when the situation is rendered more bitter by the fact that Government practically educates the native free, while it does very little indeed, and that grudgingly, for the Domiciled Community—it has recently been shown that, of the cost of the education of the Domiciled Community in Bengal, more than four-fifths is provided by private liberality and less than one-fifth by the Government. But, besides all this, there is in all the large cities of India a terribly large proportion of the children of the Community who are receiving no education at all, and whose parents are plunged in poverty so hopeless as to preclude the possibility of their making any effective effort on their own behalf. Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, describes the consequences of the neglect of the Community in large cities as 'appalling'; and nobody who has the slightest acquaintance with the subject will say that the expression is too strong. In 1908 it was calculated by the writer of the interesting *Report on European Education in Bengal* (Mr. Hallward) that the Domiciled Community in Calcutta must number some 36,000 souls, of whom about one-third were children, and that of this third some 2773 were paupers. The existing orphanages and schools might, he thought, account for 1160 of these, thus leaving 1600 in round numbers unprovided for. The homes in which these unfortunates live are unspeakable. Let me quote regarding them the description by the Ven. G. A. Ford, late Archdeacon of Lucknow, published in the *Indian Church Magazine* in 1906:

> It is impossible to depict quite accurately without laying oneself open to the suspicion of exaggeration the reeking dens, veritable rabbit-warrens, dignified in grim irony by the name of home, where hundreds of Eurasians are crowded together in the cities of these provinces. Men, women, and children, through whose veins courses European blood, live in an environment of noisomeness and dirt; families whose income would hardly satisfy your sweepers, uncertain of labour, or usually certain of no labour at all, except that implied in a walk to the chaplain to extort 'expenses.' In few English slums could you find a poverty more grinding or hovels more revolting. Here grow like weeds apace children in whom the vices of both races combine, and the virtues of neither have a chance of flourishing.

[3] Exact estimates are difficult to procure, but they vary from 150,000 to a million. Probably the figure which I have given is below the mark.

It would be easy to multiply evidence of this kind—every chaplain could furnish it, if he has not already done so. Mr. Hallward warns us that 'a political and social evil of no inconsiderable magnitude is being engendered in our midst, and the pauperisation of the needy white and half-caste population is increasing with dangerous rapidity.' He puts forward a scheme for dealing with them at a cost (for Bengal only) of 16,000*l.* a year, and observes that, 'large as these figures are, it is not too much to say that the solution of the problem would be cheap at the price.' He hints, too, that the task is one in which America might be asked to join; and in this, too, he is right.* No official action seems, however, to have been taken upon his suggestions, any more than upon Sir H. Harrison's moving Report upon the same subject seventeen or eighteen years ago. Nor was any organised private action taken either, save for the unceasing efforts of the Church and the non-Episcopal bodies already referred to, until the Council of the Indian Church Aid Association, two years since, addressed a letter to the Metropolitan, suggesting a united effort on the part of some of the great Church societies to draw attention to the subject at home, a suggestion which was cordially received; and until the inception of what has come to be known as the All-India Central Committee, which seeks to find a joint solution to the acknowledged and terrible evil of the condition of the schools for the Domiciled Community generally.

Meanwhile two things had happened. At the annual meeting of the Indian Church Aid Association in 1908 no less than eight out of the eleven Indian bishops, with the Metropolitan at their head, declared that the key to the position of the Church in India, whether in its purely missionary aspect or as regards its work among its own people, lay in the proper education and care of the professing Christians of our own race already domiciled in the country. The thing had been said before; never, perhaps, more forcibly than by Bishop Johnson, when at Manchester in 1889 he told his hearers that if the Church at home would evangelise India, she must make it her first duty to see her own sons and daughters of the poor Christian European and Eurasian population adequately attended to, and that the neglect of this tainted all her

* The Americans in India are numerous, both in missionary enterprises and in business, and the law accords them the rank of 'European British Subjects' along with non-domiciled Englishmen. The effect of this is to invest them with the legal immunities and privileges of Englishmen, and with the right to serve on juries. This treatment is extended, I believe, to no other foreigners in India. The American element has also entered into the mixed races which form the Domiciled Community; while American Churchmen depend for their ministrations of religion upon the English Church in India, with which they are in full communion. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to invite them to take their share with us of this 'white man's burden,' and I do not think they will be backward in [illegible]ging it

professions of anxiety for the evangelisation of India with a flavour of unreality and inconsistency, which the non-Christians were ready enough to detect. Bishop Welldon preached to the same effect before the Episcopal Synod in 1901. The issue of an appeal to the country to 'bring the blessing of a sound religious education within the reach of the poorest European' was one of the last acts of Bishop Milman's great episcopate. But the joint utterances of the eight bishops came at an opportune moment. It led, in the first place, to the emphatic utterance of the Lambeth Conference: 'It is of vital importance that the Church should establish and maintain secondary schools, wherever they are needed, for children of the English-speaking race in all parts of the Anglican Communion'; and in the next to the allocation of 20,000*l.* from the Pan-Anglican Thank-offering to the furtherance of that work in India. Perhaps the other happening was even more remarkable. A wealthy Nonconformist gentleman who has built up a great fortune in Calcutta has offered a donation of 50,000*l.* for the common benefit of the non-Roman Catholic Christian schools in India (the Roman Catholics, I understand, were asked to join in his scheme, but declined), on the condition that a combined effort was made to raise adequate funds to place these schools upon a footing of assured efficiency under a joint central committee, so as to bring united pressure upon the Government to treat them more seriously, while retaining unchanged their present religious character, and with an especial view to prevent overlapping and consequent waste of money and energy. The Indian bishops heartily approve the scheme, and the English Archbishops, the Primate of Ireland, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and the English Nonconformist leaders have associated themselves with it. 'Co-operation without compromise,' wrote the Metropolitan to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is to be the keynote of the scheme; there is to be a general fund for the common benefit, but subscribers will also be at liberty to earmark their donations for the Church or for any denomination with which they are in sympathy. For this a formal and forcible appeal will very shortly be put forth. The grant from the Pan-Anglican Thank-offering will probably become the nucleus of a special Church Education Fund, which will be under Church control and devoted to the improvement and maintenance of Church schools. The Bishop of Bombay has been appointed Convener of a Provincial Board which is now engaged in elaborating a detailed scheme for the best administration of this fund and of any earmarked sums that may be added to it. The two funds are to be worked in harmony and in pursuance of a common policy. The total sum required is 300,000*l.*

This project has formed the subject of anxious discussion in

India by the Church at the Synod of the Anglican Episcopate in India held at Allahabad last November, and the joint scheme at a joint Conference held at Calcutta in the month following. The Conference was attended by representative educationists from all India, and the Metropolitan was present as a member of the Conference. The Member for Education on the Viceroy's Council, Mr. Butler, was also present. Some vigorous and well-considered resolutions were passed, including suggestions that the education of the Domiciled Community should be 'a primary responsibility' of the Government of India, instead of being left, as at present, to the chance sympathies of the heads of provinces, any one of whom might reverse the policy of his predecessor [4]; that a larger proportion of the cost of such education should be borne by the Government than hitherto; that a Central European College should be established for the benefit of the Domiciled Community, affiliated to the University of London; that the standard of instruction in schools for the Domiciled Community should be substantially raised, by providing a more highly qualified teaching staff with better pay and prospects than have hitherto been offered; and that provision should be made for training members of the Domiciled Community to undertake such work, existing arrangements for that purpose being altogether inadequate. This in itself was an important departure, and the *personnel* of the Conference which adopted these resolutions made its recommendations the more impressive.

One or two considerations only remain to be put forward. I spoke at the outset of the political importance of this matter. It has been urged in my hearing that if the Roman Catholic Church chooses to relieve us of our national obligation to the Domiciled Community, there is no reason why it should not be allowed to do so. Surely such a suggestion is scarcely arguable. Responsibilities are not laid upon a nation, or upon a Church which represents the ethical side of a nation, to be lightly discarded and passed on to strangers. The Roman Church in India is distinctly an alien Church, manned and directed by French, Belgian, Italian, and German clergy, with a sprinkling of Irish Roman Catholics, none of whom—and the last-named, unfortunately, least of all—can be reckoned as our friends, politically or otherwise. 'The condition of things,' writes Sir Andrew Fraser in reference to this fact, 'has

[4] This has sometimes occurred, with disastrous results. A Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, who is impressed with the gravity of the situation, will support this work liberally; his successor, with other interests, will cut down the grants and leave the schools in serious difficulties. The Church owes much to Sir James La Touche, Sir Andrew Fraser, and others who have helped it in this matter; but the imperative need of the moment is a continuous and consistent educational policy on the part of the Central Government.

only to be stated to show how serious it is. The children are not trained to represent Great Britain in its religion and special characteristics before the peoples of India.' The part that a population thus trained will take in the day of trouble will depend on the direction they get from their spiritual pastors and masters, upon whom the fate of India might thus come to depend. Signs of discontent among the Domiciled Community at our ignoring and neglect of them are already apparent, and observers in India warn us that the seeds of mischief have even now been sown. Is it politically wise to allow such things? The other consideration I have to urge is for my brother-Churchmen. By the contribution from the Pan-Anglican Thank-offering, and by the princely generosity of a Nonconformist gentleman, a way has been opened to retrieve what threatens to be a serious disaster to the cause for which we particularly stand. It is for us so to acquit ourselves in this joint effort that our schools in India and our influence among those of our faith in the Domiciled Community (and these are still a majority) shall suffer no disgrace or damage from our inaction. The challenge to the Church is a high and honourable one; it is for us Churchmen in the Old Country, if we desire to retain the talent which we believe has been confided to our keeping, to meet that challenge with a fitting and adequate response.

HORACE PITT KENNEDY SKIPTON.

IRVING AND STAGE LIGHTING

STAGE lighting, as we understand it now, is the growth of a comparatively few years. The one person to whom the modern cult is due is the late Sir Henry Irving. When he took into his own hands in 1878 the management of the Lyceum Theatre, the lighting of stage scenes was crude and only partially effective. But the possibilities of this branch of art had been for a long time in the actor's mind, and when he became sole master of a playhouse of his own, with undisputed sovereignty, he began to apply to it his theories and his experience, with results which dominate the whole artistic mysteries of the stage to this day. As a matter of fact, the history of the Lyceum Theatre during Henry Irving's management—from 1878 to 1898—is the history of modern stage lighting. In 1878 he reorganised the whole theatre, which was then very much in the condition in which it had been put during Fechter's management. Fechter had in his time done much for the mechanics of the stage; indeed, the stage which he rebuilt at the Lyceum was a very elaborate affair, full of traps and appliances, but all of these requiring so many struts and supports that the space between the stage and the mezzanine floor, and between the mezzanine floor and the cellar, was of very little use for any collateral purposes—storage, passage, &c.—required in a playhouse. Irving had all this hampering matter removed in the process of time—part being done before he began the season of 1878-79, and the remainder when, in 1881, he cleared out all the rubbish left in by the builders when the theatre was rebuilt after the fire of 1830.

When the reconstruction of 1878 was in hand special care was taken to bring up to date the mechanical appliances for lighting the stage. In those days gas was the only available means of theatre lighting—except, of course, 'limelights,' which were movable and the appurtenances of which had to be arranged afresh for every play done. But for ordinary lighting purposes gas was used; and, in order to ensure safety, certain precautions were, by Irving's direction, adopted. Instead of having all the gas to be used in the theatre—both for the stage and auditorium—supplied from one main, as had been theretofore done, he had supplies taken from two separate mains. Thus, in case

of explosion, or any other cause of interruption outside the theatre, it was possible to minimise the risk of continued darkness. To this end a by-pass was made connecting within the theatre the two supplies. Of course, an explosion in a gas main, no matter where occurring, is apt to put out all the lights fed from it—if lit. This used in those days to be the great source of danger from fire, for with the enormous number of burners in use in a theatre all turned on, and the gas escaping, the introduction of a naked light was an immediate source of danger. Thus, Irving's first care was to minimise such risk by having an immediate supply of gas available from quite another main. In the Lyceum Theatre a large number of men were employed to look after the gas, to light and turn it off as required. The rules regarding this work were very strict. Each gas-man had to carry (and use for his work) a spirit torch. Under no circumstances was he allowed to strike a match except in places suited for the purpose. After all, it was not a very difficult job to light up a scene, so far as the carrying out of the appointed way was concerned. To make this apparent to a reader not well versed in stage appliances it may be as well to explain the various mechanical appliances for lighting used on the stage:

(1) Footlights, or 'floats,' as they were called in the old days of oil-lamps, the name being retained when the special applicability for it had passed away; (2) battens; (3) standards; (4) lengths; (5) ground rows; (6) all sorts of special form and size, made to suit particular pieces of built scenery.

Of these lights, the only kind directly observable by the public are the footlights. That is, they are in front of the stage, but it is essential that they be not themselves seen; otherwise their glare would entirely destroy all distinctions of light. What the public sees are the backs of the reflectors which hide the glare from the audience and send it back upon the stage. These lights are of great power. In the present time, when electric light is used for the purpose, these lamps vary from twenty to a hundred candle-power. To realise this blaze of light it must be remembered that an ordinary domestic light of the 'Swan' or 'Edison' pattern is of some eight candle-power. In Irving's time—at the close of his personal management of the Lyceum—the footlight lamps were of sixty candle-power, modified occasionally for artistic purposes, as I shall show further on.

Battens are long frames that run across the top of the stage from side to side. These contain a large number of lamps, placed side by side so as to show a very strong line of light. The battens are hung with such fittings as allow them to be raised or lowered at will. In the gas days the batten was a wooden frame to which was attached, in such a position that the light could not

come into contact with anything inflammable, an iron gas-pipe, in which were fixed at regular intervals a multitude of burners. The special burners used for this purpose were what were known as 'fish-tail' burners, which allowed the flame to spread laterally, and so were, by securing good combustion, effective for lighting purposes. This gas-pipe was connected with the main by flexible leather tubes, so that provision could be made for altering the height above the stage without interfering with the supply of gas. At one end of the pipe was a burner fed by quite another tube, so that it would keep alight when the main supply of that pipe was turned off. This jet was known as the 'pilot,' and was specially lit in readiness before the beginning of the play. When the supply of gas was turned on to the batten pipe, the pressure sent the flame along; for as the burners began to be fed all along the line the spreading flame of one burner caught the escaping gas from the next orifice, and in a few seconds the whole line would be alight. To ensure readiness, alterability, and safety in these and other lights, all along the stage from front to back, behind the line of the 'wings' which mask in the scene, were special water-taps connected with the gas mains of the theatre, so as to ensure a constant supply up to these points. The flexible tubes had metal ends which fell easily into place in the taps and left no leakage. Then the gas-man with his key turned on the tap so as to make lighting possible. All these taps were so arranged that the supply at each batten could be turned on or off at the 'Prompt,' where the 'gas-table' was fixed vertically. There was a batten for each portion of the stage, from front to back. For a stage is divided for working purposes by measured distances which are the continuance of the old 'grooves' by which the 'flats' in old days used to be pushed out or drawn off. All stage hands understand No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and so on.

The standard is a vertical pipe, set on a strong, heavy base, so as to be secure from accident of lateral pressure. The gas supply enters through a flexible tube at base, arranged with the taps in the same manner as are the battens. The top of each is a cluster of very powerful burners; thus, each standard is in itself a source of intense light, which can be moved when required.

Lengths are battens of convenient size, and are made adaptable for almost any use. As the purpose of lighting is to throw the light from front and back of the stage, these are often arranged to be hung on the back of the scenic piece in front. Hooks are provided for the purpose. Lengths can be placed in any position or shape; and, so long as their direct light is concealed from the audience, can be made to enhance or supplement any volume of light.

The ground rows are a length applied to special purpose. Stage perspective differs somewhat from the perspective of nature, inasmuch as it is much stronger; and it is therefore necessary at times to even-up this extra strength to eyes accustomed in ordinary to a different perspective focus. In fact, in proper stage lighting —that which produces what seems to be the ordinary appearance of natural forces—it is not sufficient to have all the lighting from one point. The light of nature is so infinitely stronger than any artificial light, and so much better distributed, that science and art have to be requisitioned to produce somewhat similar effect.

As to special lighting pieces for 'built' scenery, these have on each occasion to be made to serve their present purpose. In 'built' scenery it is sometimes difficult to avoid throwing objectionable shadows. The lights are so strong, and the space available is so small, that there is hardly room at times for simple effects. So, when there is a shadow which cannot be avoided, it is generally possible to build in some piece of seemingly solid work, behind which a light can be so placed as to destroy the shadow.

Now, in 1878, all this had practically to be done by gas. Of course, what are known as 'limelights' were in use. These are exceedingly powerful lights, produced by playing burning gas heavily charged with oxygen and hydrogen on a fragment of lime. This light is so concentrated that it is easily adaptable to the localising of strong light. The appliance for producing the light being small, it can be easily placed in a specially-made box, whose face is a lens of strength suitable to the work to be done. The effect is, of course, proportionate to the amount of concentration. In fact, the general scientific law applies that what is gained by direction is lost in force, and *vice versa*. In a well-equipped theatre many different kinds of limelights are now in use, the lenses being in such variety that a skilful operator can select that best adapted to the special occasion: 'open limes,' 'spot lights' of varying focus and intensity, lights so constructed as to cover a certain amount of space, and so on. The moon, the lights from the windows of the 'old home,' the convenient ray which follows the hero about the stage, so that the audience may never forget that he is present, and nearly all such aids to the imagination of the spectator are produced in this way. In '78 these appliances were comparatively rare, but the example set by Henry Irving encouraged other managers to use them, and an industry sprang into existence. New firms undertook work which had hitherto been almost a monopoly. Fresh men in ever-increasing numbers became trained to the work, and nowadays it is hard to imagine that not many years ago it was almost necessary to train workmen for this minor art.

Now as these two methods of lighting—gas and limelight—were already in existence when Henry Irving managed a theatre for himself, his part in the general advance was primarily to see that both these means were perfected. To effect this he spared no expense. The equipment of the Lyceum Theatre so as to be able to use gas-light most readily and to the best advantage was a costly job. It would have been almost impossible for a layman to understand why pipes of such calibre were required for the gas of one place of business. The by-pass between the two intakes of gas —only to be used in emergency—was more than twelve inches in diameter, and the piping, fixed and flexible, throughout the building ran into many thousands of feet. But the final result was excellent. When the mechanism was complete it was possible to regulate from the 'Prompt' every lamp of the many thousands used throughout the theatre. This made in itself a new era in theatrical lighting. By it Irving was able to carry out a long-thought-of scheme: that the auditorium should be darkened during the play. Up to this time such had not been the custom. Indeed, it was a general aim of management to have the auditorium as bright as possible. The new order of things was a revelation to the public. Of course, when the curtain came down the lights went up, and *vice versa*. In the practical working of the scheme it was found possible to open new ways of effect. In fact, darkness was found to be, when under control, as important a factor in effects as light. With experience it was found that time could be saved in the changing of scenes. It used to be necessary, when one 'full' scene followed another, to drop a curtain temporarily so that the stage could be lit sufficiently for the workmen to see what they were doing. But later on, when the workmen had been trained to do the work as Irving required it to be done, darkness itself became the curtain. The workmen were provided with silent shoes and dark clothing, all of which were kept in the house and put on before each performance. Then, in obedience to preconcerted signals, they carried out in the dark the prearranged and rehearsed work without the audience being able to distinguish what was going on. Later on, when electric power came to be harnessed for stage purposes, this, with different coloured lights, was used with excellent effect.

Irving was always anxious to have the benefit of new discoveries applied to stage effects. In 1885, when he produced *Faust*, electricity was used for effect the first time. Colonel Gouraud (Edison's partner) kindly arranged an installation for the fight between Faust and Valentine. Two metal plates were screwed on the stage, to either of which the current of one pole was applied. One of the combatants had a metal plate screwed to the sole of the right shoe. From this a wire was carried

through the clothing and brought into the palm of the right hand, where, on the rubber glove, was fixed a piece of metal. This being in contact with the metal handle of the sword—and a similar contrivance being arranged for Mephistopheles—a direct communication was established so soon as the demon's sword struck up the weapons of the combatants, and sparks were emitted.

It was not till about 1891 that electric-light was, even in a crude condition, forward enough to be used for general lighting purposes in British theatres. Irving had it then put in by degrees, beginning with the footlights, which formed a test of suitability. Electric-light differs from other lights in that when it is lowered in degree it changes colour. This is perhaps due to the fact that it is not in the ordinary sense a light at all, but a heat visible *in vacuo*. In order to allow the footlights to be turned down it was necessary in those days to have a liquid resistance, which was a wasteful as well as an expensive mechanism. In addition, the light even then afforded was an unpleasing one for the stage, unless the vacuum lamps were tinted. Therefore considerable consideration and experience were necessary before a satisfactory result could be achieved. The purpose of lowering footlights is to create a scenic atmosphere of night or mystery or gloom. Now in nature night and mystery and gloom are shown in tints of blue; but as electric light is produced by red-hot carbon the atmosphere was warm instead of cold, cheerful instead of gloomy. In those days coloured lights on the stage were in their infancy, and the best device which we were able at first to adopt was to cover the lamps of the footlights with bags of thin blue paper. This was effective, though wasteful; for, of course, in getting the colour a portion of the illuminating power was lost. In addition, though the heat of an ordinary electric globe is not very great, when the light within is of sixty or a hundred candle-power a certain amount of heat is created; and if this, or a portion of it, be retained in a paper bag there is a certain amount of danger of combustion. Of this the licensing authorities could not approve, and the device was abandoned in time to avoid trouble. In a theatre, of all places, it is necessary to remember the wisdom of the old saw: 'A well-bred dog goes out of his own accord when he sees preparations being made for kicking him out.' It may hereafter be interesting to remember that even in America, where electric lighting was in those days far ahead of what it was in England, we thought it advisable to bring—and actually to use them—a supply of blue paper bags for the footlights.

It may also be well to remember that though America has gone very fast and very far in her theatrical lighting, it only reached any considerable excellence when Henry Irving showed the

stage producers what could be done. When we first visited America, in 1883, there was only one theatre there—the Boston Theatre—which had really good appliances for stage lighting. I speak here merely of the mechanism of lighting, not of the art of it. In the Boston Theatre there was a thoroughly well-thought-out scheme for the gas-lighting then in vogue. Its perfection was to be seen in the 'gas-table' in the 'Prompt,' which was then far in advance of that of any other theatre that we played in. I only quote this fact as evidence of the extraordinary rapidity with which in that marvellous land of industry and mechanism a good idea is seized on and developed to the full. At the present time a vast number of the lighting appliances for the theatre are patents of the United States, and the goods are there manufactured.

The installation of electric light in the Lyceum Theatre brought with it one somewhat cumbrous and expensive addition. Up to then the large amount of gas consumed for lighting purposes all over the house created a sufficient heat for the comfort of the audience; but so soon as electricity was used instead of gas as the main lighting, we noticed that the men of the audience began to turn up their coat-collars and the ladies to wear their cloaks. So we had to have an elaborate system of hot-water heating installed. This took some time, and till it was in working order we had to use a large number of powerful gas-stoves, placed so as adequately to heat all the passages and guard every intake of cold air.

But when once the electric current was fairly installed and the hot-water service was in working order, the old comfort was restored. The heating, which had to be combined with ventilating, was an elaborate scheme too complex to find a place in this article.

All that I have said of lighting in the theatre is merely with reference to the mechanism. The part most noteworthy, and which came from Henry Irving's incomparable brain and imagination, was the production of effect. In the 'seventies, as I have said, there was very little attempt to produce fine gradations of light and shade or of colour. Henry Irving practically invented the *milieu*. When he became a manager the only appliances used were what were called 'mediums,' which were woven films of cotton or wool or silk drawn between the lights and the stage or scenery which they lit. The finest stuff we then used was 'scrim,' a thin silk which gave certain colour without destroying or suppressing an undue amount of the illuminating quality. This stuff, dyed only in a few rudimentary colours, could be used to go beneath the battens and encompass the standards, wire guards being affixed everywhere to

prevent the possibility of conflagration. It was also used occasionally to cover the bull's-eyes of the limelight boxes. But it was impracticable to produce colour effects, except generally. The stage could be fairly well reduced to one dominating colour, but that was all.

Accordingly Irving set himself to work in his own quiet way, and, with the help of his employés, had various mechanical processes devised. He had transparent lacquers applied to the glasses of the limelights, and, when electric light came in, to the bulbs of the electric lights, and thus produced effects of colour both of intensity and delicacy up to then unknown. Instead of rudimentary colours being mentioned on the lighting 'plots'—by which the operators work—'blue,' 'red,' &c., the plots began to direct the use of certain fine distinctions of colour, so that before long the men themselves became educated to finer work and would no more think of using 'dark blue' instead of 'light blue,' or 'steel blue' instead of 'pale blue,' than they would insert a slide of any form of red instead of any form of blue.

Then came quite a number of colours new to this use, as the possibilities of lacquer for the purpose became known and enlarged. Shades began to take the place of colours in matters of choice, and soon even the audience became trained to the enjoyment of fine distinctions of colour.

The artists who worked for the stage and who were always great admirers of the 'Chief'—or the 'Governor' as everybody called him—were very loyal to him and very willing to carry out his wishes, using for the purpose their natural abilities and the skill which they had evolved by labour and experience. Indeed, so far as I could judge, the very men who painted the scenes, and did it in so masterly a way, were glad to have him 'light' them and gave all their understanding to his assistance in the work. He in turn was loyal to his fellow artists and workers; I never knew him to fail in giving all the credit and all the honour to those by whom he was assisted.

Then, having put the matter of degree of light and its colours in good shape for use, he began to make further improvements in the artistic use of it. For instance, it was formerly usual to have the footlights extending in unbroken line from side to side of the proscenium arch. Now he had this line—which contained several rows of lamps of different colours—broken up into sections. Thus any combination of colour could be easily made by use of the lighting table in the 'Prompt.' By this means Irving was able to carry out a class of effects which had long been in his mind. He had noticed that nature seldom shows broad effect with an equality of light. There are shadows here and there, or places where, through occasional aerial density, the light is unevenly distri-

buted. This makes great variety of effect, and such, of course, he wanted to reproduce. An audience—or the bulk of it at any rate—always notices effect, though the notice is not always conscious; it is influenced without knowing the reason. With, then, a properly organised series of sections—both with regard to amount of light and colour of it at disposal—a greater variety of light was given to a scene. Also, as it is advisable to centre effects on a stage, it became an easy matter to throw any special part of the stage into greater prominence—in fact, to 'vignette' that part of the stage picture which at the moment was of the larger importance.

Irving also began to produce and alter effects of the combinations of coloured lights—to use the media of coloured lights as a painter uses his palette.

It was a most interesting thing to see him setting about the lighting of a scene. There were, of course, certain rudimentary matters which had to be observed in all scenes; but it may be useful to describe the *modus operandi*. This work, especially in its earlier stages—for it was a long process, entailing many rehearsals—was done at night, when the play of the evening was over. The stage workmen, after a short interval for their supper, got the new scene set. While this was being done, Irving and I, and often the stage-manager if he could leave his work, took supper in the 'Beefsteak Room,' which was one of Irving's suite of private rooms in the theatre. When the scene was ready he went down—usually sitting in the stalls, as the general effect of the scene could be observed better from there than from the stage. The various workmen employed in the lighting 'stood by' under their respective masters—with, of course, the master machinist and the property master and *their* staffs ready in case they should be required. There were always a large number of men present, especially at the experimental stages of lighting. The gas engineer, the limelight master, the electrician, all had their staffs ready. Of these the department most important was that of the limelights, for these lights had to be worked by individual operators, all of whom had to be 'coached' in the special requirements of the working of the play before them; whereas the gas and electric lighting was arranged with slow care, and was, when complete, under the control of the prompter—or the masters under the direction of the prompter—who took his orders from the stage-manager. It was seldom indeed that any member of the company was present at a lighting rehearsal; never in the earlier stages. It was only when some special requirement made the presence of one of the actors advisable that such actor attended, and then only by request. The rule did not apply to Miss Terry, who, as a privileged person, could attend whenever she

chose. But, as a matter of fact, she was never present at the earlier rehearsals when the scheme of lighting was invented and arranged. These were late at night, or rather, early in the morning, long after—generally hours after—she had gone home. Let it be clearly understood that the lighting of the Lyceum plays was all done on Irving's initiation and under his supervision. He thought of it, invented it, arranged it, and had the entire thing worked out to his preconceived ideas under his immediate and personal supervision. There was nobody in the theatre —or out of it, for the matter of that—who could touch or even help him. It would have prolonged his life if he could have had such help. I can vouch for this, for it was my usual practice to stay with him at such times. It was none of my business, and I was not myself a proficient; but it was a matter of absorbing interest to me to see this new branch of stage art developed, and I took full advantage of the opportunities afforded to me by my position with Irving. It was very seldom indeed that I was absent from a lighting rehearsal during the twenty years Henry Irving had the Lyceum under his sole and personal control.

In these days, when every well-appointed theatre in the United Kingdom and America has adequate appliances for proper stage lighting—electric, gas, limelight, calciums, and such other means as are adapted for special or occasional use in temporary scenic effects; flaming rosin, liquipodium, electric flashes—it is perhaps as well to think of a time when all these things were in their infancy, and to remember especially the great actor to whom the advance and the attainment of perfection were mainly due.

BRAM STOKER.

A VESTED INTEREST

The question of Poor Law Reform has been postponed for so long that it is coming to be regarded rather as a convenient subject for popular lectures in the Socialist interest than as a problem of practical politics. But the need for reform is no less pressing than it was, and those who care about it are asking themselves what is the real obstacle.

The situation, as it has developed since 1905, is briefly as follows: For many years the attention of the Government had been forcibly directed to the question of unemployment. Chronic winter distress, especially in London, had long demanded an explanation and a remedy; the explanation then offered was want of work, the remedy relief works, and the State was called upon to intervene where voluntary and local effort had failed. The Unemployed Workmen Act was passed, avowedly as an experiment, to operate for a limited period, and a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of the Poor Laws and to report as to what changes were desirable. The connection between the two events was obvious. On the one hand, the nation possessed an elaborate organisation, working throughout the whole of the land, at a great cost to the community in money and services, for the express purpose of dealing with the distress due to poverty. On the other hand, there was this insistent demand for an entirely new organisation, with large spending powers, also for the purpose of dealing with the distress due to poverty. It would have been clearly irrational to erect a new Poor Law without at least inquiring into the operation of that which already existed, and ascertaining why, or how far, it failed of its purpose.

The Commission was appointed, the Commission sat for three years at an immense cost in labour and money, and finally the Commission reported. That is all now ancient history. The Poor Law Report of 1909, in its two renderings by the Majority and Minority respectively, is two years old. Everyone has heard of it; a few people have read it; and a great many know, more or less accurately, what defects in the law and its administration it revealed, and the various remedies it advocated.

It is generally known also that towards the end of its third year's session repeated pressure was brought to bear upon the Commission to conclude its work and present its Report, on the ground that the Government was anxious to legislate. The period for which the Unemployed Workmen Act was to operate was drawing to a close, and the question as to its further renewal had to be decided. It was naturally supposed, therefore, that within a reasonable time some steps would be taken, if not yet to initiate a reconstruction on the lines of one or other of the two Reports, at any rate to introduce such of the more urgently needed reforms as would not involve complete reconstruction. One such reform, for instance, is that of our method of dealing with vagrants—a reform which had already been advocated by a Departmental Committee, and which was understood to be only awaiting the confirmation of the Commission. Even more urgent is the demand for a better treatment of the feeble-minded, formulated by a Commission reporting in 1908, and supported unanimously by both sections of the Poor Law Commission. No attempt has been made to deal even with these relatively uncontroversial questions; still less to secure an effective handling of the problems of pauperism, either by reconstruction of the authority or by remodelling of the law.

But, it may be said, though Parliament has done nothing, the Local Government Board has been busy, and there are those who think that the Local Government Board is competent to secure all necessary reforms without the intervention of Parliament. It is quite true that the Board has been busy issuing Circulars to Boards of Guardians protesting against certain defects, and laying down excellent principles and rules for their guidance. Its Circulars on the Administration of Out-relief and on Children under the Poor Law, both issued last year, are notable instances. But it is probable that the general public does not fully understand the difference between Circulars and Orders. When the Local Government Board is fully determined that a certain course of action shall be followed, it issues an Order; that is legally binding upon Boards of Guardians, and however reluctant they may be, they are forced to comply. A Circular is nothing but a pious aspiration, an expression of opinion—at best, a recommendation which Guardians are free to comply with or not as they like. As a matter of fact these Circulars may, and often do, have the least possible influence. If they happen to fall in with the practice of a Board of Guardians, well and good; if not, they are 'laid on the table' preparatory to being pigeon-holed, and nothing more is heard of them. How little influence these recent Circulars are likely to have may be gauged by the fact that they have been received with perfect equanimity, while a subsequent attempt of the Board to issue an Order regulating relief has raised a storm of protest throughout the country.

As a measure of the Local Government Board's inability to effect necessary reforms under the present system of administration, I may instance the question of the removal of children from the workhouses. The facts about these children may be summarised from the experience of the Poor Law Commissioners as follows: As a rule they are neither treated with active unkindness nor underfed; though sometimes, owing to the unsuitability of the food, they are distinctly ill-nourished. Most of them go to the public elementary schools, and are so far as well educated as the ordinary child. But outside school hours their lives are apt to be ineffably dreary. In many places their 'day rooms' consist of bare walls and floors, unsupplied with books, toys, or pictures, and sometimes furnished only with one or two benches. There is no possibility of rational occupation indoors, and out of doors a small paved yard offers as hopeless a prospect. Their confinement in these places is intended to prevent their coming into contact with the adult paupers; but even this is seldom effectively achieved. Frequently the children are actually under the charge of paupers; sometimes the boys share the young men's yards or lavatories, or the girls use the women's sewing-room for their day room. Very often they have their meals in company with the adults. Thus even where they learn no actual vice they have constantly before their eyes the pauper character, the listless drifting which desires nothing better than to find safe anchorage in the Poor Law. In short, their whole life in the workhouse is too apt to be daily training in the art of doing nothing. Even babies of three or four years old are drilled into sitting stolidly with folded arms on low benches, so as to give no trouble to the attendants. No worse preparation for a life of independence could well be conceived, and the Local Government Board and its Inspectors have for many years condemned it. I quote what the Board says on the subject in its Circular on Children referred to above:

Since 1861, when the Report of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education appeared, there has been a strong and persistent movement in the direction of removing children altogether from the workhouse, and at the present time, with rare exceptions, the children who are still maintained in workhouses receive their education in public elementary schools. But for many years past the Board have urged Guardians of Unions where children are retained in the workhouse to make provision for their maintenance elsewhere, and it is their rule to refuse sanction to additions to a workhouse which would provide for the continuance of children therein. The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws are strongly in favour of the removal of children from workhouses, and they recommend 'that effective steps should be taken to secure that the maintenance of children in the workhouse be no longer recognised as a legitimate way of dealing with them.' Much has already been done in this direction, but in every Union where children of school age are still maintained in the workhouse the Guardians should take prompt measures to remove them from the workhouse

and provide for them in some more suitable manner. The Board wish to emphasise this point particularly, and they trust that in each of these Unions a special effort will be made with this object.

Here, then, is an instance of a much-needed reform which the Local Government Board has been endeavouring to carry out for many years, and more especially in recent years. With what result? For the last four recorded years there has been a steady rise in the number of children in workhouses and workhouse infirmaries, the last Report showing no less than 24,175. When all deductions have been made for children under school age, etc., the fact remains that matters are getting worse rather than better.

Why has not the Local Government Board taken the obvious step of issuing an Order to the effect that all children must be removed from the workhouses within a given time? For the same reasons, I believe, that Parliament has been so slow to put its hand to the work of reform. Partly, no doubt, because of the pressure of other business—the Local Government Board is as much overworked as Parliament itself—but also, and chiefly, owing to the existence of a large and powerful vested interest, which is strongly opposed to change, and which is able to bring great pressure to bear against all reforms. The writers of the Minority Report did homage to the strength of that interest in their eulogies of the Guardians; but they spread their net in vain, and the Guardians repudiate their recommendations even more vehemently than those of the more outspoken Majority.

To realise the strength of the opposition to change we may consider the numbers and influence of those engaged in local administration of the Poor Law. In 1907 there were no fewer than 24,613 members of Boards of Guardians, of whom 16,001 were Rural District Councillors who act as Guardians in the country. As only 1141 of these were women, practically the whole body may be regarded as Parliamentary electors. There are, moreover, upwards of 20,000 Poor Law officials, of whom some two-thirds are men, and probably electors. These numbers might not be important if scattered incoherently about the country, but their position and organisation makes them strong. In the towns the great majority of Guardians are in close connection with the local political organisations; indeed, few candidates for the post stand any chance of election unless they have influence with one or the other political party. In the country districts they are generally the leaders of social and political opinion: the squire, the clergyman, the local employer. Add to this, that both Guardians and their officials are thoroughly well-organised in their respective associations, and it will be recognised that when they unite their forces they are capable of offering a formidable opposition to any unwelcome interference.

In short, the Poor Law administration at the present moment constitutes a powerful 'vested interest,' strongly opposed to any change which might be thought to affect its prerogatives, however remotely.

What, then, it may be asked, are the interests which are causing the Guardians and their officials to oppose themselves to all suggestions of change or reform? In the case of the latter it is the not unnatural, though largely groundless, fear of losing what is practically permanent employment with fair pay and a pension on retirement. In the case of the former, it is generally the no less natural desire to retain their hold on work which is both useful and attractive. It must be remembered that, while the Poor Law Guardian is sometimes very hard worked, he occupies a position which he must be more than human not to enjoy. If he likes playing the part of special Providence to the unfortunate, he has constant opportunity of appearing in that *rôle* at no cost to himself. If he has a taste for bricks and mortar, he can gratify it at the ratepayers' expense to an extent which would be beyond his wildest dreams as a private person. If he is fond of children, he will find at his disposal all the *protégés* that his heart can desire. If he is clever at directing officials and supervising institutions, there is no other capacity in which he can find the same scope for his talents. All these are perfectly legitimate interests which exercise a powerful attraction upon the better class of Guardians, and which they are naturally reluctant to forego.

But to these legitimate interests we must add certain interests of a much less honourable nature. Expenditure in connexion with Poor Law institutions gives manifold opportunities for doubtful transactions in connexion with contracts, and there are not a few Guardians who maintain that they have a right to derive what pecuniary benefit they can from their position, in return for the unpaid services rendered by them. Poplar is not the only Union in London, nor London the only town in England, where 'scandals' have been either revealed or hushed up. Others, again, use their position on the Relief Committee to promote their private interests as publicans, landlords, etc. Such as these see in any limitation or regulation of their powers a material loss which they resent as much as the paid officials would resent a direct reduction of their salary, and they naturally range themselves on the side opposed to change.

There are, of course, a number of Guardians whose predominant interest is the welfare of the people amongst whom they live, and who would welcome any change which they think likely to promote that welfare, at whatever cost to themselves. Of these, some genuinely believe that all necessary reform can be brought about by the present administration without any fundamental

change in its constitution. At the present juncture these find themselves in the difficult position of endeavouring on the one hand to stir up the rank and file of Guardians to reform themselves from within, on the other hand to stiffen them in their opposition to reform from without. Unfortunately the rank and file is only too ready to be stiffened, and proportionately reluctant to be stirred. I have already referred to the attempt of the Local Government Board to issue an Order regulating Out-relief. The reception of that attempt illustrates the position so well that I will describe it rather more in detail.

The Poor Law Commission in its Report had pointed out that the administration of outdoor relief was regulated by different Orders in different parts of the country, and that owing to this and other causes it was sometimes very bad. In consequence of this the Local Government Board appointed a Committee to advise upon the matter. This Committee recently presented its Report, containing a Draft Order, regulating relief all over the country, which they advised should be substituted for the various Orders now in force. There is little in the Draft Order which is new, the most important innovations being (1) that Guardians are not to grant out-relief in certain cases without a medical certificate being laid before them stating the nature of the applicant's disability, and (2) that the use of case papers is to be made compulsory. But the Guardians have become possessed of the idea that the Order is intended to fetter their discretion in granting relief, and are organising a powerful opposition to it. They have prevailed upon the President of the Local Government Board to promise that it shall not be issued until it has been considered by the Association of Poor Law Unions, and the Council of that Association is going to advise its members to object, among other points, to the two provisions we have mentioned. The temper of this Association towards any change is illustrated by the following comment of the *Local Government Journal* upon the fact that fifty-five more Unions had recently joined it: 'The effect of the Commissioners' recommendations has been not only to stimulate Boards of Guardians into increasing activity individually, but to use the Association as a means for concerted action whenever legislation may be introduced for the purpose of overthrowing the existing system.' The Draft Order is far from overthrowing the existing system, but it does propose very necessary reforms, and the best friends of the Guardians are anxious that they should not weaken their position by refusing to admit those reforms. Meanwhile opposition is being still further pressed by certain members of Parliament who have exacted a promise from the Prime Minister that the Order shall not be passed until the House has discussed it. In short, political pressure is brought to bear to prevent the Local Government Board from exercising its

administrative discretion so soon as it shows any signs of making its control effective.

To the onlooker this attitude of the Guardians and their officials is almost inconceivably short-sighted, and certain to bring about their ultimate downfall. They fail to see what any disinterested observer must see, that, while they cling to office and emoluments, their work, their sole *raison d'être*, is slipping through their fingers, and that unless they will accept a reasonable measure of reform they will before long find themselves superseded in every department. The first step towards their dispossession was taken with the creation of the Distress Committees; next followed the feeding of the school-children out of the rates. The Old Age Pensions Act has deprived hundreds of thousands of old people of their care; and when legislation does take place with regard to the vagrant and feeble-minded it is likely that these also will be assigned to other authorities. In addition, 'Right to work' and 'Unemployment' Bills are being brought forward which propose to remove the whole of the able-bodied unemployed from their jurisdiction; while their obstinate attitude with reference to the workhouse children gives every advantage to those who wish to assign the children to the Education Authority. It would then only remain for the supporters of the Minority Report to carry their project of handing over the sick to the Health Authority, and the whole paraphernalia of the Poor Law would be left working *in vacuo*. Abolition would then be inevitable; but the situation would be greatly aggravated by the fact that whereas under any reasonable scheme of reconstruction all the effective Guardians and officials would certainly be re-absorbed, their gradual supersession by other departments would leave their experience and services unutilised.

Unfortunately it is not only the interests of the present administration which would suffer from such a policy of allowing the present drift to continue. The effect of breaking up the work of Public Assistance into disconnected departments is fatal to that completeness of treatment which alone can make relief work a success. We have a striking illustration of this fact in the Unemployed Workmen Act, which is acknowledged by all to be a failure, even by those who are administering it. It was passed as a temporary experiment, it is actually aggravating the evils it was designed to remedy, and it is only renewed from year to year pending the promised measures of reform. What we now need is a statesmanlike reconstruction which will bring together into one efficient administration the incoherent attempts at public relief under which the number of dependents, of paupers in all but the name, is rapidly increasing. No vested interest, however powerful, or however venerable, should be allowed to stand in the way of so great a reform.

HELEN BOSANQUET.

BRITAIN AND HER OFFSPRING

THE Motherland, God bless her! has had a long and illustrious history marked by many vicissitudes. Even in recent times the struggle for the right of the people to rule has culminated more than once only upon the brink of revolution, as the earlier struggles did between King and Nobles. It has not been her usual policy to meet such issues directly. When it became necessary, for instance, to revolt against absolute monarchy, instead of direct attack, after the French method, our wiser forefathers preferred a flank movement, which, by retaining monarchy, avoided revolution. The king was accepted, together with the doctrine that as the Lord's anointed he could do no wrong, with the result, inevitable as that night should follow the day, which was soon discovered, that he could not therefore be allowed to do anything. The king was required to swear that he would take the advice of his ministers appointed by a majority of the House of Commons. Hence, the triumphs of the flank movement and of constitutional monarchy.

It is significant to note in these days of dispute between the hereditary and elected chambers that, strange to say, the House of Lords was ignored in this vital constitutional change. The elected chamber, the House of the people, assumed sole and sovereign sway over the monarch. Never was a more drastic device applied, yet one withal so simple and direct that it has never been questioned, and apparently never can be while the monarchical system endures.

Centuries ago, having invested one chamber with the sole power to appoint His Majesty's advisers whom he must obey, yet, notwithstanding its success, to hesitate in our day to trust that same chamber with the final word in legislation, would surely be swallowing the camel and straining at the gnat.

This transcendent power invested in the elected House settled the question and made constitutional monarchy from one point of view even more democratic than the republican form, for the elected head of a nation is necessarily possessed of great powers. Those of our American President, for example, far surpass those

of any emperor to-day, and are clearly defined. He appoints members of his cabinet, possesses the power of veto over legislati in peace (two-thirds majority required to overcome it), and in w instantly becomes Commander-in-Chief of Army and Navy; prisons disloyal citizens without trial, and is responsible to no o except by impeachment. But let it be remembered no novi reaches the Presidency. The people who elect presidents kn their men, who are not born to office; like British Prime Ministe they must first achieve greatness.

To the native-born observer residing outside of the old ho but ever deeply interested in it, she seems one of those strong o fashioned, managing mothers of great sons, constitutiona opposed to change of any kind, especially to new-fashioned provements; and hence remains a generation behind, notwi standing her up-to-date daughters who set her a worthy exampl

Let us contrast her with her offspring. Quite recently *Times*, appropriately typifying the dear old lady, endeavouring prove that the Republican idea was in our day giving place to monarchical, instanced Canada 'as seeing no reason why she sho change her institutions for those of her Southern neighbo the Republic.' Quite true, for the irresistible reason that Cana has already her neighbour's institutions and rejoices in them; change is required. She has sole power over her Army and Na as the Republic has. Her Prime Minister, under direction of Parliament, alone directs these as the American President dire the forces of the United States. She makes treat with other nations direct. Hereditary legislators unknown, no peers reside in British Colonies as citize All British Colonies pay Members of Parliament, a require them to sit during the day and transact the busin of State as their occupation while fresh and sober-minded, not a social entertainment after dining. They pay no official electi expenses. In all these matters they have American, not Britis institutions. None of the Colonies know anything of that gr injustice, plural voting, which denies the equality of the citize neither of its fellow iniquity, unequal electoral districts. Britain's children shun the example of the Motherland and ado the Republic's electoral laws, one man's vote the equal of a other, the districts being equalised after each Census.

In the vital domain of religion, here again we find prevaili everywhere the precious element of religious equality; all religio sects fostered, none unduly favoured by the nation. We find old mother stolidly adhering to unfair discrimination in this, t most sensitive of all departments—the religious, the ministers the unjustly favoured sect holding themselves aloof from the oth sects, refusing to exchange pulpits or to recognise equality, div

ing the rural communities into opposing social factions, producing discord where all should be harmonious as in the other lands of our race. That no other English-speaking nation retains the odious system of preference of one sect by the State marks another wide divergence between the Mother and her more progressive children in other lands, and one in which the American example stands pre-eminent. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the American Republic alike discard the example of the Motherland and treat all religious sects alike.

Public schools in all British Colonies are upon the American model, free from sectarianism, which is never permitted to produce such lamentable results as in some parts of the Motherland, dividing the people by maintaining schools belonging to or governed by the one favoured sect. Catholics generally throughout the English-speaking lands send their children to the public schools because they find little or nothing to object to there, the elements of sectarianism being carefully eliminated in accordance with the spirit of this progressive age, which seeks to draw people together, not to divide them into quarrelling sects.

We find another ominous contrast in the land question, a serious problem indeed, in Britain, with its ancient primogeniture and entail, of which no trace is found in any of the new lands, the general custom there being to follow the law which, in the absence of directions, divides wealth equally among the children, the widow's dower of one-third generally obligatory. Here is an illustration of what is fair and just among the members of a family, no unjust discrimination to create feelings of disappointment or resentment among the members, the bonds of family love preserved and strengthened.

It seems impossible that the people of the old home can long tolerate primogeniture and entail, upon which every other English-speaking community has set its stamp of disapproval as unjust. Touching the land question in general, there is none of a serious nature yet in the new lands, with only a few inhabitants per mile average, and even in the Republic not many over thirty, and all free for sale or purchase without any general restrictive law, taxes in all cases assessed according to value, whether town, city, urban, or agricultural land, and whether fallow or under cultivation. Britain cannot follow entirely the example of her children in legislating upon the land question, conditions being different. Denmark seems to point the way to her for the solution of that problem. It is, however, significant that Australia already levies progressive taxation upon land holding, and charges non-residents higher rates than residents.

It is obvious that just as the masses grow in intelligence (and the school systems ensure this) they will demand in all lands and

obtain a fairer distribution of the comforts, rights, and privileges of their day; especially is this true of men of our own race in the old home, who have before them the rights already enjoyed by their fellows in the other lands of their race. What the people of Canada, Australia, and America have to-day, the Britons will soon demand and obtain. Nor must we of the newer lands fail to remember how much beyond all that our fellow-men have now, they must, by a law of their being, steadily demand and obtain, especially a more equal distribution of wealth, under Adam Smith's law that citizens must contribute to the expenses of the State 'according to their ability to pay.'

We even in the new lands labour under no delusion in this matter; while the condition of the masses is infinitely better under the colonial system than under the British, there is to be no rest in the march of progress with us towards greater uniformity of material conditions. Political rights in the Republic and the Colonies all already enjoy; one man's privilege every man's right. This is perfect and cannot be improved upon; it is final, because any change would produce inequality, the foe of democracy. No citizen of Republic, Dominion, or Commonwealth is denied equality under the law, his vote weighs as much as the millionaire's. His religion enjoys equality with all others. As child of his parents he shares equally under the law with his brothers anc sisters. His rank is equal with others. Equality of citizenship is the foundation of a democratic State, and until this is reachec in the old home rest is impossible. It should therefore be matte of serious consideration with all parties in the old home whethe the lamentable condition of affairs as shown is to be permitted tc differentiate more and more the Colonies and the Republic from the old Motherland, which seems unwise in retaining so man unjust measures, contrary to the spirit of the age, which tends tc draw people together, not to divide them into classes.

Elections in the new lands occur at stated times, and in a cases for fixed terms of service; thus in the Republic members o the House serve for two years, the two State Senators for six, bu these draw lots at the first election after a State is admitted int the Union, for a short or long term, two years or six; thus one third of the senators have to appeal to the State legislatures for re election every two years, and are thus kept amenable to publi sentiment. All States vote upon the same day, and a presidentia election occurring every second State election only requires a additional ballot to be cast. The result, unless unusually close, known before the crowds retire, by midnight and generally earlie even although between six and seven millions of votes are cast.

The fixed term of service gives the nation a respite betwee contests, and the party in power sufficient time to produce result

regardless of passing gusts of passion. This feature is commended to the attention of the old home, where the leaders in Parliament resemble so many performers balancing themselves on the tight rope, liable at any moment to fall, the nation absorbed looking on. As no other English-speaking people follow the British but all follow the American plan, it may well be worth while for the old home seriously to consider the subject.

There remains another American institution which every British land has adopted, always excepting, of course, the dear old-fashioned mother. This is the Federal system, which Bryce pronounces the greatest contribution the Republic has made to the political world. The Republic now has forty-seven States, each with its own State legislature—not congress, please note, for this distinction is important. There is only one Congress, and that is over all, and it will be well for Britain to note this fact when she adopts devolution, for there is much in the name 'Legislatures' for the parts, and in the word 'Parliament,' being supreme, sacred, and reserved for the whole. How surprising, how strange it is for one to sit in the House of Commons, attracted as the writer was by an expected debate upon a question of international importance, only to find that the sewerage of a Midland city had precedence. It was said of the Nasmyth hammer when invented that it could forge anything from a pin to an anchor. So it seems to be with Parliament, but we never heard of the hammer being devoted to the trifling work of pin-forging. It was reserved for tasks worthy of it. So should the Mother of Parliaments be reserved for national and international problems worthy of her powers. Canada, Australia, the Transvaal have here all followed the example, not of the monarchy but of the Republic, and all enjoy the fruits of the American Federal system. Since these have been promised to Ireland, it seems highly probable that the opportunity will be embraced to extend the same to England, Scotland, and Wales, thus bringing the whole English-speaking race under the Federal system. The closest government of the parts we find makes the strongest government of the whole, *i.e.* local resident people are the best governors of local affairs.

This general divergence of all her offspring in political conditions from those of the old home makes the Motherland appear to the onlooker a hen with ducks for chickens, spending her energies loudly cackling on the shore while her adventurous brood breasts the waves. The propensity which the stay-at-home Briton has so far shown for adhering to ancient laws has compelled her hardy sons abroad to look for guidance to Britain's first-born, the Republic, which has hewn her way to pre-eminence in political development, keeping up with the times, and not afraid to march forward.

An illustration of this British trait of aversion to change was until recently found in the tenacity with which British manufacturers held to old-fashioned machinery. When the United States broke all records in steel-making, her reported results were discredited, but after an interval one leading company engaged an American engineer to remodel their works and practice, and in due time others followed. In shipbuilding the same result ensued. We are informed that not one shipyard in Britain exists to-day which does not use American tools. Imagine a manufacturer who boasted to-day that he used the same tools his father did. Machinery that is old is *prima facie* evidence that it needs reconstruction and improvement, or should be discarded, and equally so with political institutions which are bound to improve or become useless. The proud boast of the Briton is that his parliamentary system is centuries old, his not a written constitution as modern constitutions are in new lands, but handed down from precedent to precedent. When, however, the strain of modern conditions recently came to bear upon it, alas! the rickety old machine was found unequal to its work, and to-day, in order to meet the emergency, there is already in Parliament a written document which is without precedent, awaiting acceptance, very modern indeed and up to date, making sure record of the coming change. Nothing stands still, all moves forward in human society; that which has been, better than that which was, and that to come better than what exists to-day, constitutions not excepted. There is never a time in which one or more of the State constitutions in America are not being 'improved,' all constitutional changes, however, being submitted to a vote of the people.

We have seen that the antiquated institutions of the old home have compelled her sons abroad to follow the example of Britain's first-born, the American Republic, and now a constitutional crisis has arisen in the old home, created by the irrepressible conflict between the old and new political ideas—Elective v. Hereditary Chambers of Legislation; Equality of the Citizen v. Hereditary Rank; Church of a Sect v. Equality of all Sects. Fortunately, the grand old mother finds as of yore that she has worthy patriotic sons true to the sacred trust reposed in them, able and resolved to guide her in treading the true path of ordered political development, drawing her nearer and nearer to the standard attained by her worthy children who know nothing of hereditary privilege, or primogeniture and entail, religious preference, or inequality of citizenship.

None need fear the result; there will be no violence, no lawbreaking—all will be peacefully adjusted, the rich saving common sense of the race will secure strict adherence to law. The grand old Mother Land, God bless her, is to renew her youth and [illegible]

triumphs worthy of those of her glorious past, when she led the world in establishing the germs of constitutional government of the people, for the people and by the people, which her children in other lands have so successfully developed. Thus steadily, from this time forth, the dear old Mother and her children are to draw closer together in their political institutions, until our entire English-speaking race enjoy the blessings flowing from government founded upon the equality of the citizen, one man's privilege every man's right.

March 24, 1911.—Reading this proof to-day all seems so trifling, so unimportant, that the writer hesitates to send it for publication. Since it was begun, a bugle blast has blown which has startled the civilised world. A year ago we stood in the venerable Guildhall, London, and revealed to a crowded audience what President Taft has since dared to proclaim—viz., all international disputes should be submitted to arbitration, questions of honour, territory, money, or anything else. Never did bugle blast effect the writer as that message did, upon reading it at the Grand Canyon, Arizona—Nature's grandest wonder. He immediately wrote to the bold President, hailing him as the foremost leader in the greatest of all causes, predicting that if he adhered heroically to this standard and won he would be the greatest ruler of men known to history, since no man can be credited with so sublime a world triumph as the expulsion from earth of brutal war, 'the foulest fiend ever loosed from hell.'

To read of the fervid conversion of Sir Edward Grey—usually so calm and self-poised; of Mr. Balfour—Conservative leader—breaking irresistibly forth, revealing that in this holy cause he was no partisan, but a patriot, declaring that from no quarter would President Taft receive warmer support; of Mr. Redmond following in the same lofty strain; of the Archbishop of Canterbury from his lofty pedestal calling a meeting in Albert Hall and inviting prominent members of all sects to join with him in a service for what had come to pass; Canada and Australasia joining in the chorus of approval; to read every morning added proof that at last the dear old Homeland had been stirred to the heart, and that partisans, drawing together by the majesty of the cause, had united as patriots vying with each other in their devotion to the cause of blessed peace soon to prevail, when war (international) will be banished as duelling (private war) has been from within the wide boundaries of our race—all this caused the writer, wondering whether he was not dreaming, to ask himself, 'Can such things be and overcome us like a summer cloud without our special wonder?' Daily the cable added new proofs that our race in every land had felt the impress of a mighty power, lifting it

into the higher regions where visions of the coming day are seen when men 'shall beat their swords into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks,' and learn war no more, our ov Republic grandly responding.

Should the writer be spared to see his native and adopted land —Motherland and Wifeland—united hand in hand, never again t part, but ever to stand shoulder to shoulder leading the world in a that elevates man, human life will possess for him a charm un known before, creating within him sweet grateful happiness fo the blessing which makes earth to him a heaven, yea, almo leading him to murmur with bowed head, 'Now let thy servan depart in peace.'

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

New York.

THE GREAT SUGAR PROJECT

There can be no doubt that the English race to which I have the honour to belong is either the wisest or the most foolish of the families of men. One may be pardoned for inclining occasionally to the latter view. No enemy could desire a better pretext for advancing the less favourable estimate than our position with regard to the sugar industry. With the possible exception of the United States, the people of these islands form the biggest sugar-consuming market in the world. Australia, for some occult reason, consumes far more sugar per head of population than any other country. If it be true that sugar-consumption is a rough index of refinement and civilisation, our fellow-subjects of the South may well feel gratified by this encouraging record. Next in order come the United Kingdom and the United States, whose figures are between 80 and 90 lb. Among the nations of Europe, Germany comes next with a consumption of between 30 and 40 lb. per head. This country, then, is by far the biggest sugar-consumer in absolute quantity of all the European peoples. In 1909 we imported 1,760,157 tons of sugar, of which 292,893 tons were from the cane. Last year (1910) we imported 1,728,730 tons, of which 562,165 tons were cane-sugar. The value of our total imports in 1910 was 24,579,489*l.*, that of our beet-sugar imports alone being 16,890,144*l.*

These are big figures, and the reason for my general observation at the outset was that, while we are importing from abroad our entire sugar requirement, we could produce every ounce of it in these islands. The continent of Europe supplied us last year (1910) with nearly 17,000,000*l.* worth of beet-sugar, over 50 per cent. of which came from two Powers of the Triplice, Germany and Austria-Hungary. Sugar is something more than a luxury, and it is surely not quite a matter of indifference that we should be so largely dependent for our supplies on two Powers which, to say the least, are not attached to us by any bonds of peculiar amity or alliance.

But the wonder of any reflecting person is increased when he considers what such an industry would mean to this country. If we produced only a million tons of our yearly sugar-consumption

we should require more than half a million acres of land permanently under the crop. Three hundred factories, representing a capital of some 30,000,000*l.*, would be required to extract the sugar. These factories, built in the heart of the acres supplying their vats and pans with the sugar-roots, would find work and wages for over 100,000 persons. Subsidiary industries without number would be created or stimulated by the new industry, and another 100,000 persons might thus be provided with work. At the same time a new class of agricultural labourer would be brought into being. All the profits and wages of this new big industry would be spent in this country, to the great indirect advantage of all its interests, and these million tons of home-made sugar would mean a re-colonisation of our depopulated shires and villages with many hundreds of thousands of newcomers settled in healthy surroundings and economic comfort. It is a question whether this country can afford to be so philanthropic as to forego such a source of industrial power and social welfare.

The inducements to naturalise the industry would in any case be powerful, but in the case of a country whose rural interests have terribly declined and whose greatest need is to revive its agriculture they might well have seemed irresistible. England's neglect of the primary and most indispensable source of wealth and welfare, the land, has been rather a blunder than a crime. This nation never anticipated that the result of opening its ports would be the de-cultivation of some four millions and a quarter acres of arable land and the reduction by at least a half of the working population on the soil. It was assured that the English farmer could never be deprived of his 'natural protection,' and that he must always have the first and biggest share in the growing industrial prosperity of the country. Things turned out differently, and the nation never had a chance of deciding whether it desired to destroy its most indispensable industry and to become dependent on oversea importation for nine-tenths of its wheat and for three-quarters of its general food-supplies. I believe English people are slowly awaking to the terrible and manifold evils involved in the enormous decline of what is still our greatest and ought to be our most prosperous industry. A comparison with Germany throws a vivid light on what we have sacrificed. Germany, though her manufacturing progress has been as swift as our own, has not allowed her agriculture to fall behind in the advance. She offers employment to her people with both hands, and possesses in her flourishing agriculture a permanent outlet for her manufactures which serves her in good stead in times of general trade-depression. Our consuls in Germany have repeatedly called attention to the indirect advantage that great country enjoys in having advanced along the whole line of her

tional interest. The following table shows how comprehensive at progress has been. It compares the figures of production er an interval of about twenty-five or thirty years. I have made e dates as nearly as possible uniform :

	Rye Tons	Wheat Tons	Oats Tons	Potatoes Tons	Sugar Tons	Hay Tons
0 ...	4,952,325	2,345,278	4,228,128	19,466,242	415,000	19,563,388
08 ...	10,736,874	3,767,767	7,694,833	46,342,726	2,139,000	27,076,097

	Cattle	Pigs
1883	15,776,702	9,206,195
1907	20,630,544	22,146,532

xports of manufactured goods :

1830	83,500,000*l.*
1907	231,900,000*l.*

ich a record, I confess, suggests more anxious reflections to me an the size of the German army and the growing power of the erman fleets. Another little table illustrates vividly the trend English policy during the last half-century. It gives the comrative employment in agriculture and manufactures in the lowing countries :

	Agriculture	Manufactures
England and Wales	8	58.3
Germany	37.5	37.4
United States	35.9	21.1

Something, no doubt, can be done by extending small holdings d by a system of credit-banks and co-operative farming. But h devices by themselves will leave us pretty much where we . The one thing needful is to give the English farmer or all-holder something that he can cultivate at a profit, to restore some degree the economic value of the land and to attract people the country districts, not by artificial and superficial methods, by the promise of a sure living and permanent employment. more hopeful and important contribution to this object was made than this project of sugar-beet cultivation. So much now been written on the subject that the public mind must e become familiar with the general character of this proposed y industry. Though divided into two great departments, the icultural and mechanical, the great merit of the industry from English point of view is that it is entirely rural. The factories, have said, will be established as far as possible in the centre he broad acres which provide their raw material. This country racter of the industry constitutes a very special claim on the pathy and support of the English nation.

Another great advantage is that it distributes its employment over the year. The raising of the roots in the fields occupies

the first nine months of the year, though the main work is done between the middle of April, when the seed is sown, and October, when the roots are raised; the factory campaign—that is, the extracting of the sugar—lasts from November to January. Thus the factory brings ample employment into its district at a season when work is usually scarcest and unemployment most distressing. Many workers on the Continent find employment both in the field and the factory, thus enjoying a healthy change of work and securing a regular wage.

One feature of sugar-cultivation which ought especially to attract the farmer is that he grows his roots on a contract basis. He agrees with the factory to supply a certain tonnage of the beet, generally for five years. He is delivered from all market-worry. He sows his seed in April and draws his cheque in October. He can generally improve the figure by coaxing a few more units per cent. of sugar from his roots, for each additional unit over a certain percentage usually fetches an extra shilling per ton.

Another consideration for the farmer is the indirect agricultural advantage of growing this root. The entire plane of agricultural efficiency in the German Empire has been raised by the introduction of the crop. The necessity for clean land and deep ploughing imposed by the sugar-beet reacts with great effect on the other crops with which it is grown in rotation. The following remarks by the well-known expert, Dr. Schack-Sommer, who has done so much for the movement in England, deserve attention :

> As a proof that soil is improved by the cultivation of beetroot, and the extra tilling and manuring which such cultivation entails, I may mention the case of an estate called Groena, in the Dukedom of Anhalt, which comprises about 700 or 800 acres of fertile land. The owners did not plant any beetroot before 1837, and then up to 1853 only a few acres for a trial. In 1853, however, they began to plant about 150 acres every year, and in 1856 the results proved conclusively that they had got as much corn as they had formerly done when the whole area of the estate was devoted to its cultivation. On another estate, that of Ossnarsleben near Bernberg, after having introduced sugar-beetroot growing, there was an increase of about 2 per cent. in the corn crop. In France, in the Arrondissement of Valenciennes, not only was the corn crop increased by the introduction of beetroot, but it was possible to feed 11,500 head of cattle, instead of 700. The conclusion to which these facts point is obvious. Beetroot, so far from being an exhausting crop, positively enriches the soil if it is planted with a due regard to rotation. It is not only a paying crop in itself, apart from the question of the value of its fibre as food for cattle, but it positively increases the fertility of the ground for wheat or other cereal productions.

A vivid idea of the advantages we may expect from sugar-beet cultivation is conveyed in the following extract from a Report on *The Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry, 1908*, in America,

written by a special agent of the United States Board of Agriculture:

> One of the things that has impressed me most in studying the tendencies of the beet-sugar industry is the wonderful influence it is having on all that class of farmers, tenants, and labourers who may properly come under the term of beet-growers. It is generally improving the productiveness of the soil, and the one feature of greatest importance is the tendency to methodical production of all crops.
>
> A sugar factory not only intensifies the farming, but makes the land support a larger population. In sugar-beet districts the number of inhabitants deriving their living from farming is increased many-fold. The factory becomes the nucleus of settlement. Railroads are established, trolley lines built, churches organised, and free-mail delivery installed. It also brings together and organises the people of the district for social and business co-operation. We find the people organised for serious consideration of everything that has to do with public roads, schools, churches, and social business and intellectual progress.
>
> One of the first things that will be noticed upon the establishment of a sugar factory in an agricultural district is the influx of labour from varying sources. When a new factory is under consideration for a district, the farmer says: 'I cannot possibly secure enough help to do the work I now have on the farm; what can I do if I sign a contract to grow an intensive crop like sugar-beets, thereby very much increasing the amount of labour required on the farm?' The reply to such a statement is that the sugar factory will solve the problem. To the ordinary farmer this seems paradoxical, but it is perfectly logical. In watching the development of conditions around every sugar factory now in operation in the United States, I have yet to find a case where the advent of a sugar factory has not attracted labour, not only for growing beets, but for all kinds of farm work.

Once more it is very well worth noticing, especially by those who are interested in small holdings, that sugar-beet can be grown perfectly well in succession, year after year, on the same soil, as well as in rotation. With proper cultivation, there is no tendency to exhaustion of the soil or to any impoverishment of the yield. Both, on the contrary, are found to improve. No present crop can afford to the holder of fifty acres or less such a sure and satisfactory profit as sugar-beet. It is no use subdividing the land of this country into small holdings unless we give the new class of cultivators something they can raise with a prospect of a decent living. Sugar-beet exactly fulfils this requirement, and on this account alone deserves the national consideration.

But the indirect advantages of sugar-beet growing are not confined to the beneficent effects on the soil and other crops. The industry is also closely allied to stock-raising. The bye-products of the factories, known as beet pulp or slices, form an abundant and admirable cattle-food. The entire product is thus consumed on the continent of Europe, where the demand is continually ahead of the supply. The farmer obtains this food, which is now

scientifically dried and prepared in the factory, at a very cheap rate, and he has in addition all the green leaves and tops, also a valuable fodder, which remain on the land. Another valuable bye-product of the factory is the saturation lime, the result of one of the extracting processes, which forms a valuable manure and is available for the grower either free or at a very low cost.

It is perhaps not necessary here to give a detailed balance-sheet of prospective profit and loss in English sugar-beet cultivation. Taking the results of cultivation experiments in this country, and assuming that at least 17*s*. 6*d*. a ton be the minimum net price given for the roots, the farmer should get a profit of at least 6*l*. per acre, and this ought to be considerably and easily increased. The farmer should notice that sugar-beet not only promises a reliable profit at this figure, but is even more efficient as a cleaning crop than the roots he now grows in the four-course rotation. A recent writer in the *Mark Lane Express* agricultural journal suggests that a suitable rotation for the ordinary English corn-farm would be as follows: Beet, wheat, seeds, oats or barley. He calculates that by this change the farmer would realise an additional annual profit per acre in favour of beetroot of no less than 2*l*. 16*s*. 6*d*. Another authority, discussing the antithesis of 'sugar-beet versus mangolds,' calculates that sugar-beet means 8*l*. 10*s*. profit per acre against 4*l*. for the mangold.

As regards the purely industrial or manufacturing aspect of the industry, the dividends paid quite regularly by Continental factories are of a size which should prove very attractive to the English investor. Dr. Schack-Sommer has drawn out a table of statistics dealing with about sixteen of the shareholding sugar companies in Germany for the year 1908-9. The dividends range from 19 to 70 per cent., while 30 or 40 per cent. seems no unusual figure.

But the question may still be asked whether the suitability of the English soil and climate for this crop is fully established. A long series of experiments, dating from the 'sixties of last century and culminating in such astonishing results as were obtained last year in Herefordshire, seems to supply a sufficient answer to that question. The only possible inference from these experiments is that this country is not only congenial, but rather exceptionally congenial, to sugar-beet. Wherever mangolds flourish sugar-beet will flourish, and where hops grow it tends to flourish exceedingly. The root will not prosper in swamps or in stony and shallow soil, but we may say generally that there are few parts of England, or even of the British Islands, where sugar-beet of a payable sugar-content could not be grown. And this view is now so thoroughly accepted even by the cautious officials of the Board of Agriculture, that the department declines to

furnish supplies for any further crops of a purely empirical character.

But the all-important question remains: How are we to get this industry firmly established in the United Kingdom? Such an enterprise is without parallel in our economic history. Here we find a splendid industry, long-established in all the great States of Europe and in nine or ten of them developed into a vast source of profit and power. Germany has already passed the two-million tons per annum stage in her sugar-production. On the other hand, not a single ounce of sugar has ever been produced in this country, though the complete adaptation of our soil and climate to the industry has long been apparent. How are we going to effect the first beginnings of this great enterprise in the United Kingdom in the face of an adult and splendidly organised competition from abroad? A discouraging sceptic, forced to retreat from his outer works by the satisfactory results of recent experiments, fell back the other day on the question, 'How is it, if this industry promises so much, it has never been started before? Somebody would surely have done so before now.' In other words, our stupidity in the past is to serve as an argument against any reform or repentance in the future. We have all the forces of a stubborn conservatism and a suspicion of new ideas to encounter at home; and we have also to meet the spirit which has been fostered by a prolonged régime of economic *laissez-faire* in this country. We have to encounter the tone of mind which thinks that if we can get an article cheap it matters little or nothing whether we produce it here or import it from abroad. I desire to refrain from any contact with party politics, but I may perhaps say that the fiscal reform agitation, if it has done nothing else, has considerably modified our habits of thought. We no longer think, or perhaps a majority of us no longer think, that if we get the produce of any particular industry cheap all possible objects are served. We are more willing to admit that it may be desirable for a variety of national and social, as well as purely material reasons, to possess the industry also. The *à priori* opposition, if I may so speak, is not likely to be so serious as it would have been several years ago.

But the difficulty of the start still remains. In every country of Europe the industry has been established and fostered by every conceivable method of State protection and encouragement. The foundations were well and truly laid in Austria by the celebrated decree of Francis I. in 1831, by which the production of sugar-beet in that country was declared 'free from the payment of all industrial taxes for ten years.' The effect was magical. Factories sprang up in swift succession, and in sixty years the value of Austrian-grown sugar advanced from 15,000*l*. to 7,500,000*l*.

I need not retell the story how the Governments of France and Germany vied with each other in fostering this magnificent industry. In the twelve or thirteen years following 1871 German production advanced from 186,000 tons to 1,128,000 tons. Under the system of bounties and surtaxes, it is true, we enjoyed cheap sugar, often as cheap as three shillings below the cost of production. Therefore, under current forms of politico-economic thought, we had simply to eat sugar and rejoice. Even when, in the teeth of a great outcry of orthodox economists, this country set itself to destroy the bounty system, it did so almost purely from consideration for the blighted cane industry of the British West Indies, and as yet without the first stirrings of any thought or intention to grow a little sugar for ourselves. Mr. George Martineau, in his excellent little handbook on Sugar, after narrating the history of modern sugar-developments in Europe, adds :

> The reader may wonder why the United Kingdom, by far the largest sugar-consumer in Europe, is the only European country which produces no sugar even for its own vast consumption. The story which has just been told of the European sugar industry is a sufficient answer. As Mr. Robert Lowe told us years ago, ours is not a paternal Government. With a market for 1,600,000 tons of sugar at our doors, and a good soil and climate, we import it all, and read the sugar-market report day by day under the cheerful heading of 'Foreign Produce.' Germany, in the meantime, with a home demand not much more than half of ours, not only supplies all her own sugar, but has, every year, more than a million tons for exportation, half of which is refined sugar. These are curious facts, of which the general public, and even our rulers, know little and care less.

Our Governments have grown rather more paternal since the days of Robert Lowe. Is there any chance, then, of a little fatherly regard for this particular 'infant' industry ? Will Mr. Lloyd George, the democratic Minister, prove himself as far-seeing and effectual a statesman as Francis, the autocratic Emperor? It may be possible, but it will undoubtedly be very difficult, to start sugar-production in these islands without some fiscal assistance. The established economics decree that if an import duty is imposed on any article produced in this country, a duty of excise equal in amount must be laid on the home-made article. That is, the State must exact 1*s*. 10*d*. on the first hundredweight of sugar produced in England. Otherwise an English industry—in this case a fine new-born infant industry of great promise—would be fostered and protected, which is absurd. Will the Chancellor of the Exchequer depart slightly from the letter of the law that killeth and apply a little of the spirit of common-sense in order to make and keep this hopeful enterprise alive? He has it in his power to establish public confidence and to help the industry over the few initial years when its expenses and difficulties will

be at the maximum. Some slight but persistent fiscal indulgence, not necessarily to the whole extent of the import duty, would make all the difference to the prospects of the movement.

There is no difficulty of a diplomatic order in the way. Down to the abolition of the bounties, the sugar-industries of the Continent enjoyed an enormous protection in the 'surtax,' or the difference between import and internal excise duty, amounting in Germany to 10*s*. per hundredweight. England desired to abolish this surtax along with the bounties proper. But that was found impossible, and it was left within the right of the parties to the Convention to give the home article a preference up to six francs per 100 kilogrammes—that is, 2*s*. 6*d*. per hundredweight. England is able therefore entirely to exempt her home-made sugar from excise, while leaving the present duty (1*s*. 10*d*. per hundredweight) on the imported article, without incurring any risk of reprisals. Here, then, is the Government's opportunity to give an effectual 'send-off' to this big and fruitful undertaking, to deal a stroke whose beneficent effects will be worth fifty Patent Acts. Will they rise to the occasion, or are we to conclude finally that rigid free-trade orthodoxy may destroy everything but itself, and that no possible benefits to the health and wealth of the nation can justify the slightest infringement of a hard and inadaptable creed? Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and perhaps Richard Cobden himself, would scarcely have approved this extreme and severe application of the law.

I fear that after fifty years of the unregulated import of cheap oversea products the public in this country will not have the confidence to contribute to a new home-industry the many millions required for this purpose. Voluntary effort can do a good deal, but the State has also a duty to perform rather more definite than that of a benevolent spectator. Surely no Government worth the name which appreciates the value of this big enterprise will entirely withhold its assistance. We are given to understand that no money will be available from the Development Grant for this object, though it seems to fall quite specially within the purposes of that State subvention; or, at any rate, no contribution is to be made to the voluntary agencies working outside the State Department. But in any case no grants of that kind can take the place of a continuous encouragement through the fiscal machinery of the State. I do not say it will prove impossible to obtain the big sums required to establish the first sugar factories, but the task could be immensely facilitated and expedited by a little paternal State action in the direction indicated. This is, or should be, no party question. Trojan or Tyrian, Liberal or Tory—it matters nothing who gives the desired assistance, so long as it is given. I will only add that the states-

man who lifts this enterprise out of the rut of slow and laborious and perhaps frustrated effort on to a level and practicable road to success will have done a positive service to his country such as few public men in our history have ever had the power or the opportunity to do.

J. SAXON MILLS.

Since the above was written, the Development Commissioners, seven months after the application, hold out some prospect of a slight subvention for sugar-beet from their Fund. Public money will never have been better spent.

J. S. M.

THE THUMBSCREW[1]

TIME THE PRESENT.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

WILL DENGATE . . .	*Aged nineteen.*
JOE SELDEN . . .	*Aged twenty-eight, engaged to* BERNICE.
BERNICE FIELD . . .	*Aged twenty.* } *Hook and Eye Carders.*
MRS. FIELD . . .	*Stepmother to* BERNICE. } *Hook and Eye Carders.*
MRS. DENGATE . . .	*Mother of* WILL.
MRS. MUGGLE . . .	*The Middlewoman.*
BOB	MRS. FIELD'S *Children.*
FRED	MRS. FIELD'S *Children.*
LUCY	MRS. FIELD'S *Children.*

SCENE: *The stage is divided unequally into two parts by a curtain. On the left and smaller side of the curtain is a table, a bed, and two chairs. One or two bits of clothing hang on the walls. The ceiling slopes, and the only window is in a recess. There is no fireplace, only a small oil stove. On the bed lies* WILLIAM DENGATE *half-dressed, in the last stages of Potters' rot. He is so weak that he can hardly lift himself; several untidy books lie on his pillow.*

On the right and larger side of the curtain there is a big table, with five or six chairs, two beds, a fireplace, and two windows also in recesses. There is a little fire in the grate. MRS. FIELD *and* BERNICE *are sitting at the table sewing hooks and eyes on to cards with an incredible swiftness. The clock strikes five as the curtain goes up.*

WILL DENGATE *raises himself on his elbow and listens for a moment—then he speaks.*

WILL. Bernice! (*there is no answer, so he speaks a little louder with evident effort*). Bernice!

BERNICE (*without looking up*). What is it, Will?

WILL. Is mother there?

BERNICE. No.

WILL. What's the time?

MRS. FIELD (*glancing up at the clock*). Mercy me! Why, it's just struck five (*a pause*).

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BERNICE. Are you wanting anything, Will?

WILL. No, thank you—only mother said she'd be back about five—this is her last day at that job.

MRS. F. *(startled)*. You don't mean ter say——

WILL. How much rent does mother owe you, Mrs. Field?

BERNICE. Oh, never bother about that.

WILL. I want to know—how much is it?

MRS. F. Five weeks, if you must 'ave it.

WILL. Five weeks—that's ten shillings—how she's ever going to pay it I don't know—two days this week is all she's had.

BERNICE. Don't you worry, Will—it's not much of a home, anyway.

[WILL *sinks back on his bed.*

MRS. F. *(lowering her voice)*. It's all very well, Bernice, you talking like that, but I dunno where to turn next; there's the children to feed, to say nothing of their clothes. Fred's boots are something shameful. And you 'avn't 'ad a new coat—why, not since your uncle gave you that brown linsey; and trade's getting worse every day. I'd turn Mrs. Dengate out, that I would, if it wasn't for Will. I 'avn't the 'art to do it, not with Will lying there fit to die any minit. I 'avn't the 'art.

BERNICE. Mrs. Dengate 'll get another job soon, I expect; she's lots of spunk.

MRS. F. You want more'n that, nowadays. Why, when I married yer pore father—you was a little thing of five then—'e was making 'is thirty shillings a week reg'lar, and by the time the third baby—Fred I mean—was born we 'ad to manage on twenty and less, 'cos of 'is fits, and so it's gone on bad to worse—bad to worse, never bad to better.

BERNICE. Aren't the children coming home?—you said it was five.

MRS. F. O! there's a extry class or something. Don't you remember?—they never think of the pore mothers.

BERNICE. It's better for the children, anyway.

MRS. F. I dunno that—it means less food.

BERNICE. Did you hear any more about the changes at the works to-day?

MRS. F. Can't say as I did. I 'ope it's all talk—if they're going to fetch our work, 'stead of making us take it there, they'll 'ave it out of us some other way.

BERNICE. I hate that walk to the works every morning with the cards—that I do!

MRS. F. It's a bit of a change anyway from sitting 'ere all day and 'alf the night. 'And me them strips, will yer? I've nearly done my last dozen gross.

BERNICE. I never can work so quick as you.

MRS. F. It'll come—You 'aven't been at it so long as me. If I was to turn dotty, my fingers would go on just the same, I believe (*she laughs*). Joe coming in to-night?

BERNICE. I suppose he will; he generally does Fridays.

MRS. F. You're a lucky girl. Joe's sure to get on, 'e is; 'e's got spunk if you like. You'll be keeping yer own 'ouse, and I'll be sitting like this sewed to my chair till I'm pulled off same as the 'ooks and eyes—though 'ow I'm going to manage without you beats me.

BERNICE. Joe's not in the marryin' line yet.

MRS. F. That's all very fine. If 'e was to get a good job to-morrow, you'd be off, and I'm not the one to blame you, neither. It's crule work this; but it'd be the workhouse for all of us, in spite of the children lending a 'and as they do.

BERNICE (*suddenly*). Mother, d'you ever wonder whether the workhouse wouldn't be best after all? The children might do better, and you wouldn't have to——

MRS. F. Bernice! well, I never!—to think of your father's daughter sitting there and saying such a thing. The work'ouse indeed!—it'll 'ave to be over my dead body first. The Fields don't go to the work'ouse—no fear! Why yer father's father was a landowner, 'e was! Don't you never go talking to me about the work'ouse again, though I did 'ave a second cousin in it once't.

[BERNICE *says nothing, but goes on working.* MRS. FIELD *gathers rage as she thinks over the conversation.*

MRS. F. If you want to go and leave me, Bernice, don't you stop for me—I can manage all right. I'm not one to stand in anybody's way, I'm not—so don't consider me.

BERNICE. Haven't I always said I won't leave you till the children are out?

MRS. F. Yes, you 'ave—and I believe you mean it, too; yer'e a good girl, Bernice, but don't get talking about the work'ouse no more—it upset's me!

[WILL *has been listening to the talk in the intervals of his reading, and now joins in, raising himself on his elbow.*

WILL. There's no more harm in the work'ouse than there is in anything else—it's all hell this life, anyway—what I'm going to do is the only sensible thing.

MRS. F. (*as if she were speaking to a child*). What's that?

WILL. Get out of it—die!

[MRS. FIELD *and* BERNICE *glance at one another.*

MRS. F. Oh, Will; we 'aven't got to that yet; come! Don't talk so silly!

WILL. I wonder why it always shocks you so when I talk about dying, Mrs. Field?

BERNICE. Don't answer him, mother, or we'll have his wild talk.

MRS. F. Your 'ead's full of trash from them books. You can talk about what you like, my boy, it won't make no difference.

WILL. That's quite true.

[*There is a knocking at the door.* BERNICE *looks up, slightly moved, but says nothing.*

MRS. F. Come in. [JOE SELDEN *enters.*

JOE. Good evening, Mrs. Field—good evening, Bernice.

[*He puts his hand on* BERNICE'S *shoulder for a moment. Neither of the women stop working.* JOE *throws his cap on to the bed with a half angry gesture. He speaks in a dry irritated way.*

JOE. At it as usual! You've sat 'ere long enough! Put your hat on and come out for a walk.

BERNICE. I can't.

JOE. Why not? (*in a lower tone*) I've got something particular to say to you.

[*His tone makes* BERNICE *glance at him sharply—she almost stops working.*

BERNICE. Why, whatever's the matter, Joe?

JOE. I must have a talk with you, d'y'hear? I want to talk to you!

BERNICE. But I haven't 'alf done; mother's through with hers, and look at this . . . (*pointing to a pile of unfinished work*).

MRS. F. You go out with 'im. Carry my lot to the Works and I'll finish yours . . . Come on.

BERNICE (*obstinately*). No, no, I won't have it, you've done more'n your share to-day, as it is.

[MRS. FIELD *hesitates a moment, then she bustles about with her pile of cards.*

MRS. F. Crikey I'm late now—I must be off—no time to cut the children's bread and jam. You must see to it, Bernice.

BERNICE. All right.

[MRS. FIELD *picks up the bundle of cards which though large is light, and goes out.* JOE *makes a jerk with his thumb in the direction of the curtain, meaning to ask whether* WILL *is there.* BERNICE *replies by nodding her head, upon which* JOE *comes and sits close to her.* BERNICE *never leaves off her work for a moment.*

JOE (*speaking very fast, low, and eagerly*). Look here my girl, things have come to a point—I've lost my job.

BERNICE (*dropping her needle and thread*). Joe!

JOE. Yes;—you don't ask how, or why. You're right! There ain't but one reason nowadays. Trade's slack. No demand for British carpentering, so out we go—half the hands turned down,

me among them—that's all right, I don't complain. They're within their rights. I've got a week's wages instead of notice and there you are (*he puts his hand in his pocket and pulls out some coins*). But where do I come in? Nobody says I ain't a good workman—I'd like to see the man who dare to. I ain't got no vices—I don't drink nor bet—I'm a steady respectable man I am. But that don't make no difference; I'm fired like the rest!

BERNICE. What are you going to do?

JOE. Do? Why there's only one thing to do. Get quit of this blasted country and go to a new one.

BERNICE (*stops work this time*). Lord! emigrate, do you mean? Oh Joe! it hasn't come to that, has it?

JOE. Yes it 'as, and I'm not sure it ain't a blessing in disguise. I'm sick of this tyrant-ridden country, I am—I want to go to a place where a man's given a chancet, that's all I ask for—a chancet.

BERNICE. But ain't it just the same out there?

JOE. No, it ain't—there's more room—not so many other people, not so thick on the ground, no damned aristocracy—I've been making inquiries about Canada. Canada seems a decent place. See here, Bernice (*he unrolls a coloured advertisement*); they'll give you one 'undred and sixty acres of land free if you want to settle on it, they will—one 'undred and sixty acres—why, that's as big as 'arf Hyde Park. They *want* us out there, that's the difference. It'd be rough and hard in course at first, till I'd built a house—See these pretty little 'ouses—'ome-steads they call 'em—I'll build you one just like this—I know 'ow—and they advance you money for your plant, and if I can raise a little towards the fare they'll advance me a ticket, and you too. I've been to a emigration society already, 'coz I knew things was getting bad, and I'm what they call a suitable case—there's a job I can 'ave on a new railway from the day I land, till I can look about me a bit. It'll be all right and you've got to come with me!

BERNICE. Me?

JOE. Yes 'oo else? We're engaged, aren't we?

BERNICE. I can't—I can't leave the others.

JOE. Damn the others! We've got to think of ourselves—that's the best way; 'oo ever thinks of us, I should like to know—I know what's what—I've the right to live and the right to work. Look 'ere, Bernice (*putting his arm round her*) don't be shirty about the sudden way like I've sprung it on you—it isn't sudden to me. I've been thinkin' a long time—and it's much the best for you too. I declare I'm glad to go when I think of getting you out of this 'ell of a life. You're nothing but a slave now.

BERNICE. What's the good of talking? I can't come with you!

[WILL, *as* JOE'S *voice rises, has begun to listen; he gets deeply interested, drops his book and leans on his elbow.*

JOE. Why not? That's what I want to know! Why not? You like this sort of life 'ere, I suppose! Think it's jolly don't you to sit sewing 'ooks on to cards day and night—I should like to kill them!

BERNICE. Them? Who?

JOE. The damned grasping aristocrats and capitalists. What right 'ave they got to the money, and the land, no more right than you nor me!

BERNICE. I suppose they bought the land.

JOE. Bought the land! Not they! Inherited it they did without a drop of sweat! That'll be altered some day. We're moving a bit even 'ere; in Canada every man's equal.

WILL. Funny place Canada must be!

[JOE *is startled*, BERNICE *only smiles.*

[WILL *unseen by the other two has begun with some difficulty to get out of bed*

JOE. How do, Will?

WILL. Wait a minute, I must join in this.

JOE. Dang it—we don't want 'im.

BERNICE. Poor Will!

JOE. If on'y you'd ha' come out—

[WILL *has painfully dragged himself to the edge of the curtain and comes round it.*

BERNICE (*who does not stop working*). Help him, Joe.

[JOE *goes towards him, but* WILL *has already dropped into a chair; he pants with exhaustion.*

WILL. What's all this about going to Canada?

JOE. Well, if you're going to join in I must talk. You 'eard what I said—I'm sick of this blasted country, I am! Look at Bernice! Pretty sight, ain't she? No time to go out, no time to tidy 'er 'air—no time to improve 'er mind.

BERNICE (*laughing a little and putting her hand up to her hair to tidy it*). O, my mind! That don't matter.

JOE. Yes, it do matter. You've got a mind, I suppose, like I 'ave? Lord knows I don't get much time! Lord knows I work 'ard enough; but it's nothing to what you 'ave. You ought to strike—you ought to scream out you won't put up with it!

WILL. It wouldn't be any good; nothin's any good.

JOE. You've 'it it! It wouldn't do no good! I must clear out, and Bernice's got to come with me!

WILL (*looking at* BERNICE). Well it may be the way for you and her—I dunno! But it don't help anybody else!

BERNICE. Go on, Will.

WILL. You haven't thought about it, Bernice, have you? But I have—you see lying here all day I haven't got anything else to do but read and read, and then think and think. Seems to me everything's gone wrong in the world.

JOE. That's right, Will—that's right!

WILL. There ought to be a change all the way through.

JOE. That's it—no rich—no poor—every man for 'is-self. Cut up the big properties and divide 'em round. Don't 'ave no rich nor no poor.

WILL. There'll always be rich people and poor people.

JOE. You read what 'Enry George says, and Bernard Shaw, and Keir 'Ardie—we're going to change everythin'.

WILL. You listen to me, Joe—all that's no good, I tell you —not a bit. You can't put human nature into strait jackets. We're all greedy, and hungry, and cruel—no laws, and no revolutions, and no expropriations ain't going to do the trick—it's a new stomach that's wanted.

JOE. You ain't practical—you don't know practical life.

WILL. Oh yes, I do. I'm not much younger than you. I've done my turn; why I caught this *(slapping himself)* working in the potteries—I know well enough! I tell you, England's a hell for people like us! Haven't I lived behind this curtain for months, and thankful to Bernice and her mother for that—haven't I seen Bernice's cheeks get paler and paler, and the children forced to work half the night—it's shameful! it's shameful!

[WILL *is seized with a sort of paroxysm of excitement.*

BERNICE. Don't take on so, Will dear—it's bad for you.

WILL *(recovering himself)*. You're quite right—it won't do no good either.

JOE. If I didn't believe we can pull down them capitalists I should—I should go to *'ell*—that's all.

WILL. Well, that wouldn't be much use either. Why does Bernice have to work on starvation wages, and me lose my life in that other job?—We're supposed to be civilised—in the van of civilisation—but we're not a bit—we're still savages—we just kill anybody who's in our way—same as you want to kill the capitalists, Joe.

JOE. In course—serve 'em right—leastways divide up their property.

WILL. It would all come back to the same thing in the end. I tell you there's a bloody tyrant who rules this country—his name is Competition. We wriggle and wriggle—but we can't get away from him.

JOE *(sullenly)*. That's just why I want to clear out!

WILL. Oh, clear out if you like—What I mean is that

you haven't found the *cure*. What about England? What about all the rest? You go to a country where competition isn't so full grown, that's about it—but the tyrant's there all the while—after a bit the country fills up, and it's as bad as ever.

BERNICE. Oh dear! oh dear!

WILL. Sometimes I think there is a change coming—but it's mighty slow. It'll be a different sort of competition—(*he laughs half shyly*)—a competition in love and kindness, a competition in givin', a new heart for the world.

JOE. Pah!—You'll wait a long time, my boy, if that's what you expect.

WILL (*rising from his chair*). I don't expect it—I tell you this world's rotten through and through. Go to Canada certainly, take Bernice too if you can—but it won't make things any better really—not really—If I was going to live I'd spend my time talking and talking to everybody—But I'm dying—and I'm glad! I'm sick of this world.—I'm not strong enough for it—like you, Joe, I want to clear out. Even if I was strong I believe I'd want to go—it's all too difficult—too much for me!

BERNICE (*rising*). Will! Dear Will—you'll pay for this—come back to bed.

WILL (*his voice almost in a scream*). I tell you I'd kill myself now, if it wasn't for mother—I'm nothing but a burden to her—and she knows it—but she'd never forgive me if I did away with myself, and it won't be long. Listen to me, Joe and Bernice, and I'm one as knows what he's talking about. The best way out is to *die*, you take my word for it—die both of you—it's the best way.

BERNICE (*dully*). What about the others?—Here, Joe, help me to get him back.

[JOE *silently helps* WILL, *and they are both supporting him when* MRS. DENGATE *enters on her side of the curtain. She gives a sharp glance round, and then instantly comes round.*

MRS. D. (*looking at her son's flushed face*). Well, I never! I should ha' thought, Bernice Field, as you'd 'a' known better, than let Will get out of bed like this—Come on now—Back you go!

WILL. It's all right, mother, I've been enjoying myself.

[*Roughly but tenderly* MRS. DENGATE *helps him back, leaving* JOE *and* BERNICE *on their side of the curtain.*

JOE. Now, Bernice, you're not going to listen to all that rot, I 'ope—you must make up your mind (*he catches hold of her*). I want you—Give me a kiss—Come on—What! you're not afraid of me since last Saturday, are you?

[BERNICE *with a strange kind of repressed passion turns to him, and puts her arms round his neck.*

BERNICE. Don't go, Joe, oh don't go. Will said it was no use—don't go and leave me!

JOE. I don't want to leave you, I want to take you. 'Ave a little courage, my girl.

BERNICE. Oh! I must finish.

[*She sits down to the table again and begins to work.* JOE *curses under his breath, and walks up and down.*

JOE. You're nothing but a slave! They've ruined you with their blasted competition! I don't believe you mind, no, I don't believe—

[*The door bursts open, and the three children rush in from school. They go straight to the table and look for food, like little animals.*

BERNICE. Mother hadn't time to cut the bread, Bob—you'd better do it.

BOB. All right.

[*He runs to a cupboard in the corner, gets out a stale loaf, and begins to cut hunks which he spreads with a thick gluey jam.* LUCY *puts the kettle on the fire in a business-like way, while* FRED *examines* JOE'S *pockets surreptitiously.*

LUCY (*suddenly*). Why does the lid of the kettle begin to 'op so?

BOB. 'Coz it's boiling, stoopid—taike it off!

LUCY. But why?

[*She takes the kettle off and fills up the teapot.*

JOE (*satirically*). The water wants to get out, Lucy, there ain't room in the kettle!

[*He looks at* BERNICE *pleased with his simile.*

LUCY. O! (*She replaces the kettle on the fire.*) Why it's 'opping just the same. There's lots o' room now.

BOB. Taike it off the 'ob, stoopid, or the bottom'll fall out!

[*Lucy obeys, but is obviously unsatisfied. The boys sit down to their tea and at once stuff their mouths with the bread and jam.*

LUCY. 'Ow's Will? (*She goes round the curtain, but seeing* MRS. DENGATE, *who does not give her a very kind look, she retreats hastily.*)

BERNICE (*very kindly*). Now, Lucy, come along, and eat yer tea—there ain't a minute to lose; you've each got two dozen to finish before you go to bed, or there won't be no jam next week—you must 'urry.

[LUCY *joins the rest. She sees at once that* BERNICE *has nothing.*

LUCY. Why, you 'aven't given none to Bernice.

[*She pours out a cup and puts it beside* BERNICE, *who does not stop working, but just takes a sip now and then.*

BERNICE. Have a drop, Joe?

JOE. No, thank you; the sight of them 'ooks and eyes is enough to turn my stomach! (*He begins impatiently walking up and down.*) 'Ow much do you make in the week, tell me that—all of you—now then—come on—you first, Bernice.

BERNICE. We get ninepence a pack (*pointing to one*).

JOE. 'Ow much does it come to in the week?

BERNICE. Sometimes four shillin'—sometimes four-and-six. I have made five with luck.

JOE. O, 'ave you?—hours, I suppose, six to ten at night?

BERNICE. About that.

JOE. And the kids—What do they make?

BERNICE. It's counted in with mine and mother's.

JOE. Four shillin', then—and yer mother?

BERNICE. Oh, mother! she does better—never makes less nor six—often seven.

JOE. Ten to eleven shillin's a week. What's yer rent?

BERNICE. Now then, Lucy—hurry up there—get the tea things cleared and set to.

[LUCY *clears the table very quickly, and then obediently sits down to her work. The children giggle a little, but on the whole they work with great concentration.*

JOE (*angrily*). What's yer rent, I say?

BERNICE. Four shilling.

JOE. Eleven shillin' a week at most; four shillin' rent.

BERNICE. Mrs. Dengate's supposed to pay two.

JOE. Does she ever pay?

BERNICE. When she can—but Will——

JOE. Oh, I know. What it means is this; you've six to seven shillin' a week for food and clothes and every blessed thing—and there's five mouths to feed, and five bodies to dress, and ten legs, and ten feet, and——

BERNICE (*laughing a little*). Oh, don't, Joe!

JOE. You beat me, you do—clean—'ow you ever—

[*Everyone is startled by a knock at the door.*

BERNICE. Come in.

[MRS. MUGGLE *enters. She is a plump Jewess, and wears a beaded cape.*

MRS. M. Mrs. Field live here?

BERNICE. Yes——

[MRS. MUGGLE *closes the door after her in a confidential way.*

BERNICE. She's out.

MRS. M. (*consulting a list*). Ow! out is she? When'll she be in?

BERNICE. What do you want?—I'll tell her.

MRS. M. Want—I want to see her. You're 'ook and eye carders, I know! You're on my list. Mrs. Field's gone to take 'er lot to the works, I suppose.

BERNICE. Yes—she'll be back directly.

MRS. M. Pore soul. I pity 'er, I do—working all day and then 'aving to fetch and carry as you might say—crule, I call it.

[*No one answers, but* BERNICE *for a moment drops her work. She seems to anticipate something disagreeable.*

MRS. M. (*her voice getting more and more soapy*). Well now, that's just what I've looked in about, this fetchin' and carryin'. I'm going to do it for yer in future—see my motor van!

[*She pushes forward a large, untidy double perambulator, on to which a stack of cardboard sheets is already fastened.*

I shall come round twice every day with this, bringing yer stuff and taking what yer've done. I shall paiy you, and I'll collect.

BERNICE. Mother'd rather deal direct with the foreman, I expect.

MRS. M. Oh, she would, would she; well then, she'll 'ave to give up, that's all. I've bought the work, d'you understand? Your work and a lot of other work too, and them that don't like it must lump it, or go without——

BERNICE. Do you mean to say——

MRS. M. I mean to say that the manager will only give you the stuff through me—now do you understand?

BERNICE (*after a pause*). Is it the same pay?

MRS. M. (*glad to have got to the point*). No, my dear, it's not the same paiy; 'ow could it be?—I've got my living to make as well as you—I save you lots, I do—no walks in the 'eat or the wet—I do all that for yer—to say nothing of the time you save—nearly a 'ole 'our—you can't expect all that for nothin' now, can you?

BERNICE. We can't work for less than we get now.

MRS. M. Oh yes, you can! I know what you get very well; ninepence a pack—that's it, isn't it?—ninepence a pack and find your own thread and needles—well, I'm going to take twopence off for each pack—no one can say that's much for all the work and trouble I shall save you—that'll come to about two shillings a week for the lot you do——

[BERNICE *in her agitation rises, looking from* JOE *to the* CHILDREN *and back again.*

BERNICE. Two shillings a week off?

JOE. Don't you do it, Bernice—stand up to 'er, tell 'er you won't 'ave it—it's blackmail—just dirty blackmail, that's what it is!

BERNICE (*resolutely sitting down to her work*). It won't do—we can't work for less.

MRS. M. (*laughing*). Oh! you can't, can't you—very well, there's lots that can, ha! ha! lots—I'm a just woman, I am—I could get people to do the work for less than I'm offering you, but I'm a just woman, and I says—I'll give the old workers a first chance. That's what I'll do, I says—yer mother won't be such a fool as to throw it up, I know—I'll come back in a few minutes and talk to her—you young ones are feather 'eaded, you don't understand.

[MRS. FIELD *enters the room while* MRS. MUGGLE *is speaking.* MRS. MUGGLE *pretends not to see her, but raises her voice more and more.*

MRS. M. Mrs. Field'll listen to reason, she will; she'll know what it means, not to 'ave the work coming in! She don't want to starve—not she!

MRS. F. (*sharply*). What's the row, Bernice?

BERNICE (*working feverishly*). Ask Joe.

JOE. Yes! ask me! I'll tell you. Do you know what it is—the works have chucked you! They've 'anded you over body and soul, bag and baggage, to that grinning 'Ebrew there—she's the middle-woman, she is. She carries the stuff for you and docks you off twopence the pack. Work as you may, you can't make more'n seven shillin' a week after this—that's what it means—Now d'you understand?

MRS. F. (*terrified*). Don't, Joe—don't—It ain't true; they just told me I should 'ave my work later—but I never thought—say it ain't true, Joe.

FRED (*in a sharp shrill voice, dropping his work and jerking his thumb towards* MRS. MUGGLE). You turn 'er out, mother—turn 'er out; she's a blackmailer—Joe said so!

MRS. F. You get on with your work now, and don't waste time—go on, I say.

JOE. The boy's quite right, Mrs. Field—are you going to submit to this sort of thing any longer? You've been treated like slaves all this time, now they're going to kick you, same as if you was dogs. Don't you stand it—throw up the job!

MRS. F. (*turning to* MRS. MUGGLE, *very pale and resolute, but miserably frightened*). Twopence off each pack, mum; you can't mean that—why, I can't make enough as it is—you can't mean you'll only pay sevenpence a pack?

MRS. M. (*fiercely*). That's what I do mean then—it's taike it or leave it; there're 'eaps and 'eaps that'll taike the work and glad to at that figure.

JOE (*fiercely*). Go and find them then—and don't come 'ere no more!

MRS. M. Come, Mrs. Field, be reasonable, my dear; I don't say as how I mightn't rise to sevenpence farthing, even sevenpence ha'penny a gross, just to keep you—you work so well—but more'n that—no—I've got to live too!

[MRS. DENGATE, *who has been listening all the while on the other side of the curtain, now comes round it. She stands irresolutely looking from one to the other.*

MRS. D. I've finished my job to-day—my boy'll starve soon—I'll take the work at sevenpence—that is in course if Mrs. Field won't!

[*She looks uneasily round again.* WILL *makes a gesture of disapproval, and then leans back and laughs audibly.*

MRS. M. (*laughing too*). There! You see 'ow the land lies *now*, don't you. Yer own lodger—ha! ha! But now look 'ere, Mrs.—Mrs.—what's yer name?

MRS. D. Mrs. Dengate.

MRS. M. What an outlandish, countrified name—but never mind that—'ave you ever done this 'ook and eye carding before—do you know the trade?

MRS. D. No.

MRS. M. I can't give you the same paiy then—Mrs. Field's a trained 'and, she is—I've gone a long way to meet Mrs. Field, I 'ave, on'y she don't understand it; you're raw at it, you ain't worth 'arf what she is.

MRS. D. I'd soon learn—I'm quick.

JOE (*white with rage*). You're quick enough at taking the bread out of other people's mouths!

MRS. D. (*whimpering*). I'm sure I mean no 'arm; wot's the good of letting the work go if Mrs. Field won't take it?

MRS. F. (*angry, her voice rising to a scream*). Who said I wouldn't take it? You're a nice one, you are—'old your tongue.

MRS. D. I'm not going to 'old my tongue—I've got my rights as well as you, tho' I do owe you for the rent! Wot's the good of letting the work go, I says, there's 'undreds more like me as'd take it!

JOE. Votes for women, I say.

MRS. F. (*suddenly surrendering*). I don't want no vote—it's work I want—work!—and work I'm going to 'ave, in spite of you, Mrs. Dengate. I'll take your terms, Mrs. Muggle, sevenpence 'alfpenny a gross, though they're crule—and wicked—may God forgive you—(*fiercely to the children*): Don't sit idling there now, you little brats—you'll 'ave to work double as 'ard after this—and every morning, too.

[LUCY *whimpers a little, but all three obediently go on.*

MRS. M. (*in an oily voice*). I'm glad you've seen reason, Mrs.

Field—you're wise, as I knew you would be. Now what about your daughter 'ere—she's a good worker, too, I'm told.

JOB. Yes, she's a good worker; much too good for the likes of you—Get out of this place, I say, or I'll kick you out! You won't come over me with your soapy slaver. Miss Field refuses your offer—do you hear? She won't 'ave it, she throws up the job! Give it to Mrs. Dengate 'ere—she doesn't mind 'ow much dirt she eats. Give it to 'er; (*to Mrs. Dengate, who moves forward*) but don't you dare to say a word, you snivelling back-door thief!

MRS. M. (*sweetly*). I should be sorry to lose you, Miss Field —take a little time to decide. Never be in a 'urry is one of my mottoes—I'll come back when I've been to one or two other people. Don't be in a 'urry—take your time (*she edges nearer to the door*). 'Ere's your lot, Mrs. Field (*she giggles*). I knew you'd be sensible, so I brought it with me—(*She hands* MRS. FIELD *a great pile of cardboard and paper*)—I shall be back before long.

[*She goes out.* MRS. FIELD, *really quite beside herself, boxes* FRED'S *ears, shakes* BOB, *and slaps* LUCY.

MRS. F. 'Ow dare you dawdle like this 'ere now, 'aven't you 'eard what's happened?

[BOB *merely shakes himself.* FRED *tries to get up, but is pulled down by* BOB, *who perfectly understands that his Mother is not really unkind*; LUCY *begins to howl at the top of her voice.*

BERNICE (*putting out her hand*). It's all right, Lucy dear— don't cry (*but* LUCY *wails on*).

MRS. F. Ow' stop yer noise, can't yer! We 'aven't got time for this sort of thing now—'ere, Lucy, come on! I didn't mean to slap yer, but I'm that put out—come 'ere!

[*The child at once runs to her mother, who sits on a chair and puts* LUCY *on to her lap. They both cry quietly.*

JOB (*suddenly*). Look here, Mrs. Field—it may be all right for you to give in—you've no trade union you women—and you're not young, and there's the kids—but Bernice's not going on any longer in this 'ell, I can tell you that! I'm going to Canada to-morrow, and she's coming with me! We'll be married at the Registry in the morning; we're both in the parish— I've got all the papers (*he pulls them out of his pocket*).

MRS. F. (*after a pause of astonishment, deeply offended*). And never to say a word to me—well, Bernice, I didn't know as you was so artful—that I didn't—I 'ope you'll be 'appy, I'm sure —but it's that sudden—oh! what shall I do without you—oh. Oh Lordy! Lordy! Oh, Bernice!

[*She throws her apron over her head, and rocks backwards and forwards crying.* BERNICE *gets up quickly and*

Bernice. Don't mother, don't take on so! I didn't know nothing about it—Joe's settled it all—don't cry—I never knew a word till this evening, and I don't know what to do now, I don't really—I don't seem to see how I can leave you and the children (*she gives a sort of gulp*).

Mrs. F. (*mollified*). You didn't know a word neither? You've not just sprung this on me, Bernice Field, 'ave you now?

Bernice. No, no mother!

[*The* Children *get up and run to* Bernice.

Bob. Don't go away, Bernice, don't!

Fred (*with a sob in his voice*). I don't want Bernice to go.

[Lucy *begins to howl again.*

Mrs. F. (*gradually regaining control of her voice*). Now, you children, stop your bellowing! What 'ave you got to cry for, I should like to know. 'Old your tongues. Bernice's going to get married, and we've all got to be very 'appy and jolly. It's a bit sudden, but that don't make no difference—we're going to 'ave a weddin'.

[Will, *who has been listening, tries to get out of bed, but is too weak. He cannot keep silent—all at once he holds out his arms, and with a cry, half of love and half of anguish, he calls out.*

Will. Bernice! Bernice! come here!

[Bernice *jumps up at once, and pushing past* Mrs. Dengate, *goes straight to* Will, *who puts his arms round her neck and pulls her down to him. He will not let her go for what seems a long minute—not till a fit of coughing obliges him to.*

Will (*in a low voice*). I can't stop you, Bernice—I can't stop you—it may be better for you—oh, it may—but it ain't the right way out.

Bernice. I haven't said I will yet—I haven't promised—

Will. Do you love him—Joe, I mean?—

Bernice. I don't know.

Will. If you do, it's different—you've got a light inside of you then. Love's the same thing as dying—it makes you understand, and not mind things hurting—I know—

Bernice. Joe's been good to me always.

Will (*tenderly*). I know he has—he's a good chap, Joe is! (*he speaks with great eagerness, stroking and clasping* Bernice's *hands*). But oh, Bernice, I can't think what's to happen to me? If only you could have waited a week or two! I sha'n't last long—but it's blamed hard to say good-bye to you before (*he brushes some tears away*).

Bernice. Will, Will—you pull me so hard—

Will. Don't you worry, dear—it doesn't make no difference

really—not really—I know that—I've seen through things, and nothing of that sort matters. We can't put it all straight. There's no way except by everybody being different—Not you, Bernice—no not you—you're all love and beauty—and that's why ——(*he turns his face aside unable to go on*).

BERNICE (*in a whisper*). What shall I do, Will?—Tell me—quick!

WILL. Don't ask me—you mustn't—it's too hard—oh, my dear—go!—it'll be better for you—you'll have children, and there'll be the sun shining.

> [*They hold hands for a moment without speaking, only looking sadly into each other's eyes. In the meanwhile on the other side of the curtain* MRS. FIELD *has set to work again, and so have the* CHILDREN. *She has been carrying on a conversation with* JOE, *who has sat down in* BERNICE'S *chair*, MRS. DENGATE *still hovering in the background.* JOE *getting weary, says in an undertone to* MRS. FIELD

JOE. I'm afraid of that there Dengate—he's full of queer notions—he'll be upsetting Bernice—she ain't firm yet.

MRS. F. (*nods her head wisely*). Will's all right—he's only (*she taps her forehead significantly*). Bernice—when Will's done congratulating of you—come back!

> [BERNICE *gets up and returns, while* WILL *lies back with his eyes shut.*

MRS. F. Now then, Bernice—here's Joe waiting to know if it's Yes or No.

BERNICE (*twisting her hands*). I don't know what to do—I don't know what's right to do.

JOE. I'll tell you what's right! Come with the man you've given your word to—you and me can make a life for ourselves out there away from all the others.

BERNICE. Yes—away from all the others? Oh, Will, Will! What am I to do?

JOE. You talk a blasted lot too much to that dotty fool in there —what does it matter what 'e thinks about anythink—it's all very fine for 'im—'e's dying 'e is!

MRS. F. Joe's quite right, Bernice—If I was a young woman I'd do the same—I'd come now if it warn't for the kids.

BERNICE. But how can you manage, mother, I don't see as how you can—the pay's cut down and everything.

MRS. F. (*with a forced cheerfulness which is really pathetic*). I'm sure I don't know, but don't you worry no more about me—Joe's got a good job—you take it on too. I shall work three hours more at night, then Bob 'ere can put in a bit more Sundays and Saturday afternoons, and there won't be you to feed, and you know yo[illegible] always w[illegible] a big feeder ([illegible]) I'm [illegible] to

think it'll be retrenchment and reform, same as they say on the posters—(*more gravely*). We shall get along somehow, on'y you must 'urry up and make your fortunes (*her voice breaks*), you won't want to have yer brothers and sisters in the work-'ouse, so you must send me back some 'elp for the children—

JOE (*earnestly*). That we will, Mrs. Field—If Bernice'll come I promise we'll 'elp you all we can. I shall make much more money there than 'ere—and tho' things do come more expensive I'm told, we'll be able to spare a bit—sure. Come, Bernice, give in!

BERNICE. Very well—

JOE. That's right (*he put his arms round her, and hugs her*).

WILL (*in a tone of excitement*). Mother!—come here—mother (MRS. DENGATE *goes to him*). This is a regular Bank Holiday. You've got Bernice's work—never mind how, but you've got it—four shillings a week isn't it? not much, but never mind—you've prevented somebody else having it anyway. And now Bernice's going to be married, and we must have a weddin' party. Pull the curtains right back—now, Mrs. Field, lend a hand—put your work away for once, we don't have weddin's every day—we don't have a Bernice getting married very often.

[THE CHILDREN *stop expectantly*.

MRS. F. We can't Will—we haven't arf done!

WILL. Come, Joe, haven't you got a couple of shillings to spare—that would meet the case.

JOE (*unwillingly*). Yes—I can run to that, but I've got clothes to get (*he puts the two shillings down on the table*).

MRS. F. Thank you kindly, Joe—but I didn't ought to take it—and there's Bernice too, she ain't fit to be seen—but there! we ain't no time to put her straight before to-morrow, anyway.

[MRS. DENGATE *and* BERNICE *go to the curtain*.

WILL. That's right, mother—pull them back, quite—I must be in this affair. We're going to have a jolly party! Children—put your work down—I know how things ought to be done at weddin's (*he laughs*).

[BOB, FRED, *and* LUCY *jump up and begin skipping about—they call out*.

BOB, LUCY, FRED. A party! A party! Will's giving a party!

[*They run across to his bed—he kisses them all*.

WILL. Now, children, listen to me—at weddin' parties two or three things always happen, and we're going to make them happen here. First we *must* drink the bride's health—now, quick—what can we do, O—I know—mother! get out the bottle

the district visitor lady gave you for me, when I'm bad—brandy it is——

MRS. D. No, Will, not the bottle, it pulls you round it does, and I can't buy you no more.

WILL. Never mind that—get it out I say. Now, Bob, you've got a glass, I know, ours is broke—I don't want to drink Bernice's health in a broke glass!

LUCY (*who has run to fetch it*). Here it is, Will.

[MRS. DENGATE *very unwillingly has gone to a cupboard and got out a bottle.* WILL *holds it up to the light.*

WILL. There's a good lot left—see—(*he pours some out into the tumbler*). Now, Bob, a little water please, it would make you splutter to drink it now.

[BOB *brings the water, and* WILL *is just about to mix the drink when an idea strikes him.*

WILL. I know—we'll have it hot! It'll be a lot more cheerful—quick, Fred—the kettle—you were talking about it just now.

[BERNICE *has been standing with her hand in* JOE'S, *but looking at* WILL.

BERNICE. I'll do it—[*she goes to the fire—sees that the water is hot, and goes across to* WILL'S *bed.*

WILL. That's right, pour it in—now we must have a lump of sugar and a spoon!

[LUCY *obediently runs and brings both these.*

WILL (*stirring*). It's ready now, and, crikey, isn't it good just! Come on, mother, Mrs. Field—Joe—I'm going to make a speech first. (*His hand and arm tremble, yet he holds the glass up.*) Ladies and Gentlemen,—I've got a health to propose. This is to be a loving cup—first the bride will drink—God bless her—she'll stir the waters like the angel at the pool of Bethesda—and after that you'll all be well—Joe's bitter feelings will stop—and Mrs. Field won't worry no more, and mother sha'n't cry even in the dark—the children don't want anything bless them——and I——(*he waits a moment*)

BERNICE. Yes, Will—What for you?

WILL. Well, there'll be rest for me (*he laughs*), that's all the healing I want. But now, ladies and gentlemen, if Bernice's going to do all this for us, what are we going to give her? We mustn't be behindhand! She's very rich already—beauty?—she's got it—health?—she's got something like it—love? well, all ours belongs to her, doesn't it? So there's nothing left to wish her but happiness. She's going into a new country where the people are just the same—only there's a little more room, and when they hustle each other it doesn't hurt so much. That's it, Joe, isn't it?—and Joe's going to take her, and look after her, and work for her, so that she can keep the red in her lips, and the

ugh in her lovely eyes—Let what comes after—come!—Here, ernice, drink!—it's the loving cup—drink . . .

[BERNICE *kneels beside the bed and takes the glass and puts it to her lips. Then she hands it to* JOE, *who takes a good pull, and wipes his mouth with the back of his hand. The children drink next.*

MRS. F. (in a low tone) Only a drop, now, Bob—remember. 's Will's medicine.

[MRS. FIELD *and* MRS. DENGATE *scarcely do more than touch the liquid; his mother hands the glass back to* WILL, *who looks at it with a quizzical expression.*

WILL. Here's health to you, Bernice, here's wealth to you, ere's a new life to you in another world——

[*He begins to cough, then he drinks down all the rest and lies back exhausted, closing his eyes. Something in his tone has profoundly moved even* JOE—*he shakes himself roughly, and then bends down over* BERNICE *and puts his arms round her.*

JOE. I'll be good to you, my girl—I will! Trust yourself to me -and be ready to start to-morrow at ten—The kids shall all come, nd see the ship, and see us start—I'll pay for them——

BOB. Golly! what a lark!

LUCY. I want to see the anchor—

FRED. Shall we go on the ship, Joe?

[*They all three jump about to express their pleasure.*

LUCY. My! I hope I shan't be sick.

MRS. D. Sick! not you——why the ship's steady same as this om till it starts.

BOB. Then the fun begins—(*he mimics*)—ooop—dooown, ooop -dooown; I seed 'em at the 'oliday trip last year!

MRS. F. Don't, Bob, you make me feel queer like, just to ink of it!

BOB. Golly, don't I wish I was going too!

FRED. I'm going soon as I'm sixteen.

LUCY. Taike me too, Fred, won't yer?

MRS. D. (*laughing*). Just listen to 'em.

JOE (*suddenly*). 'Ave you got a warm coat, Bernice?—I'm ld it can be terrible cold.

BERNICE. I've got my jacket.

WILL (*opens his eyes, his cheeks are slightly flushed, and looks better*). Now, children, didn't I tell you there were two three things which must happen at weddin's—we've drunk the ide's health—now comes the present-giving——

[*The children look blankly at one another.*

BOB (*suddenly*). There's my shell. I'll give her my shell (*He es to the mantelpiece and picks up a rather large shell,*

such as can often be found on the beach). 'Ere, Bernice, it ain't much—but you can 'ear the sea in it—(*He puts it to his ear, smiling*).

WILL (*interested*). Can you? Let me try.

[*He holds the shell up to his ear, and seems to dream for a moment.*

WILL. So you can—yes—the waves and the wind—all shut in a shell—like us—here, Bernice—here's Bob's present.

FRED. I haven't got no shell nor nothing—

LUCY. 'Ere's my comforter what the church gave me last Christmas— [*She brings a ragged knitted comforter.*

BERNICE. No, no, Lucy, dear—it keeps you warm, I don't want it.

MRS. F. Bernice, 'ere's yer pore father's picture for yer, it's the only one I've got, 'cept the one in my jet brooch—but you're welcome to it.

BERNICE. Thank you. [*She begins to cry a little.*

WILL (*cheerfully*). Now it's my turn. Mother, get down that old cape of mine which I used to go out in—it's no good to me now, and it'll keep Bernice lovely and warm.

BERNICE. No, Will, I can't—

WILL. Oh yes, you can! you're going on the sea—besides, I want something from you—give me that grey shawl of yours. You wrapped me in it once when I was bad—that'll keep me fine and warm indoors—I want it—please.

[BERNICE *hesitates for a moment.*

WILL (*with repressed eagerness*). The shawl—quick, the shawl.

[BERNICE *takes the shawl off a hook, and wraps it round* WILL. *Meanwhile* MRS. DENGATE *has got down the cape. She comes and puts it on* BERNICE'S *shoulders.*

MRS. D. (*with pride*). For all it's a man's, you look fine in it.

[BERNICE *mechanically pulls the cape up to her neck and stands still, looking almost dazed. The clock begins to strike.*

MRS. F. Good Lord! that's six! We've wasted nearly an hour—come on, children, if we're going to 'ave a 'oliday to-morrow we must work late to-night—come on now.

[*She bustles them back to the table.*

LUCY (*whimpering*). I'm tired.

MRS. F. Yes, you may be, we're all tired very often, but you've got to sort them 'ooks and eyes before you go to bed.

[*Obediently the* CHILDREN *climb to their chairs and begin to work.* BERNICE *suddenly gives way—she holds out her arms wildly.*

BERNICE. I can't go!—I can't go and leave them all like this—can't go!

JOE (roughly, *catching hold of her wrist*). Don't be a fool! It's too late to draw back now.

BERNICE (*wildly*). No—No, it isn't—I can't do it, Joe—to think of me on that rolling ship, and them all here starvin' perhaps. Supposing mother falls ill, or anything happens—my heart's going to crack—it's going to crack—I can't go and leave them! [JOE *drops her hand and turns away.*

JOE. Blast you!

BERNICE. You go first, Joe! make some money and send it back. I'll come out to you, I promise, when times are better.

JOE. Better! I dare say you will—you and all your family are going to be a drag on me, are you? I'm to have nothing, I am—you're to have my money same as if you was my wife—no fear!—you *be* my wife and I'll try and do what I can for the rest; but I must 'ave something back—I can't wait for a woman for years and years—it's now or never, my gal—understand that—if I go out alone I go my own way. I shall find someone else there right enough—never you fear—but if you're willing to go, I'm willing to take you and do the best by you.

BERNICE (*moaning*). I can't—I can't go now——

[*There is a knock at the door, and* MRS. MUGGLE *enters.*

MRS. M. (*sweetly*). 'Ere I am again, you see, like a bad shillin', 'e 'e 'e (*a pause*). Well, what 'ave you decided?

BERNICE (*stepping forward*). Give me the work on the same terms as mother, and I'll take it.

MRS. M. (*still more sweetly*). I'm sorry—but I've been to a lot of places since I was 'ere, and in justice to myself I find I can't offer any more work at sevenpence 'alfpenny. I'm a woman of my word, and I'll stick to my word with Mrs. Field for the present—but I can't give no more work at sevenpence 'alfpenny; your lodger 'ere was ready to take it at sevenpence—it'll 'ave to be sevenpence or none at all.

BERNICE. (*dully*). All right—give me the stuff.

[MRS. MUGGLE *goes to her perambulator, and hands* BERNICE *a large roll of paper, cardboard, etc.*: BERNICE *sits down at once.*

MRS. M. Mrs. Dengate, there's an old woman downstairs just dead; she wasn't up to much—only did her one pack a day—but here's her work waitin'—it was the walk to the works and back which killed 'er, they do say. She got ninepence—but then she had to walk. You're new at the job, and I do the walk, so you may have it for sixpence if you like.

Mrs. D. Sixpence a pack, why, that's 'ardly four bob a week —Lor!

Mrs. M. (*fiercely*). You're not going to argufy with me now, are you?—you're lucky to 'ave the job—I've been asked for it all down the stairs—but I kept it for you, because I knew Mrs. Field here would come to her senses and you would be disappointed.

[*She begins packing up her things.*

Mrs. D. I'll do it.

Mrs. M. This'll be the price for everyone before long. You mark my words.

Joe (to Mrs. Dengate). Blackleg!

[Will *throws back his head and laughs half hysterically.* Joe *strides up to him.*

Joe. It's your fault about Bernice, stuffin' her head with your crazy notions; look at her now, back at the old slavery!

Mrs. M. Good evening. [*She opens the door, wheels her perambulator out, and closes the door behind her.*

Joe. You 'aven't got a bit of spunk in you, any of you women! You don't deserve the vote, nor nothin' else. I never see such a pore-spirited lot in my life. I thought Bernice was a cut above this, but she's as bad as the rest. She'd never do in a new country, and I declare I'm more'n 'alf glad she ain't going to try it.

[*He begins to move towards the door, but the sight of* Bernice *stops him. He goes to her, and roughly takes the work out of her hands.*

Joe. Come with me—don't be a fool—it's now or never— Come with me, or stay here and rot!

Bernice. I can't go—I can't leave them.

Joe (*in a hard tone*). Then it's good-bye for ever. You understand that, don't you—'ere's the pin you gave me once, and I'll trouble you for that there brooch I gave you—the stone's good.

[Bernice *obediently unfastens the brooch at her throat and lays it on the table, instantly resuming her work.*

Mrs. F. (*with her apron to her eyes*). Oh, Bernice, dear! are you sure you're right?

Joe. Good-bye. You 'aven't an ounce of pluck or spirit!

Bernice. No. I haven't.

Joe. Well, good-bye, then.

Bernice. Good-bye.

[*No one moves. Just as* Joe *reaches the door* Will *lifts himself in bed.*

Will. Good-bye, Joe—Good luck! my way's the best, after all! There's no fare to pay where I'm going—ha!—ha!— good-bye.

[Joe *goes out.* Mrs. Dengate *to* Bernice.

MRS. D. Can you tell me 'ow to fold these things, my dear?

BERNICE (*moving a little*). Come and sit here and watch me—I'll show you.

MRS. D. Thank you, kindly—I'll just draw the curtain first; it's 'igh time Will was asleep.

[*She draws the curtain which divides the room in two, and sits down by* BERNICE.

FRED. Sha'n't we see the ship now, mother?

MRS. F. 'Old your tongue! Now then, Lucy, don't go to sleep—pass me them cards.

[*The curtain goes down on the whole family bent over their work.*

EDITH LYTTELTON.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

XIX XX

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ANADIAN AUTONOMY AND AMERICAN RECIPROCITY

I

A CANADIAN VIEW

HE views which I venture to express in this article are those eld by the opponents of the proposed Reciprocity Agreement etween the United States and Canada. In my opinion they epresent the sentiments of the majority of the Canadian people, nd will prevail in our public policy as soon as the electorate appealed to. Until that time, of course, no one can speak ith absolute certainty.

To the Englishman, with his business environments and Free rade atmosphere, even with the best aids of reading and travel, is difficult to understand why there should be any objection the part of Canadians to the enlargement of trade with our ig neighbour to the south by way of the removal or reduction duties on certain products. He will not be able to underand it unless he adapts himself to the Canadian view-point and [illegible] hi[illegible] in som[illegible] degree with our history, the course

of our development, and with our national and imperial aspirations. For it is a far wider question than the exchange of a few articles of commerce, with or without the intervention of tariff rates. In reality it touches the deepest currents and gravest problems of our national existence, and will powerfully influence our attitude to the British Empire as a whole.

My efforts will be directed towards furnishing this Canadian view-point as succinctly and clearly as the limits of this article allow.

First, then, it must be borne in mind that Canada's trade policy is based upon the principle of Protection and not upon Free Trade. That this is so is due not to inheritance or tradition or previous education, but in spite of these, and by virtue of experience, hardly earned and dearly bought.

The Provinces that formed Confederation possessed practically Free Trade tariffs, so far as the requirements of revenue permitted. Their rates of duty averaged about 15 per cent. on dutiable imports, and the prevailing doctrine was Cobdenistic. The Dominion began its existence with that belief embodied in its fiscal policy.

By 1878, however, the pressing and unfair competition of our Protectionist neighbours, and the growing need for home industrial development, had wrought so great a change of opinion that the policy of Protection advocated by Sir John A. Macdonald swept the country, and was embodied in the statutes of 1879. It furnished the main fighting ground for the General Elections of 1882, 1887, and 1891, and, against the most determined efforts of its Free Trade and revenue tariff opponents, was three times triumphantly affirmed. In 1896 these opponents came into power, and, led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, they enacted the tariff of 1897, which continued and maintained the principle of Protection which they had for eighteen years opposed. There were some changes in schedule rates, and in 1898 the British preference was added, but the principle of the tariff was protective, and the elections of 1900, 1904, and 1908 found both the great parties united on this principle, and disagreeing only on the details and administration of the Acts.

Since 1896 there has been no Free Trade party or statesman in Canada, nor is there to-day. The trade policy of Canada is frankly and clearly protective. This may or may not be in accord with the fiscal beliefs of the reader of this article, but it is the standpoint from which he must approach the question if he wishes to understand it.

Now the Taft-Fielding Agreement directly challenges the tariff policy which has been in operation for thirty-three years, undisputed for the last fourteen years, and under which Canada has

made wonderful progress. And it challenges and reverses this policy in large part by executive action, without mandate from or submission to the people. This is the first point to be kept in mind.

In the second place, there is a long history of relations between Canada and the United States, little known to the Englishman, but which has left an ineradicable impress upon Canadians. This impression is all the deeper because we are neighbours, touching hands along a dividing frontier of nearly 4000 miles. We have lived through and know thoroughly every phase of that history; we have heard the words and seen the acts; and, influenced thereby, we have learned certain lessons, formed resolutions, and evolved plans for our future guidance.

Let me briefly recall the story.

The Americans first endeavoured to shake our loyalty by persuasions, and, finding these ineffective, followed with menaces and invasions. These, too, failed, and many a Canadian battle-field testifies to the valour and patriotism of our defence. The old stock which settled in the Maritime Provinces and along the lake-shores of Ontario were Loyalists, driven out of the United States because of their devotion to King and country. Their descendants are numerous, and to this day preserve the memories and perpetuate the qualities of their loyal ancestors.

The United States then essayed by trade pressure what had been denied to persuasion and menace. Beginning with 1846, the Canadians, who were then chiefly producers of raw materials, sought earnestly for trade conditions which would enable them to exchange these for the manufactured products of the United States. Finally, in 1854 a Reciprocity Treaty was concluded which provided for the free interchange of a limited list of products, chiefly natural.

This treaty had not been long in existence before dissatisfaction began to be expressed in the United States. Agitation arose for its abrogation, and it was denounced by that country at the earliest possible opportunity. It is probable that the feelings aroused in the Civil War as to the alleged sympathy of Britain with the Confederate cause helped to hasten the result, but the wide underlying motive is to be found in the assumption that its abrogation would force Canada into the American Union.

Succeeding efforts for its renewal or the negotiation of a new treaty were made by Canada, but in vain. We were practically told to come under the flag if we wished to enjoy the trade advantages.

In 1871 a Fisheries Treaty was negotiated, and this, too, was denounced by the United States as soon as the term-limit permitted.

Then followed fresh attempts for Reciprocity, which were met by curt refusals. In 1888 a Fishery Treaty was concluded between the Governments and passed by the Canadian Parliament, but the Senate of the United States declined to ratify it, and instead passed a Bill of non-intercourse with Canada. In addition, the Dingley and McKinley tariffs were enacted by them, which raised the average duties on Canadian exports to 50 and 49 per cent. respectively, while Canada's average on United States exports was about 29 per cent.

In 1892 the Liberal-Conservatives, then in power, made a final effort for betterment of trade relations, but desisted when they were met by Mr. Blaine with a demand for preferential entrance for American goods over the products of Great Britain. They then abandoned the quest for Reciprocity, and bent their energies towards a vigorous development of Canadian resources and enlarged trade with the Mother Country. The Liberal party still stuck to the trail, and after succeeding to power in 1896 they held conferences with the Administration at Washington in 1897 and 1898. Their advances were repulsed, and in 1899 Sir Wilfrid Laurier announced the failure of negotiations and the abandonment of the quest, in the following words:

> If we know the hearts and minds of our people at present, I think I am not making too wide a statement when I say that the general feeling in Canada is not in favour of Reciprocity. There was a time when Canadians would have given many things to obtain the American market. There was a time when the market of the great cities of the Union was the only market we had, but those days are past and over now. We are not dependent on the American market now.

In 1907 he emphasised the attitude of Canada in the Imperial Conference in these words:

> There was a time when we were wanting Reciprocity with the United States, but our efforts and our offers were put aside and negatived. We have said good-bye to that trade and we now put all our hopes upon the British trade.

In the General Elections of 1900, 1904, and 1908 no mention of Reciprocity was made as a desirable thing by either political party; it was not an issue; it was, in fact, considered as dead and well-buried. Whatever might have been its supposed advantages in earlier periods, it was no longer necessary or desirable.

These long years of varying menace, of fruitless quest and constant rebuffs, had their effect on Canada. She was thrown back upon herself, the strong grain of independence and loyalty to British institutions was hardened and polished, and the dim glimmerings of early hope broadened into the alluring vision of

a strong Canadian nationality under the ægis of an all-world British Empire.

The abrogation in 1866 of the Elgin Treaty and the refusal of the United States to renew it, we answered by raising the flag of a new Dominion. The subsequent refusals of fair trade we met by enacting a protective tariff, and by the establishment of home industries to work up our raw resources, give employment to our people, and create the material for inter-provincial exchanges. Recognising the necessity for transport facilities as essential to the development and exchange of our products, we set ourselves to the construction of canals, the improvement of waterways, and the building of railways. On the first and second we have spent over $200,000,000, and have now a magnificent system by which traffic is possible to the head of Lake Superior, 2500 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, on lines entirely independent of the United States. We are at present initiating a further expenditure of $150,000,000 for the new Welland and Georgian Bay Canals. As to railways, Canada has now 29,000 miles in operation, mostly east-and-west lines, with two routes passing over the Rockies to the Pacific, and two other through-systems rapidly approaching completion. These, with their numerous parallel and cross-country branches, form a network of railway transport which has cost well on to $2,000,000,000, and to which the Government, in actual construction,[1] and by subsidy, has contributed a generous portion.

One purpose has animated Canada in all this. It was her answer to the menace and pressure of the United States, worked out to the underlying determination of becoming free therefrom, of building up a distinctive nationality, and maintaining a position of economic and political independence under the British flag.

Our Provinces are far-flung. The Pacific waters that wash the western shores of British Columbia are 3500 miles distant from the Atlantic, which beats upon the eastern headlands of Quebec and Nova Scotia. Over this wide space lie the nine outspread members of our Confederation. These are separated through that whole distance from the well-settled and prosperous States of the Republic by nothing more than a parallel of latitude or a thin stretch of water-line.

Every Province abuts on a State, more populous, older in settlement and richer in development, and therefore better equipped industrially and commercially. But our Provinces possess a greater wealth of free cultivable lands, more extensive forests, more prolific fisheries, and richer mineral resources than do the bordering States.

Wasteful methods, reckless exploitation, and the consuming power of a rapidly increasing population, now nearing the

100,000,000 mark, have depleted the natural resources to the south, while those to the north—our resources—are, so to speak, virgin, and of untold possibilities. What we shall do with this heritage and how we shall develop and conserve it are the questions which, dimly at first, and later with growing insistency, have been forced upon us. Our conclusions have been born of experience and increasing knowledge, and have been aided by the gradual evolution of a strong, well-defined national ideal.

This country is ours. We have at last come to a full sense of proprietorship, and as trustees we loyally accept the responsibilities of present user and proper transmission.

In fulfilling this trust we want no partnership with the United States. We welcome their people and their capital and their enterprise, but we want them as settlers and co-Canadians, employing their means and their energy in the development of Canadian resources, within the limits of Canada. We have outgrown the old idea that we should be eager to ship our raw products to the United States at their lowest value, to be made up therein and returned to us on payment by us of their highest value. We desire to have all the profits and advantages incident to double production as much as possible within Canada itself, with the incidental benefits of added employment, added population, and added wealth. Observation of our neighbours and home experience have convinced us that therein lies the key to the best development, and more, that it is absolutely essential to our independence and prosperity.

Still less do we want such a partnership now when we have achieved success without it.

Canadians have had their fight against distance and geographical difficulties. We commenced with a 3500-miles stretch of territory, with no roadways, no trade between the Provinces, no communications by post, wire, or wagon. Then each section traded with the adjoining section of the United States. The interchange was natural, but not national, and nature had to be conquered before we could mould ourselves into a nation. Had the United States at this period been complaisant and far-sighted, they might have presented alternatives which in our childhood stage might have prevented our ever becoming a nation. The fates, which we railed against then, decreed otherwise, and, truth to tell, we now view them more kindly. So we set ourselves, as I have shown, to overcome nature and even-up accounts with geography, and we have succeeded. To-day an immense and constantly growing traffic fills the veins and arteries of our Canadian transport systems, developing and invigorating the whole vast area lying between the Atlantic and Pacific. Trains run from St. John, Halifax, Sydney, Quebec, and Montreal through to Vancouver,

gathering and distributing along the whole course millions of passengers and millions of tons of freights. British Columbia products go to every Province of the Dominion, and products of every other Province go to British Columbia, and similarly with every other Province. They enter and depart from our seaports with the materials of foreign commerce; they embark and debark at every town and city in Canada the materials of home trade. A rich foreign commerce is supplemented with an infinitely richer inter-provincial trade, and it is this inter-provincial trade, the result of provincial production, which gives vigour to Canada, fills her veins with rich blood and her homes with comfort and competence.

Under this policy Canada has made wonderful progress. Our foreign commerce, $131,000,000 in 1868 and $218,000,000 in 1890, reached a total of $693,000,000 in 1910. Our home interchanges are infinitely greater and their rate of progress equally gratifying. Our industrial system has expanded until to-day its total output reaches $1,000,000,000, and yearly wages of $250,000,000 are paid to 435,000 workmen. Since 1897, when the fiscal policy became settled on undisputed protective lines, progress has been still more marked.

Within ten years branch factories and industries have been transferred from the United States totalling $300,000,000 in value of plant and equipment, and the process is continuing. This means labour, disbursement of wages, and the upbuilding of communities.

Since 1900 fully 500,000 American settlers have come with their effects into Canada, and the tide rises higher each year. These settlers are mostly farmers experienced in Western cultivation.

Nor has trade between the two countries suffered from any embargo placed upon it by the Canadian tariff. We bought from the United States last year to the value of $239,000,000, of which $106,000,000 came in free, whilst the dutiable portion paid an average rate of 24 per cent. The United States purchased from Canada $113,000,000, of which $36,000,000 went in free, whilst the dutiable part paid an average rate of 43 per cent. Our trade treatment was certainly liberal and friendly by comparison. Our trade with Great Britain amounted in exports to $149,600,000, and in imports to $95,600,000, the largest in our history. With all other countries except the two above-mentioned our total trade reached $96,000,000.

The British preference was showing satisfactory results both to Canada and to the other component parts of the Empire which enjoyed its advantages. In fine, the year 1910 was in all respects a banner year—in settlement, in production, and in

prevalent good prices. There was no lack of markets and no pressure for fresh outlets. General prosperity and hopeful confidence reigned everywhere.

Suddenly a bolt from the blue cleft the serene sky of our contentment and prosperity. Without any compulsion of circumstances, without any mandate from the people or any consultation with business or commercial interests, and in the face of a pledge given by the Prime Minister, both in the country and in Parliament, that no readjustment or revision of the tariff would be made until a Tariff Commission had made thorough inquiry and given opportunity for public hearings, a singular step was taken.

Two Cabinet Ministers suddenly journeyed to Washington, went into secret conference with the United States Administration, and within fifteen days thereafter threw upon the table of the House of Commons at Ottawa an agreement for free trade between Canada and the United States in animal and agricultural products, and reduced duties on a considerable list of manufactured articles. This affected the interchange of goods valued at $90,000,000 between the two countries, and imports valued at $5,500,000 into Canada from Great Britain, on which the preference was either wiped out or reduced, and carried with it free or reduced entry without return therefor for the like products from twelve most-favoured nations, including Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Argentina, and Japan. It also gave uncompensated advantages to France.

To say that this action produced a sensation in Canada is to express the effect mildly.

It was unauthorised, uncalled-for, arbitrary, and revolutionary.

The agreement arrived at admitted of no change in any item; it must be accepted as a whole or not at all. The Government had pledged itself through the two Ministers to pass it through Parliament and maintain it in operation for a reasonable period. Mr. Fielding declared in Parliament that, entirely irrespective of the merits or demerits of the agreement, Parliament was bound to pass it or incur the odium of breaking faith with President Taft.

When confronted with their lack of mandate, the Premier's pledge against revision without previous inquiry and hearings, and asked to defer the operation of the pact, at least until the people had opportunity to pronounce upon it, the Government pleaded the old quest and offers of Reciprocity as sufficient mandate, ignored the Premier's promise, and refused to submit the agreement to the judgment of the people. It demanded immediate endorsement and consequent operation, and appealed to its majority to see it through.

The Bill was introduced on the 26th of January, and, with the exception of about ten days, has been under constant discussion since. At the date of this writing, it has not yet passed the stage of debate on the principle of the Bill, and will not pass this stage before August at the earliest. All its four hundred items have yet to be discussed and passed separately in Committee of the whole. There is no Closure in the Canadian Parliament, and on each item every member may speak as often and as long as he pleases. The vista of discussion opens into interminable distances. Already four of their influential supporters have broken away from the Government, led by Mr. Sifton, formerly one of Sir Wilfrid's strongest Ministers, and more may follow. Outside Parliament the Legislatures of British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, and New Brunswick have passed resolutions of condemnation, while Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia have in their Legislatures approved it. The Governments of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick have legislated against the export of pulp-wood and timber cut on Crown lands, and this legislation renders the pulp and paper schedules of the agreement nugatory.

An important defection of Liberal business-men in Toronto and Montreal have organised to defeat the measure, and to that end are holding mass-meetings and distributing opposition literature. Nearly all the important Boards of Trade have passed condemnatory resolutions, and generally the great transport and financial interests are adverse. The farming and fishing interests are divided in their views.

The Liberal-Conservative Opposition in Parliament are solidly opposed to the measure, and the great body of their supporters in the country will stand by them and will be aided by the dissident Liberals.

If the Senate of the United States concurs in the Bill as passed by the House of Representatives, the Canadian Government will press their Bill to a conclusion, and by virtue of party discipline and appeal will probably make it law. In that case the fight will be transferred from Parliament to the country, and continued with unabated vigour until the great tribunal of electors decide the issue. It will be a great battle, and in my opinion the agreement and the Government will bite the dust together.

In the light of the preceding let me sum up the principal objections to this agreement.

(1) It violates sound and settled constitutional usage. Hitherto no great changes in our fiscal system have been made without previous public discussion and the arbitrament of the electors. Here a fundamental and far-reaching change is proposed. It is futile to say that it will reach the people in due time, and then, if

they do not approve, it can be abrogated. Such reasoning would deprive the people of all initiative. A proposal to do something is far different from the proposal to undo something which has been in operation for a year or two, and the undoing of which causes wide trade dislocation succeeding a precedent dislocation only less extensive.

Why have the first change and confusion and loss, to be followed with a possible second? In every sense it seems wiser first to obtain the authority of the people and so establish stable conditions. As respects international relations, such a course is far preferable, if our object is, as stated, to promote friendly relations between the Anglo-Saxon family. No objection could be taken by the United States to the condition that the pact should first be submitted to our people. An unwilling consent is not conducive to friendly relations. If, on the other hand, it is put into operation without submission, and after a year's existence is torn into tatters at a General Election, it will tend not to friendship, but to rebuff, to ill-will, and, maybe, future reprisals.

(2) It limits the fiscal freedom of Canada.

As regards a large and important part of our trade and production the tariff rates are fixed in a pact which was not framed on an examination and judgment with respect to each individual interest, nor can any redress be given in the case of such interest on its own merits. The fruit industry may be injured or even threatened with extinction, as the growers assert. They make their plea and ask redress, but are told that to open up their case would imperil the whole. Their case cannot be treated by their own Parliament on its merits. A bargain has been made with another Legislature, and that has to be consulted before any change. Obviously the power of a Legislature to deal with its own tariff in its own country is not a light thing to be bartered in a blind pool on the basis of chance general results.

We contend that better results can be obtained by independent action, and that partnership has its perils of injustice, loss of legislative power and that *force majeure* which can be exercised by the greatly predominant partner. We do not relish the transfer of any part of our powers from Ottawa to Washington.

(3) It reverses the settled fiscal policy of Canada.

That it proposes to do this by sections renders it all the more objectionable. The policy of the last thirty-three years applied to all classes and all industries, and each enjoyed that scale of protection which, after due examination and consideration, was deemed fair and reasonable. This proposes to sweep away all protection from the largest and most important class of producers, in so far as what they have to sell is concerned, while maintaining it on all they have to buy. This is unfair and unjust, and exposes

them to the competition of the large surplus farm-products of the United States, which, owing to the better-organised facilities for collection, storage, and distribution by their immense trusts and mergers, would play havoc with the home markets. We are not prepared to reverse the protective policy, and so we make our defence at the first point of attack. Free Traders, of whom we have many in Canada, make no secret of their welcome to this first instalment, and rely on its leverage to make further breaches, which would be mightily helped by the sense of injustice generated through a denial to some classes of a protection granted to others.

But in the United States President Taft's policy offers free trade in all commodities to Canada, and this is also the Democratic policy. They desire to make Canada, for trade purposes, into a State of the Union, with free interchange within and a cordon of protection around both countries as against the world. Give the leverage of this agreement, and its operation for a series of years, with the enormous trade already existent, and the pressure for its continuance and extension would be in the end irresistible. The economic independence of Canada would disappear and her political independence be put in peril. The tariff, business, social, and financial pressure of 90,000,000 of people, exerted without intermission along lines of close and constant contact with 8,000,000, cannot be denied its effect, and, however you may theorise or exclaim, the deflection, gradual though it might be, would be certain.

We have not toiled and achieved for forty years in order to oil our bodies for any such process of deglutition, and so we erect our spines when the maw begins to open and the first gulp is contemplated.

We are not ready for absorption, and we propose to meet the menace at its first and easiest stage.

(4) It traverses our national ideals.

For forty years these have been developing, slowly and dimly at first, and later with greater clearness and rapidity. They have developed along economic as well as political lines, and have been laid in the cement of experience, and hardened in the atmosphere of struggle and sacrifice. Briefly they are these:

Canadian natural resources for the purposes of Canadian development, Canadian markets for Canadian producers, Canadian traffic for Canadian carriers, and a Canadian nation with complete freedom of self-government and the closest possible union and co-operation with the British Empire.

This does not mean that Canada is to bar all access to and export of her natural resources, to prevent all foreign trade, or to prohibit any carriage of her products by foreign transport. Such would be a selfish and hurtful policy, even if it were possible, which

it is not. But it accentuates the cardinal principle, that in all reasonable ways the Canadian consumer, the Canadian producer, and the Canadian carrier shall have primary and principal consideration, that his needs, present and future, shall be first studied and provided for, and his interests guarded and promoted. And this shall be done to build up and perpetuate a great and powerful nation under the British flag. The reciprocity proposal cuts straight across all these. Our resources are virgin and very rich in materials, in water-powers, and natural media of transport. To our present small population they seem inexhaustible, but we remember that we are trustees for the 100,000,000 people which a century hence will inhabit this territory, and that to maintain so great a nation in perpetuity these resources must be rightly used, carefully husbanded, and scientifically conserved.

To do this we must preserve our rights of control unimpaired by entangling alliances, to the end that we may impose reasonable user, and retain all possible profits of manufacture and development within ourselves.

To these rich resources the United States wish free access, not to work them up in Canada, but to take them in the rough to their own country, there to be made up and finished. They are approaching the limits of their once apparently inexhaustible natural resources; they must have fresh supplies of cheap raw material to feed their growing manufactures, and they see in Canada what they need. Hence this sudden change of policy, this gift-bearing and bouquet-throwing.

They see, too, that Canada is growing into national stature, that her development is taking on national proportions, and that her tendencies are towards self-continence and trade affiliations with the Empire. Hence President Taft's appeal for immediate and far-sighted action, now, when Canada is 'at the parting of the ways,' to attract her Washington-ward before the current is set permanently Empire-ward, and to obscure Imperialism by Continentalism.

Hence the feverish activity of J. J. Hill, that prince of transport men, who warns the business interests that opportunity once denied does not knock again, and bids them clench this deal before Imperial preference closes the door to closer ties with the Republic.

Hence this universal acclaim in the United States of the 'entering wedge,' which in good time will cleave the young northern nation from the British stem.

There is perfect frankness south of the line, and it is this sudden change and wide assent that sets us thinking. Not only do they want access to our natural resources, but they desire an extension of their markets for manufactured goods. Eight

millions of liberal spenders looks good to them now, but how much better the thirty millions of the middle of this century, or the hundred millions at the end of it! Let us have your cheap raw materials, the argument runs, and give us entry into your markets for the finished products we will send you therefor. Don't bother finishing your cattle, milling your wheat, working up your timber, raising your own fruits, or manufacturing for your growing needs. Send us the raw stuff and we will furnish the finished articles.

Perfectly good business for our neighbours to the south, but would not all this be equally good business for us to the north? We think so, and therefore we do not favour the 'entering wedge,' the first breach to be followed by steady pressure and the final rush.

Nor do we view with any favour the diversion of traffic from our national lines of transport.

We have taxed and borrowed and expended many hundreds of millions during forty years to build up our east-and-west transport routes, which now thread every available mile of our territory, beginning and ending at our national seaports, and touching every important locality between the bounding oceans.

Why? Because we realise that our unity and growth depend on the productions we stimulate in all our sections, and the interchange of these within our own borders. In this way the capabilities of each section are developed, and the rich inter-provincial trade is created, which puts blood in our veins and flesh on our national bones. To us it seems better that our eligible fruit-growing sections shall develop to the utmost their great possibilities, and provide the prairies with what they cannot raise, than that these should get their supplies from the United States; that the prairies should raise the grains and meats that British Columbia and the Eastern Provinces need, than that these shall be supplied from the south; and that Canadian artisans shall have first chance to supply Canadian farmers with the industrial products they need, and, *vice versa*, that these shall have first chance as purveyors of food for the Canadian artisans. For, besides the double Canadian productions, the Canadian carriers will have the haulage to and fro of these productions.

This pact will drive British Columbia to trade with the Pacific States, the Prairie Provinces with the Middle States, Ontario with the Lake States, and the Maritime Provinces with the New England States.

So will the base of production be changed from Canada to the United States, and the carriage of products be diverted from north to south lines, and our inter-provincial trade be drained off from our east-and-west lines.

That is just what we do not want, what we have spent so lavishly to prevent, and what we are determined if possible shall not take place. Anæmia has no charms for full-blooded Canadians.

Finally, this proposal menaces our Imperial relations.

For many years now the trend of Canada to identification with and co-operation in Empire affairs has been marked and steady. In steam and cable communication, in matters of legislation, and in defence of the Empire by sea and by land, community of aim and co-operation in effort have been noticeable. The South African War struck deeper chords, and welded the Overseas Dominions in the white heat of loyalty and sacrifice. In commercial matters there has been advance. The preference to Britain begun by Canada in 1898 has extended to nearly all the Dominions, and though still one-sided has evoked an interest and cultivated a spirit of unity whose full fruition is by no means completed. Time and favourable conditions would complete it. This pact with the United States introduces the first jarring note and threatens growing discord and possible complete confusion. In many lines the British preference, the Empire preference, it is entirely swept away; in others it is reduced. The principle is attacked and the practical benefits are destroyed, and the first breach made which strong and persistent pressure will strive to widen. For the chance of selfish advantage Canada steps apart from the Empire, secures supposed benefits to herself which are denied to the other members, and pays in part therefor by the loss suffered by them. She enters the United States by paths which they are denied. Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand are especially discriminated against. The sense of unity and of community of interest suffers shock, the logical sequence leads to similar action on the part of each member. Does anyone contend that this would tend to unite and solidify the Empire? The fight here is between Continentalism and Imperialism. The accomplishment of this agreement would be hailed by 90,000,000 people as the first victory for the former, and a sure indication of the ultimate defeat of the latter. And as to the 8,000,000? Canada is loyal; no one doubts it. No one talks of bartering that loyalty for commercial advantage. But who can forecast the future? Three hundred thousand immigrants came into Canada last year, half a million will come this year, and it will not be long till the roll swells to a million yearly. What will happen when a majority of the voters in Canada consist of men from abroad whose purpose in coming here has been material advantage, and whose nationality is diverse? Will they be less inclined to listen to the seductions of Continentalism, or less open to the insistent pressure of

150,000,000 from the south for community of trade and all that follows?

We who oppose the Reciprocity Agreement prefer to fight now, when the chances are most in our favour, than to wait until the handicap is greater from without and the spirit of resistance is weakened within.

And we are thoroughly convinced that if we defeat this first step towards piecemeal dismemberment along the line of trade, we shall have performed a notable service not only to Canada, which we fervently love, but to that great wide Empire to whose interests we are loyally devoted.

GEORGE E. FOSTER.

CANADIAN AUTONOMY AND AMERICAN RECIPROCITY

II

AN ENGLISH VIEW

'The Nineteenth Century belonged to the United States, the Twentieth belongs to Canada'—that sentiment was a commonplace of American politics until President Taft, in a moment of patriotic inspiration, conceived the brilliant idea of offering to the Canadian Government such terms of immediate Reciprocity as might haply induce the Canadians to become the future 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for their southern neighbours.

Doubtless Mr. Taft honestly persuaded himself—as he was also able to persuade the two Canadian Ministers, Mr. Fielding and Mr. Paterson, who represented the Dominion Government in the Reciprocity negotiations, and Mr. Bryce, who represented the British Government—that the Agreement would largely benefit Canada as well as the United States, and would not seriously injure Great Britain. Further, it is quite impossible to question the sincerity of his frequent declarations that neither himself nor his colleagues of the Republican party desire—as others undoubtedly desire—the commercial absorption of Canada for the sake of obtaining its logical consequence, which is political annexation.

But I shall endeavour to show:

First—that while the ostensible reasons put forward by Mr. Taft for the sudden change of United States policy are quite sufficient to justify his action as that of a patriotic and ambitious American statesman, those very same reasons more than amply justify the stern and unbending opposition that is being offered to this policy by the solid Canadian Opposition, supported by some of the most eminent and patriotic statesmen of the party that follows the lead of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

And *secondly*—that whatever may be the personal views of Mr. Taft and his friends as to the ultimate political consequences of the Agreement if it be ratified, they would be powerless to resist the mighty forces that would be arrayed against them.

Mr. Taft, in his Message to Congress, at page 6, says of the Canadians: 'They are at the parting of the ways'; and Mr. J. J. Hill, the great railway magnate who has his railway projects ready to tap Canada at various points, clearly indicated the direction of the two ways of which the President was thinking. He said: 'I want to say to you that we cannot afford to let this opportunity pass. . . . Let me say to you that the conditions in the British Empire are such that if we let it pass, it will never come again. If we neglect the opportunity that is now manifesting itself, if that is refused, it is almost a certainty that Imperial Federation will follow, and if it does, where is your independence, where is your market?' And again, at page 5 of his Message, Mr. Taft says:

If we can enlarge our supply of natural resources, and especially of food products and the necessities of life, without substantial injury to any of our producing and manufacturing classes, we should take steps to do so now.

At page 6 he says:

Should we not, therefore, before their policy has become too crystallised and fixed for change, meet them in a spirit of real concession, facilitate commerce between the two countries, and thus greatly increase the natural resources available to our people?

And further, at page 7:

By giving our people access to Canadian forests we shall reduce the consumption of our own, which, in the hands of comparatively few owners, now have a value that requires the enlargement of our available timber resources.

These and many similar declarations of Mr. Taft were quoted by Mr. Borden, the leader of the Canadian Opposition, at Ottawa, to show that the perfectly intelligible and wise policy of the President is to secure the services of the Canadian people and the natural resources of the Canadian territory for the use of the vast manufacturing industries of the United States. Canada may supply the food and the raw materials—may 'hew the wood' and 'draw the water'—and the United States will gladly do all the manufacturing, both for herself and also for Canada and the British Empire.

It is astonishing to find able and undoubtedly patriotic statesmen like Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues consenting to allow Canada to oblige the United States in this way.

Mr. Foster—the eminent Canadian statesman who, as Minister of Finance, has been the right-hand man of Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and other notable Canadian Premiers—pointed the moral of these declarations of Mr. Taft, in a fine speech delivered at Ottawa early in the Reciprocity debate. By many lines of argument, he proved

conclusively that, for Canada, Reciprocity means subjection, Reciprocity means Continental Free Trade, Reciprocity means ultimately political absorption.

Some of those who have advocated Reciprocity—*e.g.* my old Oxford friend, the late Professor Goldwin Smith—have done so avowedly with the wish to see Canada in political union with the United States. But no one can for a moment suspect the present Canadian Government of any leaning in that direction. We can never forget that—though Sir Charles Tupper was undoubtedly the earliest public advocate of the British Preference[1] —it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier who actually was the first to carry that policy into effect; and there is no Colonial statesman who has rendered greater service to the Imperial idea than Sir Wilfrid Laurier, ever since the memorable occasion of 1897, when under his leadership the Liberal party in the Dominion Parliament courageously adopted the 'National Policy' of Sir John Macdonald and the Canadian Conservatives. And it is, I think, because of all this that so many Imperialists in England have refused to abandon the hope that, even at the eleventh hour, this great Imperialist will be led to recognise the danger to the Empire that is threatened by the proposals emanating from Washington. Speaking at Lethbridge, the coal-mining centre in Alberta, a few months ago, Sir Wilfrid candidly admitted of his American friends 'that on all occasions they stand for themselves, or what I might call "No. 1."'[2] Of course they do—and Sir Wilfrid was quite right not to blame them. He was quite right in avowing similar sentiments as the Prime Minister of Canada. On the same occasion he promised that the British Preference shall always remain 'a part of our policy so long as the Laurier Government remains in office'—and I am quite sure he will applaud his British friends if they also 'stand for No. 1,' too!

It is, however, worthy of note that, in Mr. Fielding's Budget speech of the 4th of April, detailing the financial arrangements of the coming year, he made no reference whatever to any readjustment of the British Preference in consequence of the Reciprocity Agreement—nor did he speak of the complications that are threatened by the 'most-favoured nation clauses' in the

[1] Sir Charles Tupper was at an early period a colleague of mine in the Imperial Federation League. And it was at the annual dinner of that League in 1889 that he made the memorable declaration—'I am inclined to the opinion that when such a Conference takes place it will be found that the adoption of a system of mutual Preferential Trade between Great Britain and her Colonies would provide the tie of mutual self-interest in addition to the purely sentimental bond which now exists.'

[2] See the *Lethbridge Daily Herald* of the 1st of September 1910. The prosperous city of Lethbridge in Alberta—like so many other flourishing townships in the West—was founded by a combination of loyal and patriotic men in Devonshire, England, with similarly loyal and patriotic Canadians in Ottawa.

working of the Agreement. Indeed, the *Toronto News* of the 6th of April states positively that Mr. Fielding did not even mention the British Preference.

Mr. Asquith, indeed, seems to have jumped at the American proposals with breathless eagerness—without a thought for the future of Canadian autonomy, or even for the immediate and pressing interests of British trade—simply because they appeared to offer hopes of side-tracking Imperial Preference and of putting difficulties in the way of Tariff Reform. The Prime Minister, in the debate on the subject in the House of Commons on the 9th of February, plainly indicated his belief that the Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the United States must for ever put an end to what he termed—with singular rudeness, considering the known attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and, indeed, of every Government in the world except his own Radical Government—the 'disastrous political imposture' of Imperial Preference. And this being so, it is greatly to be regretted that both Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey have chosen to throw a cloud of impenetrable mystery over the part taken by the Imperial Government in the progress of the negotiations so cleverly initiated by President Taft.

The actual facts, so far as they have emerged through this veil of mystery, seem to be as follows:

On the 15th of February, Mr. Asquith, in reply to a question by Lord Wolmer as to 'Mr. Bourassa's statement that his Majesty's Government had encouraged the Canadian Government to make the recent Reciprocity Agreement with the United States,' bluntly declared that 'the statement is entirely without any foundation in fact.' Now, Mr. Bourassa is a well-known leader of the Nationalist party among the French Canadians, and his statement, here so curtly described as false by Mr. Asquith, was quoted in Parliament by Mr. Lemieux, another distinguished French Canadian.

On the same day, in reply to a question of Mr. Croft, Mr. Asquith roundly declared that Mr. Bryce 'was not actively engaged in helping to bring about this Agreement.'

On the other hand, on the 2nd of March, in reply to a question by Mr. Remnant whether 'the assistance given by Mr. Bryce in these negotiations had the approval of his Majesty's Government,' Sir Edward Grey replied with decision, 'Yes, certainly!'

Now, much light is thrown on these conflicting statements by a little book—which has hitherto attracted too little attention in the discussion of this vitally important question—written by another Minister in Mr. Asquith's Government, Mr. E. S. Montagu, now Under-Secretary of State for India. In 1904,

Mr. Montagu, being an earnest opponent of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals for Imperial Preference, undertook a grand tour of Canada to find arguments against those proposals; and on his return to England, he published the best of those arguments in a book entitled *Canada and the Empire*. On the whole he found that, for various insufficient reasons, 'Both of the political parties favour the Chamberlain proposals' (p. 182)—'that is, among the farmers' (p. 183)—and those 'largely dependent upon their estimate of the vote-winning power of any policy' (p. 183)—and the Liberal party, because 'it does not seem to have any principles in this connection' (p. 188). But there was some balm in Gilead—'The foundation-stone of the Liberal party, solid Quebec, will have nothing to do with Joseph Chamberlain' (p. 185). These are quotations from the written opinions of some of Mr. Montagu's informants, which form a somewhat incoherent and puzzling symposium. Mr. Montagu summarises his own conclusions in the following words:

> Canada's position grows stronger every day, and when the time comes that the United States cannot get on without Canadian corn, Canada will be in a position to dictate the terms. There can be little doubt that any inclination that the United States may have in the direction of Reciprocity will be strengthened by Mr. Chamberlain's scheme. It is remarkable, since this propaganda was started, how marked has been the increase of the feeling in the United States for Reciprocity with Canada. Should the United States adopt this policy, the advantages she would be able to offer Canada must infallibly far outweigh any Britain can place in the scale against them. Canada would have the prospect of entry for the first time into a protected market of 80,000,000 people, and against this Britain could only offer slightly improved terms in a market of 42,000,000, in which Canada already enjoys a very secure position. It would be a deplorable thing from the point of view of British trade were Canada to enter into a reciprocal treaty with the United States, and would mean considerable loss of trade with Canada.

Here, then, we get the considered verdict of an important member of Mr. Asquith's Government, after studying the question on the spot, and after consultation with innumerable leading authorities in Canada, on the inevitable results of a Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and America. He declares, distinctly and without reserve, (1) that it will be 'a deplorable thing from the point of view of British trade'—but, on the other hand, (2) that it will take away from Canada any inducement she may now have to enter into closer trade relations with the Motherland and the rest of the British Empire.

These deliberate conclusions published by Mr. Montagu are, I believe, the only authoritative expression of opinion on the subject that had been put forward, up to the time of Mr. Taft's proposals, by any great personage connected with Mr. Asquith's

Government, except Mr. Bryce. It seems reasonable, therefore, to regard them as the grounds for the attitude of Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey when approached by Mr. Taft—at any rate so far as they accord with Mr. Bryce's published opinions. If this be so, Mr. Asquith's Government eagerly support, for Canada, a great Reciprocity measure with a Foreign State—though they denounce Reciprocity with ourselves, and though they know it will be disastrous for British trade—simply for petty partisan motives.

Mr. James Bryce, now his Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, and the learned author of *The American Commonwealth* (first published in 1888), has long been rightly regarded as one of the greatest of living British authorities on American politics. In the various editions of his great work, he discusses the question of the political union of Canada with the United States in a spirit of proper diplomatic caution, and with the cold-blooded impartiality that befits an accomplished scholar who is also, *mirabile dictu*, a Radical politician. Last year, writing before the initiation of the negotiations for Reciprocity in their present form, he hardly notices the possibility of a Customs Union between the United States and Canada, and only refers incidentally to the effect such a measure might have on Mr. Chamberlain's 'Project of Empire.' His general conclusions are thus summarised:

> This is not the place for considering what are the interests in the matter of Great Britain and her other Colonies, nor the prospects of the schemes suggested for a closer practical union between the Mother Country and her swiftly advancing progeny. As regards the ultimate interests of the two peoples most directly concerned, it may be suggested that it is more to the advantage both of the United States and of the Canadians that they should continue to develop independent types of political life and intellectual progress.—Vol. ii. Ch. xcvi. p. 571.

This statesmanlike utterance is entirely in accordance with the fine speech of Lord Milner at Paddington on the 3rd of May. He ridiculed the preposterous pretence of some Radicals that we asperse either the loyalty of Canada, which is *sans peur et sans reproche*, or the friendliness of the United States, when we deprecate any disturbance of the ties which strengthen Canadian national life, and which bind the Canadian Provinces to each other, and all of them to ourselves and to the Empire. As Lord Milner well put it, such a policy is the best guarantee for a cordial understanding between the British Empire and the United States —which we are far more likely to maintain 'as two great and equal Powers, than by the success of a policy which would disintegrate the British Empire in order that the United States might pick up some of the fragments.'

And to the above-quoted expression of opinion, Mr. Bryce aptly adds, of the Canadians :

Their life, and that not as respects politics only, may seem less intense than the life of their neighbours to the South. But it is free from some of the blemishes which affect the latter. Municipal governments are more pure. Party organisations have not fallen under the control of bosses. Public order has been less disturbed; and criminal justice is more effectively administered.

In his earlier edition, Mr. Bryce speaks of the economic and political effects of the various schemes of Reciprocity that had been mooted. He plainly declares—and he repeats the opinion in the later edition—that a commercial league might lead to political union. And he gives here the exceedingly good reason for this opinion, that 'it is hard to see how otherwise'—that is, if there be commercial union without political union—'Canada could have her fair share in adjusting such tariff charges as might from time to time become necessary.' When writing with the proper reserve of an Ambassador, he naturally lays less stress on international points at issue—but the reasons he gives for his view are as weighty now as when they were written.

Here, then, Mr. Bryce definitely commits himself to the opinion that a commercial league between the United States and Canada must result in the loss by Canada of her autonomy in any case. For he indicates the following dilemma—unless it is lost by actual political union, it must be lost by reason of Canada's powerlessness to obtain her fair share of tariff changes.

Mr. Sifton, in his great speech at Montreal on the 20th of March, ably developed this contention of Mr. Bryce's. He said :

Under this treaty, every item of farm produce from the Atlantic to the Pacific will be in a different position. It will naturally find its market in the nearest place. British Columbia will find its market in the United States, the prairie provinces will find their market in the adjoining States, Ontario and Quebec will find theirs in the adjoining States, and the Maritime Provinces will find their markets in New England. There can be no doubt about this. It is not supposed to be open to question. That is what the advocates of the treaty say they want to have. So far as foreign markets are concerned, we become dependent upon the markets of the United States, because practically everything is dependent upon the sale of the products of Canadian farms from time to time, so that when the United States comes to us and places the hand on our shoulder, and you can depend that though it be covered by velvet it will be an iron hand, or a hand that represents ninety million of people, they will say, 'Your arrangements about this matter are not very satisfactory, our people will develop this for you, there is no market for it on the Canadian side.'

And Mr. Borden, speaking in the House of Commons on the

9th of February, as the leader of the Canadian Opposition, pointed out that:

> We can guard against our own Trusts and Combines by appropriate legislation passed by the Parliament of Canada, but we have no means, except our tariff, to guard against the Trusts and Combines of other countries.

As Mr. Ames, M.P., cogently pointed out in his speech at Ottawa on the 22nd of February, Canada by this pact must lose her fiscal independence, must surrender the whole of her commercial life into the hands of a foreign people, must (under the action of the most-favoured-nation clause) practically abandon that protection under which her prosperity has been built up—and for what? To unsettle all her trade conditions, and to betray her position in the Empire. Mr. Ames said:

> Mr. Bourassa was right the other day in his estimate of the result, though we regret the action founded on his reasoning. 'Will this agreement,' he says in *Le Devoir* of the 11th of February, 'constitute an insuperable obstacle to a tariff union of the Empire?' 'Yes, and that is the very reason that in our eyes weighs in its favour.'

And Mr. Ames pointedly asked—'Is this the view of the Prime Minister also?' Who, hitherto, has been the most vigorous champion of 'a Tariff Union of the Empire'?

It is true that, as the Agreement is to be ratified by concurrent legislation, and not by a treaty, Mr. Fielding has spoken of it with a light heart as a 'day-to-day arrangement.' But is it possible that the statesmen forming Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet do not realise the infinitely far-reaching consequences of this measure, alike to Canada, to the United States, to the Motherland, and to the whole of the British Empire?

As Mr. Armstrong, M.P. for East Lambton, well put it in the Canadian Parliament—'In a few weeks' time, I believe the destinies of Canada will be fixed—we will either decide to be masters of our own future, or we will enter on a path that can only lead to annexation.' And of the United States, he said—'Until the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Customs went to Washington, President Taft was politically a defeated man in the eyes of the people of the Republic—to-day he can be re-elected easily on the ground that he was able to get this agreement from the hon. gentlemen.'

And Mr. Taft himself has, over and over again, spoken of the critical nature of the occasion with equal emphasis. Speaking at the Newspaper Press banquet in New York on the 27th of April, he said:

> It is critical because, unless the time is now decided to be favourable, it is exceedingly probable that no such opportunity will ever again come to

the United States. The forces which are at work in England and Canada to separate Canada by a Chinese Wall from the United States, and make her part of an Imperial and commercial band reaching from England around the world to England again, by a system of preferential tariffs, will derive impetus from the rejection of this Treaty; and, if we would have Reciprocity with all the advantages I have described, and which I earnestly and firmly believe will follow its adoption, we must take it now or give it up for ever.

Mr. Balfour, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and the solid Unionist party in England, with not a few patriotic Liberals, have spoken of the possibility of this Agreement going through, with horror. Lord Milner and every one of the Proconsuls of Greater Britain, who have stood for the Empire in the King's Dominions over the sea, take the same view of this 'Imperial disaster.'

Most conclusive of all—so far as well-considered opinion on this side of the water goes when freed from the anti-Colonial bias of modern degenerate Radicalism—is the weighty Report of the Tariff Commission published on the 18th of May. The experts on this Commission prove, with arguments that ought to convince even Mr. Asquith, that this Agreement—laden with the complications of the 'most-favoured-nation clause,' and the numerous other weapons it will give to the United States to use against the commercial and political development of the Empire—will utterly destroy the autonomy of Canada, and compel her 'to adapt herself to American Continental rather than British Imperial ends.' By differentiating with a foreign country against the Mother Country and the whole of the rest of the Empire, it will smash at one blow the whole of the great national and Imperial system that Canada has built up for herself and for the rest of us, at such enormous cost to her and to us, and with such noble determination and such success on her part.

It is only fair to Mr. Bryce to note that the White Paper Cd. 5523, published in March, which contains a few selected Despatches of his on the Reciprocity negotiations, shows that he repeatedly pressed on the attention of Mr. Fielding and Mr. Paterson certain dangers to British trade—and it also shows that he was not altogether oblivious of the possibility of future political union. For instance, on the 19th of January 1911, he wrote to Sir Edward Grey:

In some cases, therefore, the United States duties will not be so high as those chargeable on British goods, but in practice there should be no injury to British exporters, and the Canadian Minister of Finance assures me that there will in practice be no injury to goods imported from Great Britain.

Similarly, on the 22nd of January, when forwarding to the Foreign Secretary the correspondence detailing the arrangements, Mr. Bryce said, rather doubtfully, that 'as at present advised,' he was 'disposed to believe' that British interests are not prejudiced

'*to any appreciable extent*'! And he adds more confidently, 'I have also the assurances of the Canadian Ministers on this point.'

Mr. Bryce very properly safeguards his own bona-fides in the matter by the significant statement to Sir Edward Grey, in this Despatch of the 22nd of January:

> No opportunity was lost in the course of the negotiations of reminding them (the Canadian Ministers) of the regard which it was right and fitting they should have to Imperial interests, while also, as was their obvious duty, doing their best for Canadian interests; and such reminders found on every occasion a frank and cordial response.

And again, in the latest Despatch published, that of the 31st of January, Mr. Bryce writes:

> As regards the advantage secured by the arrangement to Canadian over British manufacturers in the United States markets, a point to which I repeatedly called the attention of the Canadian representatives, they declared it to have no practical importance. The Canadian-made articles on which the United States were making reductions in their duties below the existing minimum rate were produced in Canada to an extent so small as not to affect the British exporter. I put several cases, such as roofing slates, cutlery, agricultural implements, and so forth, but they adhered to the position I have stated.

From these quotations it will be evident that the British Ambassador, so far from allowing his own Radical prepossessions to weigh in favour of an Agreement which might be described as anti-British—and which not even Radical euphemism could describe as pro-British—very pointedly placed on the shoulders of the Canadian Ministers all the responsibility for the alleged innocuous character of this Agreement.

So also with regard to the opinion he had expressed that commercial union might lead to political union, Mr. Bryce does not press this view—at any rate he does not do so in those Despatches which the Government have vouchsafed to publish. He contents himself, apparently, with a cryptic reference to 'the traditional policy of the United States of promoting closer economic relations between the States of the Western Hemisphere,' and to the altogether different commercial relations between the United States and the Latin-American republics, such as Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil, in support of a different view. The point is, however, so interesting and so important, that doubtless further information as to Mr. Bryce's views may be forthcoming from the Foreign Office.

In old Oxford days, Mr. Bryce was one of the most distinguished disciples of the great Radical Professor of Modern History, Goldwin Smith; and it may, perhaps, be assumed that from this source he derived some of his inspiration in regard to the relations between Canada and the United States.

In 1868, Professor Goldwin Smith emigrated to the United States, to become a Professor of the Cornell University. In 1871, he retired to Canada; and from that time down to his lamented death last year, a stream of historical and political dissertations—such as *Canada and the Canadian Question, The Political Destiny of Canada, Loyalty, Aristocracy and Jingoism*, and many others—has testified to the earnestness of his conviction that Radicalism demands the alienation of Canada from the British Empire and its absorption by the United States. He had, however, a shrewd appreciation of the fact that the innate nobility and robust loyalty of the Canadian national character might throw difficulties in the way of this absorption, unless it were gradually brought about by instalments; and it is pleasant to read in his posthumous *Reminiscences*, recently published by Macmillans, that he deliberately refused to use of it the word 'Annexation,' as savouring too much of compulsion.

As a result of this very reasonable caution, Goldwin Smith's argument in favour of 'absorption' ran very much on the lines of Mr. Asquith's speech in the British House of Commons in favour of Reciprocity, or those of the advocates of Reciprocity in the Canadian Parliament. At page 441 of his *Reminiscences*, he wrote:

> The Continent was one. Social fusion was rapidly advancing. The commercial union of the Continent dictated by nature only waited the repeal of unnatural and iniquitous laws. Drawn by American centres of employment, Canadians were mingling with people of the United States at the rate of twenty thousand in a year. The churches interchanged pastors, a Canadian clergyman, just after reviling Continental union and its supporters, accepted an American cure. Societies such as that of the Freemasons crossed the line. The Canadian Pacific Railroad, Canada's great line of communication, the administration of which, it was proclaimed, was to be purely Canadian, soon had an American President. The Canadian currency was not pounds and shillings, but dollars and cents. Intermarriage was frequent. Circumstance, of every sort, besides race and language, foretold ultimate union. The attempts of "United Empire Loyalism' in Canada to keep alive international antipathy were fruitless.

I am confident that, at this moment, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, quite as strongly and as warmly as Mr. Borden and the Canadian Opposition, would repudiate Goldwin Smith's idea that the determined and unanimous loyalty of the whole Canadian nation, in electing to be the premier Oversea Dominion of the British Crown, rather than the humble appanage of their great republican neighbour, can be stigmatised as an attempt 'to keep alive international antipathy.'

Goldwin Smith's violent and relentless opposition to Home Rule in any shape or form prevented his obtaining the assistance of many of the Irish Canadians. And the extreme dislike of the

French Roman Catholics to any political steps likely to reduce them to the level of their co-religionists in Louisiana and the South stood in the way of his crusade making any headway in the districts of the Quebec Province. Before his death, he began to realise that he was fighting a forlorn hope. But in 1892, his letter accepting the Presidentship of the 'Continental Association of Ontario' showed that up to that time he still entertained some expectation of success. He said:

Your object, as I understand it, is to procure by constitutional means, with the consent of the Mother Country, the submission of the question of Continental union to the free suffrage of the Canadian people, and to furnish the people with the information necessary to prepare them for the vote. In this there can be nothing unlawful or disloyal.

Since that time, we have seen, in 1897, the adoption by the Liberals of Canada of the 'National Policy' that had formerly been the exclusive possession of the Conservatives. We have seen Canada become 'a unit' in favour of British Preference and in the development of her east-and-west trade—with prosperity that is the marvel of the whole world. Above all, we have seen, in the supreme crisis of the South African War, such an uprising of national and Imperial feeling in Canada as has never been surpassed in history, and that stirred the whole Empire to its depths. On the other side, there have been only two events worth considering—*first*, the miserable 'slamming and banging of the door' by the British Radical party, temporarily predominant in 1907, and retaining that predominance, though with rapidly dwindling majorities, in two subsequent elections; and *secondly*, the sudden change of the attitude of the United States Government from contemptuous aloofness to eager and lavish concession.

Now, which of these two sets of considerations offers the worthier appeal to the spirit and the traditions of the Canadian people?

May we not venture to ask Sir Wilfrid Laurier whether he really has no fears of the Greeks bringing such gifts? That is the question that is being asked throughout Canada, not only by all Conservatives, but by such eminent Liberals as Mr. Sifton, only recently Sir Wilfrid's own Minister of the Interior, Sir Edmund Walker, Mr. Lash, K.C., Mr. G. W. Ross, Senator McMullen, and a large number of others.

It is quite true that Mr. Taft and Mr. Secretary Knox at Washington—like Sir Wilfrid himself at Ottawa, and Mr. Asquith at Westminster—affect to make light of the outspoken declarations of the United States Press, and of Mr. Champ Clark and the Democrats (now in a majority in Congress), in favour of annexation. Mr. Taft spoke jocularly of Mr. Bennet's motion—'that

President Taft open negotiations with Great Britain for the taking over of Canada '—as being like a motion for 'annexing the Aurora Borealis.' For the moment, doubtless, this is true. As Mr. Cockshutt of Brantford declared to the Toronto Board of Trade amid loud cheers, 'Mr. Bennet little knows the kind of men that are in Canada!'; but he took care to add, of the Agreement as leading to annexation, these significant words, 'I say that our national existence is at stake, as Sir Edmund Walker has pointed out, and I am speaking these words from my heart.'

Even stronger language than this, and to the same effect, was used on the same occasion by Sir Edmund Walker, the distinguished President of the Bank of Commerce, undeniably one of the most influential men in Canada. He referred to the famous statement of Mr. Champ Clark, the leader of the new Democratic majority, that the Agreement must lead to the annexation of Canada, and that this could probably be obtained with the consent of England; and he declared that 'Champ Clark, honest Democrat that he may be, poured out what was in every man's breast.' And he added:

> Philander Knox may try and say that Clark was mistaken, and did not really represent the big majority of the (American) people, but this is not so.

Of the disclaimers, whether earnest or jocular, of President Taft and Secretary Knox, echoed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Asquith, a witty writer in the *Montreal Star* of the 31st of March says:

> We can almost hear, even at this distance, the whispers of 'Hush! Hush!' that are filling the United States—'Hush! Don't frighten the Beaver away from the trap!'

Speaking at Vancouver on the 30th of March, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper—the worthy son of an illustrious sire—frankly denounced the Agreement as 'the thin end of the wedge.' As to the causes behind the movement in the minds of American politicians, he had no doubt. 'No man,' he said, 'has greater respect for the people of the United States than I have, but no man is more suspicious of their aims in regard to Canada.' He admitted that there were a few, very few, annexationists in Canada—but as to American politicians, 'they have had one object in view for the last hundred years!'

If it be objected that Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper speaks with the bias of a Conservative, let me quote some of the words of the Hon. Clifford Sifton, late Liberal Minister of the Interior. He was the chief speaker on the 20th of March at the biggest demonstration ever held in Montreal, and declared that the

Reciprocity Agreement 'will be destructive of the national aspiration of every patriotic Canadian.' On the threat of annexation, he confirmed his statement in the House of Commons on the 28th of February, when he spoke on the subject at great length and with intense emotion, as breaking with his former colleagues, the leaders of the political party with which his life's work had been associated. Of this great speech, I must quote one striking and decisive passage :

What is the reason, I ask you, gentlemen of this committee, representatives of the Canadian people, trustees of the Canadian people, of their highest and their best rights and liberties, I ask you what is the reason that is being put forward by the representatives of the people of the United States for proffering to us the terms which they are giving? There is the representative, Mr. Clark, of the Democratic party. I decline to discuss for a second the suggestion that he was not speaking seriously. If it had not been for Mr. Clark and the Democratic party this treaty never would have got through the House of Representatives ; it was he who put it through ; let him speak for himself. He says that he and his party are in favour of this proposal because it leads to annexation! What did Mr. Taft, the leader of the Republican party, say? The Dominion of Canada is a strong country ; it has a great storehouse of natural resources. He says it has been pursuing a strong and successful policy of development, but it has got to the PARTING OF THE WAYS! He says: Now, before the Dominion of Canada is irrevocably fixed in the policy which leads to the consolidation and the strengthening of the British Empire, we must turn her from her course! Is there any dispute about it? It cannot be disputed. I say to my hon. friends of the Liberal party, as well as to my hon. friends of the Conservative party: Stop and think.

This is the deliberate judgment, arrived at with almost passionate reluctance, of one of the very foremost and greatest of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal colleagues. After this statement, it must be impossible for Mr. Asquith or any other honest member of the Imperial House of Commons to affect to deride the threat of annexation.

At the same mass-meeting at Montreal, Mr. Lash, K.C., another of Sir Wilfrid's most influential Liberals, spoke of the annexation peril as strongly as Mr. Sifton—and he quoted a large number of the leading journals of the United States to show its absolute reality. For instance, the Hon. W. McCall, who introduced into Congress the Bill to make this Reciprocity Agreement effective, was quoted in the *Boston Herald* as saying :

And what tremendous influences there are pulling the two countries together. Once in the entangling web that is woven by reciprocal trade, and the inevitable day will be more quickly reached when the two countries shall be politically one.

Mr. Lash quoted the *New York Times*:

The Agreement opens the channels of trade northwards and southwards, and practically puts an end to the policy of the British Tories, which aims

at blocking these channels and directing trade across the ocean, to the special gain of England.

And this great Canadian Liberal declared, amid the cheers of his Canadian hearers, that Canada loves this trade with England, and does not wish to see it thus ended, even for the *beaux yeux* of our American cousins. I will here only quote one more of Mr. Lash's numerous and alarming excerpts from the American Press. Both the *St. Paul's Dispatch* and the *New York American* speak of the Reciprocity Agreement as the last chance to 'head off' the federation of the British Empire; and the latter influential journal was quoted as follows:

The Reciprocity Agreement will check the east-and-west development of Canada, and make that country a business part of the United States, with the lines of traffic running more to the north and south. Reciprocity will really cut Canada into two countries. The section east of Lake Superior will merge with New England and the Eastern States, and the west will become part of the west of the United States.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier is well aware of this widespread aspiration of national public opinion in the United States. It is not confined to the Democratic majority. It largely dominates the Irish vote, and probably the German also. The *Irish World*—that powerful paper of Mr. Patrick Ford, one of the paymasters of Mr. Redmond's party, and immortalised in the records of the Parnell Commission—in its issue of the 2nd of July 1910, thus gave its orders to the Irish voters:

Canada's proper place is in the Union. Its political connection with England has become, in the course of time, more formal than real. At present it confers no benefits upon Canadians, whilst it involves potential dangers in the event of England becoming entangled in a quarrel with a first-class European Power. These dangers would be avoided by Canada either by declaring her independence or by becoming a part of the United States.

Nor is this aspiration of public opinion in the United States at all confined to the comparatively small section of that great nation that is unfriendly to England. When Mr. Champ Clark declared, for the Democratic majority in the new House, the belief that annexation might come about 'with the goodwill of Great Britain,' he was undoubtedly voicing the honest conviction of large numbers both of Republicans and of Democrats. Was not that the doctrine preached for nearly forty years by Professor Goldwin Smith, one of the most prominent Radical politicians of the last century, and the one best and most widely known and respected on the American side of the Atlantic? I have shown in a former article [*] that the same doctrine has been sedulously preached in this country by Molesworth, by Cobden, by Bright,

* See the article on 'The Liberal Policy of Imperial Disintegration' in this Review for March 1911.

and assented to by Gladstone and many other great Radicals. I do not state this as the *obiter dictum* of a mere Conservative—let me quote the opinion of Lord Elgin, the great Free Trade Governor-General of Canada under Lord John Russell and Lord Grey. Writing confidentially to his uncle Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, in March 1849, on the distress caused by the Free Trade revolution of 1846, and the consequent talk of annexation, he said[4]:

> If not only the organs of the [Corn-law] League, but those of the Government and the Peel party are always writing as if it were an admitted fact that the Colonies, and more especially Canada, are a burden to be endured only because they cannot be got rid of, the end may be nearer than we wot of.

But since the time of Lord Elgin, great Canadian statesmen like Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier have arisen to throw off the shackles of the exploded doctrines of falsely-called Free Trade for themselves and their country. Retaining their love for the old Motherland and for their brethren in the other Dominions, they have, up to now, steadfastly aimed at their great Imperial ideal. As long ago as 1872, Lord Beaconsfield declared, in his great speech at the Crystal Palace, that this country was learning from the Colonies, and especially from Canada, to repent of the anti-Imperial spirit of modern Radicalism; and at this moment, the great Constitutional Party in the United Kingdom, with all that is best in modern Liberalism, stands shoulder-to-shoulder with all the Dominions on this vital question. Is the very pioneer-State of the Imperial idea now going to fall out of the ranks, betray its comrades, and pass under the Caudine Forks?

Mr. Chamberlain, the most illustrious Colonial statesman that England or the Empire has ever produced, and the one most endeared to every true Colonist, has offered to Canada, in words of gentle and pathetic warning, a counsel of patience. She would do well to wait till the short-lived Cobdenite tyranny in Downing Street is overpast. And what Mr. Chamberlain now advises as best for Canada, is very much the same as that which Lord Elgin, her Liberal Governor-General, desired for her in 1849. 'There is something very captivating,' he wrote to the Liberal Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey,

> in the project of forming all the parts of this vast Empire into one huge Zollverein, with free interchange of commodities and uniform duties against the world without; though without some federal legislation it might have been impossible to carry it out. Undoubtedly under such a system the component parts of the Empire would have been united by bonds which cannot be supplied under that on which we are now entering.

[4] Walrond's *Letters of Lord Elgin*, p. 102.

Lord Elgin's thoughts were, at the moment, regrets for what might have been. Mr. Chamberlain's words are a promise of that which will assuredly come to pass at no distant day.

Briefly to sum up:

The Canadian nationality—young, manly, independent, and patriotic, to a degree almost unparalleled in history—stands, as President Taft has told her, at the parting of the ways. She has to decide which way she will go—and her decision will vitally affect not only the whole of her own future, but also that of the Empire. Which way will she take?

President Taft beckons her to Washington, offering her great gifts and great responsibilities. Mr. Clark offers her the prospect of 'One flag, the Stars and Stripes, from Central America to the North Pole'; and Senator Smith, of Michigan, says that 'Mr. Clark's views, as expressed on the floor of the House, almost carry as much weight as if the Prime Minister of England had spoken'—and he adds that 'Mr. Clark's utterances are a blow at the English scheme of centralisation, the feasibility of which is apparent to anyone who studies the wonderful resources of the British Empire.' Then Senator Cumming, of Iowa, tells her, 'I am for the annexation of Canada, I always have been, and if it were generally understood that Canadian annexation was the purpose of the pending pact, it doubtless would help the measure in becoming law here (in the United States).' Senator McCumber, of North Dakota, says decisively, 'Canadian annexation is the logical conclusion of reciprocity with Canada.' Senator Jones, of Washington, is quite modest, 'I would like to see Vancouver and British Columbia an integral part of the American Union.' And similar messages are sent from numerous other suitors in the States.

Drawing her eastward to the Homeland, instead of southward to Washington, are the 'Hands Across the Sea.' The recent debate in the House of Lords and the earlier one in the House of Commons at Westminster—the appeal of Mr. Chamberlain—the speeches of such men as Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, speaking from the very heart of Old England, and those of Lord Milner and Lord Selborne for South Africa, Lord Northcote for Australia, and Lord Curzon for India—these are the voices that are calling to Canada to hold to her place as the eldest daughter of the Imperial family. Within the Empire, she has grown to be one of the happiest, the noblest, and the most prosperous communities on the face of the earth. Leagued with the Empire—loved and admired by her Imperial kinsfolk in every quarter of the globe—she has an assured future more brilliant than any other in the world. Can her decision be doubtful?

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

II

The improbability of sinister combinations will always be in proportion to the dissimilarity of the genius of the two bodies; and therefore every circumstance, consistent with harmony in all proper measures, which points out a distinct organization of the component materials of each is desirable.—STORY, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, i. § 700. *The Senate.*

Their House of Lords is a most noble institution. Having nothing to hope for by a change and a sufficient interest by means of their property in being faithful to the national interest, they form a permanent barrier against every pernicious innovation, whether attempted on the part of the Crown or the Commons.—HAMILTON, *Works*, i. 371.

La division du corps législatif en deux Chambres ou Assemblées est, au XX^e siècle, une institution presque générale chez les peuples qui pratiquent le gouvernement représentatif. . . . Toutes les nations qui ont adopté ce système l'ont, directement ou indirectement, emprunté à l'Angleterre.—ESMEIN, *Eléments de droit constitutionnel*, 90.

IN the April issue of this Review I attempted a survey of the constitutional problem as it has developed itself during the last five years, with a view to showing how complex that problem was, how many and how various were the factors that had to be taken into account—the limitations of the legislative autonomy of the Commons, the assumption of alien powers by the Lords, and the usurpation of legislative and judicial authority by the Executive. I suggested that no solution of the problem could be either adequate or permanent which neglected to take these factors into account, and that every partial settlement was bound to provoke reactions in unforeseen directions such as would only produce difficulties of another kind. We cannot apply to constitutional questions what the logician calls the Method of Difference. If we vary or abstract one factor we may alter the result not quantitatively but qualitatively, and none of the other factors will remain the same. The problems of politics are not those of physics. The statesman has to deal not with exact and calculable forces in a geometrical world, but with the living tissue of an organism in which a change in one part is communicated to every other part.

The last two months have brought us no nearer a recognition of this aspect of the problem than we were before. The Bill for

the reform of the House of Lords introduced by Lord Lansdowne suffers, like the 'Veto' Bill, from the defect of partial definition. The one attempts to limit the powers of the Upper House without reference to its constitution, the other is designed to reform its constitution without regard to the powers which it is to exercise. But the Veto Bill of the Government has at least the merit that it is meant to serve a practical purpose, and only a Government steering a course for a voyage to Laputa would be so rash as to embark at the very beginning of a new Parliament on a quest for that philosopher's stone of politics, the ideal Second Chamber. The last election was nothing if not a mandate for the Veto Bill. For a parallel to such an authoritative pronouncement by the electorate upon the actual text of a legislative proposal we should have to go back to the year 1868, when Mr. Gladstone's resolutions for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church were put before the country. It is quite open to critics to say that the preamble was also before the country, but it was a preamble and nothing more,[1] and before that preamble can be given effect the Government are entitled to say that its embodiment in a Bill must be a matter for submission to another election, when the present Parliament has run its natural course—failing, that is to say, a settlement by consent. From this point of view Unionist criticism of the Government is as idle as it is insincere. No one can have supposed that the Government were submitting the Veto Bill to the electorate as an ingenious mechanical contrivance which was never meant to do any legislative work. But though the Government can, and must, choose its own time for taking up the larger constitutional question, that does not preclude men less embarrassed by the imperious exigencies of party politics from considering in the meantime the lines upon which any ultimate settlement of that question must be made. It is from this point of view that I propose to consider the proposals put forward by the Unionist party and embodied in the Bill of their leader in the House of Lords.

It is a strange irony of circumstance that the Chamber which has served as the archetype of so many other Chambers in foreign countries should now be subjected to a process of transformation which is designed to bring it into harmony with the variations upon the original type. The fact is, of course, that, as Sir

[1] The words of the preamble are as follows: 'Whereas it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords, as it at present exists, a Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but such substitution cannot immediately be brought into operation, And whereas provision will require hereafter to be made by Parliament in a measure effecting such substitution for limiting and defining the powers of the new Second Chamber, but it is expedient to make such provision as in this Act appears for restricting the existing powers of the House of Lords.'

William Anson once remarked, this feudal assembly of tenants-in-chief was never designed to serve the purposes of a Second Chamber. How far the sponsors of the new scheme have had foreign analogies in mind we do not know. It would be a pleasing exercise in political science to compare the new Chamber with its analogues, but not, I think, a very profitable one.

The foreign student of an indigenous Constitution—and no Constitution is ever anything else—is very apt to see not what is there, but what he has been accustomed to see, and by a process of auto-suggestion to discover resemblances where none exist. Gneist saw a Prussian prerogative in the hands of English Ministers; Tocqueville and Laboulaye read the rights of man in the American Constitution when its founders wrote the rights of States; Montesquieu beheld in the English Constitution a symmetry which was a refinement of his own acute and subtle intellect; Hanotaux describes the French Cabinet in terms borrowed from Bagehot's account of the English analogue, when they have already ceased to apply to the original. If such able and disciplined minds went astray with us, it is not likely that we shall fare any better with them. It was possible for foreign countries to adopt English institutions in proportion as they misunderstood them; it was possible to retain them in proportion as they developed them.

We have also to beware of the poverty of the vocabulary of political science and of the varying uses to which the same terms may be put in different countries. Many have borrowed our terminology—'Parliament,' 'Cabinet,' and the like—without borrowing the meaning we attached to it. Just as the coinage of the later Roman Empire and the formulae of the Frankish Chancellery were put to debased or alien uses in the countries of their adoption, so English institutions have often been copied by the foreigners in little more than name.

Moreover, an institution often changes its character while retaining its form, and survives to defeat the fondest hopes of its parents. The French Senate was the creation of the Monarchists, and became the creature of the Republicans by that strangest of political ironies by which, as our classical authority tells us, men realised a Republic while dreaming of a Monarchy. The Australian Colonies, when they became the architects of their own Constitutions, erected an Upper Chamber in order to strengthen the Lower by the expulsion of a nominee element which they deemed alien because official. It was only late, and with reluctance, that they learnt that they had put a bit in the mouth of responsible government, and weakened what they wished to make strong. Hamilton counselled the adoption of a Second Chamber in the American Constitution by analogies drawn from

the functions of the House of Lords as a council of the Crown, which at the time he wrote *The Federalist* it still appeared to be; but the House of Lords is no longer what he thought it was, while the American Senate has ceased to fulfil the purposes for which he intended it.

If Hamilton were alive to-day he would probably repudiate the American Senate as what Aristotle would call a perversion, and he would certainly regard the House of Lords as a melancholy example of *corruptio optimi pessima*. The function by which modern theorists justify the existence of a Second Chamber is fulfilled not so much by the American Senate as by the Supreme Court. The German Bundesrath is to-day the nearest thing to what Hamilton meant by a Second Chamber, and none the less so for being, in the words of Laband, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, 'only superficially akin to the Upper House of a Parliament.' In other words, it is not so much a legislative body as an executive one, which is what most Second Chambers of any pedigree begin by being. But, in proportion as it has remained what it was, the Constitution itself has suffered an arrested development.

To compare the Second Chambers of the various countries by eliminating the difference is a pleasant pastime, but the differences are essential, and the resemblances an accident. There is no common term unless it be the dualism, and even that may just as often conceal a likeness between the two Chambers as conversely the monism of a Legislature may disguise its innate differentiation. Scotland had one Chamber and many 'franchises'; the American States have two Chambers and but one electorate. The former was as oligarchical as the latter is democratic. To draw any conclusions as to the rights of an Upper House from the almost universal prevalence of bicameral Legislatures, is as misleading as it would be to generalise as to the legal capacity of married women from the uniformity of monogamy in Europe. Just as in the one case one requires to know the law of civil and criminal liability, of real and personal property, so in the other one must know the law and custom governing every depository of public power. One may, indeed, pursue the analogy further, and point out that to argue from the legal position to the constitutional of an Upper House is as misleading as it would be to argue from the legal position of a married woman to her social status; the foreign inquirer who measured the social and domestic influence of Englishwomen by their position as persons at common law would arrive at some very erroneous conclusions when he investigated the doctrine of coverture.

So the constitutional authority of an Upper House may be more or less than its legal powers—it is rarely or never the same.

We may be quite sure, therefore, that no conclusions as to

the powers likely to be assumed by the new Second Chamber can be drawn by comparison with the powers exercised by other Chambers of a somewhat similar composition—the Senates of Italy and France, for example. We may be almost equally sure that the powers which are at present claimed for it by its authors —the powers, for example, at present exercised by the House of Lords which it is designed to replace—will not be those which it would eventually assume (supposing by a feat of the imagination we regard the Parliament Bill as subsequently repealed); they may be less or they may be greater. Even were its powers defined in a supplementary Bill, their scope would in practice depend very much on the affinities with the House of Commons which the system of election by colleges of members of Parliament might develop. Were one political party continuously in power for ten years, like the Unionist Party from 1895 to 1905, with a large majority, the element elected by these colleges might transform the Upper House into a Chamber almost as nearly a duplicate of the Lower one as is the French Senate. Moreover, if the majority were topographically distributed in the constituencies in certain ways, not all the devices of the craftsmen of the new scheme could prevent its operating in the same direction.

In matters like these we find ourselves in a region of pure speculation, and it would be possible for those who love to treat politics as a matter of mechanics to work out all kinds of results upon the basis of certain hypotheses.

In this article the writer proposes to confine himself to what is clearly ascertainable and to leave such speculation on one side.

Lord Lansdowne's Bill contemplates a Chamber of 350 members divided into four main categories:

(1) 100 qualified peers elected by the whole body of the peerage.

(2) 100 Lords of Parliament nominated by the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition in proportions representative of the strength of parties in the House of Commons.

(3) 120 Lords of Parliament elected by the members of the House of Commons divided into electoral colleges.

(4) A group of three smaller categories of Princes of the Blood, Lords Spiritual, and Law Lords.

The members of each of the three first categories are to sit for a term of twelve years, one-fourth retiring every three years, and therefore on the occasion of election and nomination the whole body will, once it is created, undergo an infusion of eighty new members. This idea of partial election at recurring intervals is, of course, no new one. It was advocated by Alexander Hamilton in words which have now become classical, as a *via media* between the conservatism of a permanent body, subject to no popular control, and the radicalism of a temporary body, swayed in its

decisions by its liability to complete transformation at the hands of the electorate.[2] The architects of the American Constitution thought they had hit the mean between the irresponsibility of a despotic perpetuity and that of a servile insecurity. The principle has also been adopted in the constitution of the Senates of France and Australia; and in Republican countries like France, where there is no 'Crown' to personify the permanence of the State, justification has been found for it among jurists on the ground that it provides an organ with a continuous existence, capable of fulfilling the functions performed by our own Privy Council on a demise of the Crown. Much has also been written in praise of the union of maturity with innovation which the system of periodical infusion of an existing assembly by a new element is supposed to secure. The experience of the senior members, it has been argued, tempers the impatience of their juniors, while the electoral mandate of the new members acts as an instruction to the old. These are undeniable advantages, but if they have any practical application at all they imply an unlimited veto on the part of the assembly which claims them. But it must be remembered that in Constitutions of this kind the Upper Houses so composed have had to deal with Lower Houses in which the feature distinguishing our own Constitution—the prerogative of Ministerial dissolution of the Lower House—does not exist. When such an 'appeal to the country' is possible, the presumption is against coequal powers in the case of the Second Chamber, for, *ex hypothesi*, the Lower House is more directly in contact with the electorate. In America and in France, either in theory or in practice, or both, the Ministry cannot dissolve the Lower House, which runs on to the full limit of its statutory term. Moreover, in the Australian Commonwealth and States the English tradition, that a Government which cannot command a majority or secure the passage of its legislation may dissolve, has nothing like the force which it has here, and the dissolution of the Lower House before the expiry of its statutory term is unusual. It is also possible in the last resort for the Ministry to dissolve the *Upper* House before the end of its statutory term[3] in the event of a serious disagreement between the two Houses. Here, then, is the obvious *hiatus* in Lord Lansdowne's scheme. Another advantage claimed for the principle of a rotatory appeal to a senatorial electorate at not infrequent intervals is that it prevents the permanent ascendancy of any one party in the Senate so con-

[2] Story, following Hamilton: 'It seems paradoxical to assert, but it is theoretically as well as practically true, that a deep-felt responsibility is incompatible with great frequency of elections.' (I. § 710.) Perpetuity, on the other hand, he regards as making for the aggrandisement of irresponsible power.

[3] Simultaneous dissolution is possible in the Australian Commonwealth; in Victoria consecutive dissolution.

stituted.[4] This confident anticipation has, however, never been realised, for the development of the caucus in modern political life has upset all the calculations of the theorists of earlier generations. In the case of Lord Lansdowne's scheme, however, the Senatorial term is so long—at least double that in any modern Constitution—that the danger of such an ascendancy would be sensibly diminished in the case of the Liberal party. To secure an overwhelming proportion of the 220 members nominated or elected proportionately to the strength of party, the Liberals would have to be in power with a very large majority for over nine years, and even then they would be handicapped by the permanent ascendancy of the four-fifths of the hundred elected peers which the Conservatives could always command. But when the Conservatives were in power under similar conditions, their complete domination of the Upper House is much more within the bounds of probability, for they would have the scales weighted with these eighty peers in their favour. This is a serious flaw in the equity of the scheme, and one cannot regard with any great confidence Lord Lansdowne's plea that the peers would not necessarily elect their fellows on purely party lines. The mere fact that peers will in future be eligible for seats in the Commons will bring them into the arena of party strife, and will accentuate political feeling among them, and this feeling is sure to reflect itself in their election of their fellow-peers.

On the other hand, the principle of rotatory election and nomination has this conspicuous advantage, that it does infuse into the Upper Chamber every third year a new element which may act in a degree out of all proportion to the smallness of its numbers as an indication to that House of the trend of popular feeling if it has got out of touch with it. This factor, however, will be of less weight in the case of Lord Lansdowne's Bill, because the new element is elected not by the constituencies but by their representatives, and it is a little surprising to find the Unionist party, which is always claiming that a General Election captures but a transient mood of the electorate reflected through an imperfect medium of representation, devising a scheme under which the Upper House is to be recruited not by a fresh appeal to the electorate, but to representatives of it in the Commons who, *ex hypothesi*, may have outlived their mandate by three or more years.

It is here that the whole principle of indirect election is seen at its weakest. Elections are at best an imperfect method of representation, but an elected electorate carries the imperfection still further. The question is admittedly a very difficult one;

[4] Story: 'The biennial (rotatory) appeal to the States must forever prohibit any permanent combination for sinister purposes.'

an electoral college elected *ad hoc*, and dissolvable the moment it has performed its function of election, would be a mere mandatory body chosen to vote a particular 'ticket,' like the American primaries. On the other hand, if the election of Senators were entrusted to an independent local authority, such as a county council, there would be a distinct danger of importing a distracting party strife into the deliberations of bodies which were meant to serve another purpose. Even when, as in America, the choice of Senators has been entrusted not to a local government authority but to the State legislatures, the result has been to degrade all its other functions to this level and to make the legislators of the State mere instruments of a national caucus for the nomination of the Federal Senate. In France, where more ingenuity has been bestowed upon this question than anywhere else, an attempt has been made to surmount some of these difficulties by the formation of electoral colleges which are at once local and national, consisting of the parliamentary deputies and members of the departmental council of each department, reinforced by one or more delegates from each communal council in proportion to the population of the commune. But the system has never been regarded as entirely satisfactory, and the constitutional revision of 1884 and subsequent resolutions by the Chamber of Deputies have all tended in the direction of bringing these colleges more in line with the principle of direct representation. This is, indeed, the trend of modern political thought; the principle of indirect election is more and more discredited. The collateral principle of a special franchise for the Upper House has also fallen into disfavour; the history of the American States, the Australian Commonwealth, and the Australian Colonies all point in the direction of an approximation in the character of the two Chambers. But wherever such a tendency to approximation operates, there follows as its natural sequence a claim by the Upper House to powers coequal with those of the Lower one. And in the event of such powers being conceded there must, of course, under any system of parliamentary government, be presumed a power on the part of the Executive to dissolve the Upper House as well as the Lower and appeal to the country. To dissolve such a complex House of categories as is proposed in the new scheme would obviously be a *reductio ad absurdum*, and yet—this is another flaw in the scheme—we are left with the supposition that this House is to exercise powers coequal with the Lower House. There are, of course, vague suggestions of joint sessions and a referendum to meet such difficulties, but they are not an integral part of the scheme, and until their operation has been defined Lord Lansdowne's Bill can only be regarded as a very academic exercise in political speculation.

The system of indirect election is defended by Lord Curzon and Lord Lansdowne on the ground that direct election by large constituencies would give us a Second Chamber which was little more than a duplicate of the First. This is approximately true —how true would depend on whether it were wholly or partially elected at one and the same time—but except under a Federal system, where the Upper Chamber represents the principle of State sovereignty, it is only a duplicate Chamber which can in a modern State claim equality of powers.

But waiving this question and granting that indirect election is preferable to direct, I am by no means sure that local colleges of members of Parliament are the best way to secure representation. Much, of course, will depend on the distribution of these colleges, but no imaginable scheme of distribution can prevent grave inequalities in the representation of communities. There are large districts—larger, I presume, than any single college can cover—in which one or other of the two parties commands almost the entire representation in Parliament: the Liberals in Wales, in Scotland, and in Yorkshire; the Conservatives in the Home Counties. The large minorities at present unrepresented in these areas will be no more represented in the Upper House than in the Lower. I think therefore that the attempt to make the Upper House partially representative of local communities is doomed to failure, and it would have been far better to entrust the election of the Lords of Parliament to the Commons acting as a whole. It is certainly idle to suppose that members of Parliament will be any the less under the control of the party whips because they meet to elect the Lords of Parliament in a dozen county halls instead of in a single committee-room of the House of Commons.

As for the hundred nominee Lords of Parliament who are to be chosen by the leaders of the two parties on the system at present adopted in appointing the committees of selection, it is difficult to see why they should not be elected in the same way as the 120 Lords chosen by the electoral colleges. The leaders of the two parties would have no difficulty in securing the election of their nominees, although it is conceivable that they may leave greater latitude of choice to their followers in the colleges if they enjoy this independent power of nomination. I doubt if the leaders will be any the less partisan in their nominations than their followers in the elections. The plan suggests a somewhat disingenuous attempt to disguise the surrender of the prerogative of creation of peers which is presupposed by the whole scheme.

There remains the election of peers with special qualifications by the whole body of the hereditary peerage. The retention of the hereditary element in this form is intelligible enough. To

reform the House of Lords on an electoral basis is as difficult as to disestablish the Church of England on a Presbyterian system; in each case one has to take into account the 'franchises' of the peer and the patron of a living, and the one incorporeal hereditament represented by a peerage is certainly entitled to as much respect as the other known as an advowson. It is, perhaps, fortunate for this generation that it was long ago decided that a peerage is inalienable, otherwise the cost of expropriation would be too appalling to contemplate. As it is, one must not only take account of the respect due to a historic institution, but also the argument put forward by Lord Curzon in favour of an inducement to the aristocracy to do the State some service. The idea of restricting the choice of the peers to those of their number who have 'qualified' themselves by holding some high office of State or his Majesty's commission, or by serving in the House of Commons or on some local body, has the further advantage of inducing peers to enter on an apprenticeship to public life. But it is quite conceivable that there may be peers of high qualities of character or intellect who have not been able to avail themselves of such opportunities, and it is difficult to see why these should be entirely excluded from election by their fellow-peers. It would seem obvious that some room should be found for the operation of open election to secure the admission of such as these.

It will be apparent from this analysis that the composition of the new House would be extremely complex—so complex as to make it an unknown quantity. The appointment of nearly two-thirds of its members by the Lower House at one time and another would seem to suggest that its relations with that House would, on the whole, be of a harmonious character, were it not for the long tenure which these members, once appointed, will enjoy. It remains to consider the means suggested rather than defined by which disagreements with the Lower House are to be settled. Lord Lansdowne—judging by his contribution* to the debate on the second reading of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Referendum Bill—has in contemplation a whole series of expedients: two successive presentations of a disputed measure to the Upper House, followed by a joint conference and (are we to say *or*?) a joint session, with the Referendum for an 'exceptional class' of Bills. This is vague in the extreme. The Referendum and joint sessions are obviously exclusive alternatives, and we can only presume that the Referendum is to be reserved for the class of Bills defined by statute, as to which it is sufficient to say that it will pass the wit of man to arrive at such a definition or to devise a tribunal competent to interpret it. Unless Ministers know beforehand whether their Bills are to be submitted to a Referendum or

* *The Times*, March 29.

not, they will draft them on the presumption that such may be the fact. That will mean electioneering draughtsmanship. The prospect of a Referendum will be fatal to Parliamentary legislation. Under the present system a Minister can afford to accept compromises on each amendment to his Bill with a view to meeting the wishes of its critics at each stage in its passage through Committee. But each compromise is made at the expense of one or other group of extremists, and on a Referendum the extremists on both sides, those who thought the Bill went too far and those who thought it did not go far enough, might unite to defeat it. A Minister will be under a strong temptation to draft his Bills in such a drastic form as will appeal most directly to party feeling in the country, and to do this he must simplify their contents. But modern legislation is of such a technical character, that the only way to do this will be to reserve for the departments the task of giving the Bill practical effect by subsequent legislation, and the evils of this withdrawal of power from Parliament are too notorious to contemplate with any degree of equanimity. The Referendum is a thoroughly vicious and reactionary device in this respect: it withdraws power from Parliament only to confer it upon the Executive. The prospect of joint conferences is a much more hopeful one; there is no reason why they should not find place in some amendment of the Parliament Bill, on the lines originally contemplated by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's resolutions. But it is doubtful whether joint conferences can ever be anything more than diplomatic and informal. There is always a limit to their operation set by the necessity of giving the last word to each of the two Houses who are represented at them. The difficulty here is the same as that which has presented itself in the attempt to devolve legislation upon Standing Committees of the House of Commons. The House has always insisted on having the last word on the Report stage,* and when Bills are sent to such Committees, instead of being kept in Committee of the whole, the House inevitably regards the Report stage as an opportunity to exercise the rights which it would otherwise have exercised in Committee of the whole House. Another limit is set by the responsibility of the Minister for the Bill.

As for joint sessions, they have, of course, a finality which a joint conference can never possess, but it is difficult to see how a Ministry responsible to the Lower House, and able to dissolve it, can consent to a joint session of that House with a House over which it has no such control. Joint sessions are only possible under the Cabinet system when, as in Australia, they are preceded by a simultaneous or consecutive dissolution of both Houses, or

* See Mr. Balfour's very suggestive remarks in his evidence before the Select Committee on Procedure (1906).

when, as in South Africa, the Upper House is very small in numbers and uniform in composition. A Ministry defeated in such a joint session, and with no opportunity of bringing pressure to bear on the Upper House, would be in a very precarious position and could do nothing but resign.

To us it seems that Lord Lansdowne's Bill, were it carried into law, would afford a very strong argument for the acceptance of the Parliament Bill, for it is only by such simple machinery as the latter provides that the new House could operate with any success. Given such a House, it might be possible to make some slight modifications in the Parliament Bill—for example, to introduce joint conferences and to concede to the Upper House the right not to reject or amend Money Bills, but to suggest amendments to them. Further than this a Liberal Government could not be expected to go.

To summarise the situation in a few words : Lord Lansdowne's Bill, with an illusory exception, destroys the prerogative of creation of peers, by which alone a Liberal Government can give effect to the wishes of the electorate in a conflict with the Upper House, without, as the Bill stands, providing any effective substitute for it. Even a joint session might fail to provide such a substitute. Furthermore, the extreme probability of the permanent ascendancy of the Unionist Party in the new House will make it impossible for a Liberal Government to introduce in that House even its departmental Bills of secondary importance—they would probably be rejected on their second reading—and yet it is essential that in any new Second Chamber the old usage of introducing Bills into the Upper House, practically abandoned by both parties, should be restored if only to relieve the work of the House of Commons. But even when these objections are waived, the fact remains that the scheme is premature. The reform of the House of Lords should be preceded by the reform of the House of Commons. Before we can decide what the powers of the Upper House are to be we must know what are to be the powers of the Lower House. We must restore the legislative autonomy of the Commons so far as such autonomy is compatible with the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, the unity of legislation, the cooperation of the departments, and the preservation of scientific draughtsmanship. The first step in that restoration is some scheme of devolution of legislative powers upon local bodies. Devolution of such powers upon Standing Committees of the House itself has gone as far as is compatible with preserving the organic unity of the House and the control of the Cabinet. Concurrence of Standing Committees and of committee of the whole House is impossible, while substitution of committees for the whole House would be suicidal. The adoption of the latter course

would simply reproduce the worst evils of the American committee system, under which the House of Representatives has ceased to have any organic will at all. The Chairman would be the rival of the Minister in charge of the Bill, and the Minister would be the rival of his colleagues. A reform of the House of Commons by devolution would, by restoring the control of the House over Bills, put a limit to the necessity of legislation by the departments and of revision by the House of Lords. It would also diminish the area of conflict between the two Houses by removing out of the sphere of contention Bills—the Scottish Land Bill, for example—which, although commanding the almost unanimous support of the community for which they are intended, are at present treated as mere pawns in the party game between the two Houses.

Only by taking into account all these things will it be possible to see this problem steadily and to see it whole.

J. H. MORGAN.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

If Milton could describe Paradise, which, unless we believe in the migration of souls, he certainly never saw : if Schiller, who never left his German native land, could so wonderfully describe the Swiss landscapes : and if, on the other hand, we remember the Greek saying that nothing is so difficult as to know oneself, in spite of the fact that one never leaves oneself for a second while life lasts—then we may conclude that it is the more easy to describe things the less one knows of them. And there is something true in this paradox. The more superficially we come into contact with men and their surroundings the more apparent will be their peculiarities.

The modern means of communication bring nations so close together that their habits and customs become almost one, and it has become difficult to show wherein exactly the differences lie. It may therefore seem presumptuous to want to speak about the English. For many years a stream of travellers has flowed across the Straits of Dover and the North Sea and emptied itself into our country, in consequence of which our upper classes are steeped in English customs. We 'lunch,' we take 'five o'clock tea' with 'toast,' we play 'golf,' 'cricket,' 'lawn tennis,' and 'bridge'; we watch 'football matches,' and, after dinner, for which we have put on our dinner jackets, we drink our 'brandy and soda' in the 'hall' or the 'bar.' In summer we go to a 'garden party,' in winter to a 'rout,' and at Christmas we decorate our rooms with mistletoe. Our houses, too, are English, and our hygienic ideas we get from England. The high claims put forward by our working classes are of English origin, as are also our 'strikes' and 'interviews.' And when we regard this strange fact from a higher plane, we see that nearly all Europe has adopted the English system of two Houses of Parliament. Nevertheless, I venture to say that we know less of the English than perhaps we do of the Patagonians, as these primitive creatures are easier to fathom than the complicated peculiarities of the English.

We Austrians, inhabitants of a country which can be traversed in a journey of thirty-six hours, can with difficulty picture to ourselves the British Empire, on which the sun never sets, and which

contains 400,000,000 human beings. We, who for decades have been quarrelling and fighting without being able to settle our petty disputes at home, are lost in amazement when we contemplate a statesmanship which is able to give a form of constitution to the enlightened Hindus, the half-savage Kaffirs, the Egyptian Fellahin, and the clever Canadian French. Only men endowed with extraordinary characteristics could, under the most varied and difficult circumstances, exercise such power—which power, on its side, has to exercise a great influence on the formation of character and the conditions of life.

Education explains why it is that England has expanded so enormously during the last century. At school sport takes the first place, books the second. The development of the body is at the foundation of all education. Physical exercises give a boy a taste for adventure and equip him with energy, initiative, perseverance, calmness, self-confidence, and an extraordinary self-control.

In England the school, which prepares a man for the battle of life, strives to develop individuality and character, and lays greater stress on these points than on scientific training. A twelve-year-old schoolboy there is much freer than an undergraduate is with us. He is inspired by the words, 'Go ahead,' 'Help yourself.' Sport keeps him simple, while at the same time it makes him an active, energetic and determined man. In England the ideal is independence—with us rank in the social scale.

As by rounding the fist and looking through the little opening one can take in a wide view, so little peculiarities and idioms in language can help one to understand a nation. For example, the German in old servility writes *Sie* (you) with a capital letter, and *ich* (I) with a small one. The Frenchman, son of a revolution which hoisted the flag of equality, writes both words with a small letter. The Englishman writes 'you' (*Sie*) with a small and 'I' (*ich*) with a big one. This self-consciousness shows itself also in another little way. If it is a question of calling someone's attention, the German, reckoning on curiosity, says 'Hören Sie mal'—'Listen'; the Frenchman, knowing his countryman's love of gossip, 'Dites donc'; the Englishman, proud and self-conscious, shouts, 'I say!' implying 'stop still!'

But education alone does not explain the spread of the English nation. The law of inheritance may help to account for it, too. In contrast to Continental laws, a father in England is not bound to provide for the future of his children. He may do as he likes with his possessions. The result is diverse. By the law of entail, that powerful aristocracy was created in which the eldest sons were brought up for public service, and, owing to their independence and freedom from all petty cares, were able to devote

themselves entirely to the good of the nation. The example set by the nobility was copied by the middle class. Being convinced that the initiative and desire for activity, both of which are inherent to the English national character, will develop in their children, the Englishman does not feel bound to leave wealth to his descendants, so it has become customary to leave the greater part, if not the whole of one's wealth, to the eldest son. This plan exercises a great influence on the younger members of the family. From earliest youth they have been brought up with the idea that if they are to enjoy at their father's death the comforts and luxuries to which they have been accustomed, they must provide them for themselves. Consequently the thought of a large family is not dreaded in England as it is on the Continent. In further consequence of this system of inheritance the daughters get next to no dowry—all the more reason, then, for the young men to make their way in the world, and by their own efforts to become independent, to get rich and to make their own home. Realising, too, that trade and industry are the foundations of the Empire, the commercial class reaches a high position.

A further reason for the aggrandisement of the Empire lies in the national pride, which fills the breast of every English subject. The Englishman has adopted for his motto "Civis Romanus sum.' An action like that of Lord Palmerston's—who in the 'fifties threatened to intervene with the English fleet and was ready to provoke a European war, when Greece refused rights to an English subject, the Jewish merchant, Don Pacifico—confirms in a wonderful way the prestige of the Empire, and allows immense countries to be governed by incredibly small means.

Amongst all the English characteristics practicalness takes the first place. It is apparent on all occasions. For example, with duelling—which he, however, discourages on religious grounds—an Englishman has no sympathy; he simply cannot understand how an insult can be avenged by the person insulted exposing himself to the possibility of being shot or of becoming a cripple. A court of justice settles the question, and the award of damages is the penalty; the amount of this compensation (damages 10,000*l.* are not uncommon) proves a far more efficacious means against slander than the fear of a sword thrust. In contrast with the Frenchman, who tries to get rich by saving, the Englishman thinks of becoming rich by working; and as he requires much money to be comfortable, he provides for the future by insurance. We, who are not so economical as the French, and not so speculative and industrious as the English, depend for wealth on chance or on the lottery numbers which we have seen in our dreams. In England State lotteries have not been allowed for three genera-

tions. And as we, with our easy-going character, do not like to think anxiously of the morrow, we seldom burden our budget with insurance premiums. The life insurance premiums amounted with us in 1909 to 3129 compared with 18,236 million crowns in England.

Another characteristic of the Englishman is his faculty for saving time, and thereby avoiding what is unnecessary and useless. What a difference there is in concluding a simple letter! We require for that three lines, whilst the English use only the two words 'yours truly.'

Time is money. I remember being struck by an Englishman arranging an interview for 11.27, not half-past eleven.

The way in which lunch is taken at Pimm's, Lyons', or at other restaurants in the City, enables us to understand the importance of business in this centre of the world's trade. Standing, a man devours a few sandwiches; some Sybarites may indulge in a hot dish whilst sitting on a stool, but this stool has only three legs, and is so high and uncomfortable that one cannot endure it more than five minutes. A Turkish proverb says: Better sit than stand, better lie than sit, better be dead than lie. The energetic Anglo-Saxon would, however, say: Better stand than sit, better walk than stand, and (if we include America) better run than walk. The portrait of an Englishman would be incomplete if his ease of manner were not mentioned. He is always perfectly natural, never mind to what high official or dignitary he may be speaking. The servile manner of address, using the third person plural instead of the second person, which is so customary with our lower classes, when speaking to those socially above them, is unknown in England.

In the English Parliament—where it may be incidentally remarked the members sit with their hats on—the speaker, when he rises to address the House, speaks straight to the point without any artificial preamble—and with his hands in his pockets. An English audience is serious, unassuming, and not nearly so alarming as a foreign one. In 1873 I attended a meeting in London of the shareholders of the Rustchuff-Varna Railway, with which I, in the name of the Oriental Railways, had made a contract. The chairman, not being able to answer all the questions put to him by the shareholders, proposed simply to the assembly that I should appear on the platform. Not for one moment did I feel in any way embarrassed, although reporters were in front of me, and my knowledge of the language was anything but complete. A short time afterwards, I was commissioned by my chief to speak here in Vienna to a representative assembly from the Austrian-Ottoman Bank on the amalgamation of that company with the Ottoman Bank. After the meeting someone expressed his astonish-

ment that I appeared so hot, because I had fanned myself so incessantly—but the agitation of the report in my hand was due to nervousness, not to heat.

We have nothing here to compare with the amount of charities which are frequently met with in England, and which are started owing to the enormous difference between the great wealth and the incredible poverty. Thousands of people devote themselves systematically to relieving the poor. In *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1910 I found a list of eighty-four charity bequests ranging from 10,000*l*. to 500,000*l*.; they amounted to 3,652,000*l*., and represented 23 per cent. of the total sum left. Glancing cursorily through the *Charity Register* of 1910, I gathered that the receipts of the charitable institutions in London, including the Bible and Missionary Societies, amounted to 8,500,000*l*.

To characterise a nation without mentioning the 'woman' would be building a house without a roof or a foundation. What distinguishes a lady of the higher and upper middle classes in England from her sister abroad is her independence, due on the one hand to the respect which she enjoys and which allows no man to approach her but with the greatest deference, and prevents him using a coarse word in her presence—and, on the other, to her athletic upbringing, which removes all ideas of helplessness and timidity, so often attributed to the feminine sex. The young girl goes out alone, and unmolested and unharmed visits her relations in India and Canada. Intelligence and common sense, gracefulness and feminine charm, a lack of coquettishness and affectation are the characteristics of the refined English *lady*, which word, like that of *gentleman*, includes a long series of good qualities. The English lady treats social life more as duty than as pleasure; she takes a keen interest in politics, and many a member of Parliament owes his privilege of being allowed to put M.P. after his name to the influence of his wife among the electors.

English women have greater capacity for enjoying solitude and occupying themselves with the duties of their surroundings than those on the Continent. They accustom themselves easily to leading a country life, whilst the Parisian and the Viennese (who resemble each other so much) often prevent their husbands retiring from business and living in the country.

Strongly marked individuality, natural need for independence, lack of wealth, which latter often obliges the daughters of good families to earn their living, enable women of the upper middle classes to take a more prominent position in the world than do women in foreign countries. Ladies as doctors, journalists, nurses, heads of business houses, are often to be met with. English women have proved in various ways that they have had their share in rendering the Anglo-Saxon race efficient and thorough.

English laws give married women rights as to their property, and for the last twenty years they have been allowed to have a vote in municipal elections. We have only to refer to the suffragette movement as evidence of their wish to have a parliamentary vote also.

It is not possible to speak about English peculiarities without mentioning 'snobbery'—this word cannot be translated, which proves it to be essentially English. The social division of classes is more intricate in England than anywhere else. In each of the three divisions—upper, middle, and working classes—are a number of sub-divisions. With the exception of a few learned men who have acquired importance, the boundary is settled by the amount of income. The workman who earns 50*s*. a week feels himself vastly superior to one who gets 30*s*.; he, again, ranks higher than a day labourer. The same difference is to be found among commercial people and aristocrats. Somewhere or other I have come across the word *Gesellschaftspyramide*, which describes exactly the social differences in England. The democratic feeling in that country makes it possible for everyone and anyone to reach the summit of the pyramid—hence the characteristic but untranslatable word 'pushing,' with its meaning of striding forward, and getting higher, or at least appearing to do so.

The German undergraduate gladly wears his cap and sash to proclaim himself a student; the French workman feels his importance in his blue blouse; the Englishman, on the other hand, imitates in dress those above him in station. The omnibus driver wears (or, rather, wore) a frock coat and top hat, like his passengers, and everywhere, and especially on Sundays, we meet women of the lower classes wearing the cast-off, smart but shabby, velvet and silk dresses of their mistresses, which strikes us as peculiar. This snobbishness has a great influence on English life. The growth of London is directly due to it—the middle classes wish to live in a house of their own, and if France sends yearly to England eggs to the value of 15,000,000 francs, it is because the wife of the small English farmer is more taken up with imitating her betters in her 'drawing-room' than in looking after her poultry yard.

I can find no psychological explanation for the extraordinary fact that the Englishman, the *beau-idéal* of common sense and cool headedness, should so strive after extremes. Everything in England becomes enormous; the population of its capital is greater than that of all the large towns in Austria-Hungary together. The unit of money—the pound sterling—is twenty-four times bigger than ours. Boundless is the respect for forms and conventions—take, for example, their unpractical weights, measures, and coinage. The Englishman calls his home—a narrow, ugly building

with three windows in front—his 'castle'; his park with an area of fifty hectares is, however, his 'garden.' Nowhere in the world are contrasts so striking as in England. The riches and refinement of the 'West End' are in alarming contrast to the poverty and squalor of the 500,000 inhabitants of the 'East End.' The City resembles in the daytime an ant-heap—at night a churchyard. The theatres produce either works by the almost divine Shakespeare, or incredibly insipid and sensational pieces. Terribly stiff with the stranger, the Englishman is, on the other hand, without his equal in charm of manner with anyone brought to his home—he is either foe or friend. Although strict in his views on morality (we may recall the ostracism of Byron, Parnell, Gorki, and others) he is otherwise extraordinarily free; anyone is allowed to put up a platform in the open air in fashionable Hyde Park, and to hold forth there his political or religious views. Easy as it is to get married in England, it is excessively difficult and expensive to get divorced. Comfortable and refined as a London house is inside, unutterably sad is the impression of a London street, with its monotonous, inartistic rows of houses, which seem to be made of pasteboard. *Punch* has cleverly caricatured this. A tenant was showing his landlord a wall in his house which had tumbled down. The owner thought for a long time what could have caused the damage, and at last exclaimed: 'I'll wager some one leant against it.'

I will now glance rapidly at the political situation in the island. With only a slight knowledge of the English one might think them the easiest nation to describe, but that would be a mistake. Easy as it might be to understand the English individual, it is difficult to determine the British national character. The national economy is not identical with the sum of the individual economies, nor is the character of the nation the same as the character of the individual—otherwise many things which we see happening in the United Kingdom would be inexplicable to us; notably the obsession as to invasion which has been lying like a ton weight on millions of Englishmen, as though their island were encircled by German ships of war. This fear of invasion amounting to paroxysm is a sign of overstrung nerves, in consequence of which one imagines dangers coming from every direction but the right one. Truly hysterical was that dread of Germany, which even appeared in some of the best newspapers, and caused a member in the House to ask the Minister for War whether he was aware that near Charing Cross 50,000 Mauser rifles and 7,500,000 cartridges were concealed, and that in England there were 66,000 trained German soldiers. No less surprising is it to hear a Minister in office in England, that country which

reverences ancient institutions so highly, declare in referring to the aristocracy, of which the country is rightly proud, that 'money is like a heap of manure, which to be useful must be scattered abroad.'

To understand these proceedings it will be necessary to take a general view of the situation in England, and thereby endeavour to understand the importance of those very diverse and difficult problems—economic, military, social and agricultural—which press for a solution.

When a man who generally enjoys robust health falls ill in middle life, the germs of disease, which have been dormant in his constitution for a long time, are apt to develop in consequence of enfeebled powers of resistance. The British Empire appears to be in a similar condition; for, as by a magic stroke, problems which have been long slumbering have come forward into the light. If we look for the causes which have disturbed the condition of political peace, enjoyed for so many years, we must recognise and acknowledge the recent changes in the political and agricultural conditions of life.

Until lately, political life in England has been characterised, not so much by striking events—such as have come into prominence abroad—but rather by lack of them. National, social, and economic problems seem to have been solved there by parliamentary reform at home. During the fifty years since the Indian Mutiny, no great disturbances have arisen in the vast empire. It almost seemed as if the movement which aimed at uprooting nations, and which was the characteristic sign of the latter half of the last century, would stop short on the borders of the British Empire—for the Irish question was not one of language, but of agrarian laws and Home Rule after religious difficulties had been settled by the Catholic Emancipation Act. When the generals of the Victorian age could dare to summon for their South African campaign picked troops from India—where 20,000 English hold sway over natives 10,000 times greater in number—a burst of admiration went through the whole civilised world in realising the statesmanship of the Island Empire, which apparently had answered the one great question of the century. England also seemed free from the second political anxiety, which was disturbing other countries. A social question which occupied men's minds abroad—a labour party demanding recognition—did not arise there; the two political parties—Conservative and Liberal—succeeded one another as they had done for centuries. Constitutional principles were able also to influence economic life, as was proved by Chambers of Commerce and Boards for settling labour disputes. The vast political and economic freedom, the sharp separation between the educated and uneducated artisans,

the high wage of the former seemed to bridge over the chasm between capital and labour. England was the country of social freedom without a Socialistic current.

A third force gave England—compared with other Powers—a splendid isolation. No trace was discernible there of the strong agrarian agitation so evident on the Continent. For more than a hundred years the United Kingdom had placed its entire foreign and home political economy at the service of trade, manufactures and finance—had sacrificed home agriculture to superior foreign competition and had given up supplying its markets with home produce. The proportion of home-grown corn to the total consumption of grain and flour has sunk to 14 per cent. It sounds like a myth to say so, but England was the first country, two hundred years before ever Germany did so, to introduce a duty on imported corn, and far into the nineteenth century it was able to grow at home all the grain it needed. The depreciation in the value of corn in England in the nineteenth century is without parallel in the history of the world. The value of agricultural soil in the United Kingdom has sunk enormously, and in spite of their great political influence in the House of Lords, the English landowners have accepted this fact with a certain fatalism.

Up to the beginning of the eighties the Liberal commercial policy was a success. Other nations imitated the example of Free Trade, and English goods—unrivalled—found markets all over the world. In contrast to the world-power of Napoleon and its closing of frontiers, the policy of England was that of the 'open door.' Her political supremacy appeared to enable her to dispense with every economic weapon and to menace the interests of no other nation. On that rests the unheard-of prestige which Great Britain enjoyed at that time. When Free Trade proved such a success, England, whose Colonies were of such great value, was the only great agricultural domain in the world; its vast manufacturing superiority, too, made legal limitations to foreign competition superfluous.

But matters have altered since three new great commercial countries have arisen outside the British Empire, whose economic legislation, with increasing duties on imports, has hindered the introduction of English products into many great markets.

The war of American Independence having ended, the first disloyal colony developed an industrial importance the extent of which had been only dimly predicted by the genius of Goethe. Situated conveniently between two oceans, having the monopoly of growing cotton, and with an inexhaustible supply of coal and other minerals, the United States have become the first commercial country of the present day. A great industrial movement set in in Germany, and in less than one generation America and

Germany have not only overtaken British trade—in spite of England's long start—but have in a great measure passed it, and with astonishing success are even running it close in its own Colonies. The exports of Germany to Great Britain and the English Colonies in 1909 amounted to 18 per cent. of the total German output, and even Austria could send goods there valued at 323,000,000 crowns.

Another country is building itself slowly to commercial importance, viz., Russia. This huge Empire, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the regions where grow palms and cotton plants, has by systematic means of communication and economic policy acquired recognition in trade. The policy of the United States and Russia is based on entirely other foundations than that of England, namely, high tariffs and autocracy. By prohibitive duties they have endeavoured to supply the home markets with home produce, agricultural and industrial. In democratic America no less than in despotic Russia the traveller has to undergo as searching and humiliating an examination as any criminal. During the last twenty years English imports have practically been shut out from two of the largest commercial countries, and the expectation that other countries would compensate England for admitting their goods free of duty has not been realised. The other hypothesis of Free Trade has also shown signs of weakness; not only has England's unique position in trade been lost, but even her prominence among other countries is threatened. Her superiority in all technical branches has passed over to Germany. The proportion of pig iron has increased since 1880: in England from 7,749,000 tons to 10,000,000, *i.e.*, 30 per cent.; in Germany from 2,713,000 tons to 14,793,000, *i.e.*, 450 per cent. In a more striking manner Germany has surpassed England in its production of ingot iron and steel, as well as in chemical and electrotechnical manufactures. Only in certain branches—in machinery, and especially in textiles and shipbuilding—has England a very decided start. Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Japan, and China are creeping slowly forward, and everywhere English trade meets with customs boundaries which threaten to increase.

In the gross total of English exports in the year 1909 33 per cent. went to the Colonies, 42 per cent. to Mexico, Central America, South America, China, Turkey (countries more or less influenced by free competition) and 25 per cent. to Middle Europe, Russia, and the U.S.A.

In the meantime this industrial agitation had left its traces in the Colonies. India, Australia, and Canada had begun to further their own interests, and in the two last-named taxes on imports were levied. The advantages offered by the Colonies to

England, as regards the duties to be paid, were not great, because the Motherland had nothing to offer in return. England therefore took refuge in the principle of influencing the Colonies by its policy of credit and by its power of capital. By bestowing a pupillary security for the value of the Colonies, she has procured for herself the possibility of exercising pressure in trade transactions. Whilst reducing loans to those countries which were outside the sphere of British influence, we have seen this method, which private capital adopted, also tried in France, where the Government limits entrance to French money markets to grants of a political, commercial, or industrial nature. To satisfy the whole world is no longer possible. A doubt in the infallibility of the Liberal doctrine, regarded as sacred for nearly half a century, arose strongest on the question of trade, and the Imperialism which flamed forth towards the end of the last century is really nothing else but a sharp criticism of the traditional English economic policy and its vitality.

In close connexion with the commercial and Imperial question stands the military one. Until late in the nineteenth century England was the only country whose Budget was capable of producing the sum necessary for maintaining a large fleet—the Army being of small expense—and whose manufactures had so far advanced that it was able to provide the fleet with the newest inventions. But all this has changed; other countries have been able to increase their revenues from different sources, and to add to their trade. Meanwhile the U.S.A., the German Empire, and Japan have become first-class Powers, and they take a great national interest in the command of the sea, and are competing severely in the building of warships, so that England with the greatest difficulty will be able to hold its own on the ocean—all the more because countries not generally reckoned as maritime, such as Austria-Hungary and Italy, feel themselves obliged to take part in naval and war preparations. The never-ceasing number of inventions causes the start made in times past to appear illusory and almost makes it necessary to rebuild the fleet completely every ten years, in which work that country will take the lead which not only can meet the expense but also possesses the newest technical improvements.

In both directions England is in danger in the course of time of being overtaken by other countries. Even to-day the Budget figures of the confederated States and of the German Empire are higher than those of Great Britain. The total receipts of the German Empire and of the confederated States amounted in 1910 to 7,176,000,000 marks, whilst in Great Britain the total sum was only 4,052,000,000 marks. The direct taxes per head in

1907 in Great Britain amounted in marks to 45.6, compared with only 24.8 in Germany : duties on articles of consumption amounted to 31.7 in Great Britain and 19.6 in Germany; and dues, 15.8 in Great Britain, 5 only in Germany.

This situation of affairs is due to the difference between the English Liberal financial policy and that of State-Socialism in Germany. Nearly half of the revenue in Germany provided by the confederated States is derived from the railways and crown lands, whilst England is obliged to depend entirely on her customs and taxes; added to this she has to pay almost entirely alone the expenses incurred in protecting and strengthening her Colonies.

In contrast to former times, the chief anxiety also of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England is to discover new objects on which to levy taxes, and the expenditure for the maintenance of the fleet has reached a height which even in that rich country is anything but appreciated.

But the question of the fleet is not so difficult as that of the English Army; even if it were possible for the former to maintain its superiority, it seems impossible to create a real Army in England. The increase of capital has almost done away with the peasant class, and without peasants no army can exist.

From these various facts one can explain the increasing dread felt towards Germany, whose trade, finding 'closed doors' both in Russia and the U.S.A., seeks, like England, an outlet for its exports in other parts of the world, including the British Colonies. Political, financial, and economic reasons are forcing England to alter her relationship with her Colonies, and Germany would be the country most seriously affected. It is not, therefore, unnatural that a certain anxiety should exist in these two countries—as the conflict arising from such profound interests must influence the opinions of men in determining the economic question. The strategic aspect must also be considered. Germany can concentrate its fleet within sight of England, whilst the Mother Country, to preserve her interests, must dominate not only the Atlantic but also the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian and the Pacific Oceans.

It has also come about that the parties, which till now have been organised mainly from the political point of view, are beginning to divide on social and class questions.

Capitalism has reached its high-water mark in the British Empire; in agriculture, as in manufactures and trade, it had been fully and universally developed there before even foundations had been laid in other countries. Owing to his English experiences, Karl Marx wrote that great and strange work which has become the modern Bible for the labour class on the Continent—on the Continent, not in England. In considering the development of manufactures, one would have concluded that a Labour party

would have appeared in England at least a generation before it appeared with us. As a fact, it appeared a generation later. Long ago England was aware of the abuses caused in the way of producing goods for the great capitalists. Cotton goods in Lancashire—the pride of England—were made largely by women, but principally by children, whose pitiable overwrought condition found an echo in the pathos of Carlyle and in the dramatic appeals of Marx and Engel. England possessed cruel laws against combination, and for years watched these laws being misconstrued and administered in a harsh and inconsiderate manner. However, without having recourse to a revolution, a way was found by the making of factory laws to escape from this paid white slavery in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and by a remarkable and unique system of labour unions to evade the prohibitory laws. The Chartist movement brought England near to a revolution, but already, through the Reform Bill and Anti Corn Laws—the propaganda of the reformers, Cobden and Bright—the points of contact between the middle classes and the working classes had become too important and too numerous for the Chartist to be able to realise his ideal of a complete political democracy. A new generation of artisans grew up, who, under the influence of the teachings of political economists and reformers, sought for an improvement in their position by organised self-help. Then began the period of trade unions, with their relief clubs and the substitution of trade union tactics for class struggles. For decades the working classes of England were unfamiliar with the central thought of Continental Socialism, the endeavour to gain political power by improving, and if possible re-organising, the economic condition of the working classes. To the middle of the 'eighties the principle of *laissez-faire* was the political and social creed of the trade unions' leaders. Ten years later a new spirit of socialistic ideas predominated in the union-congresses of the Socialist party.

Henry George shook the artisans up, the writings of Marx were scattered abroad, and the uneducated workpeople organised themselves. The Fabian Society encouraged also the socialistic tendencies of the members of the *bourgeoisie*. But scarcely had this new spirit in the working classes gained recognition, when youth and strength flowed towards Parliament and municipalities, and a Labour party arose in the House of Commons, with Socialistic views. As long as English manufacturers ruled the markets of the world, the working class—especially the educated artisans—were fully occupied and received sufficient wage, but developments during the last century have changed all that. British trade has not grown in proportion to its population. English capital has sought and found its sphere of activity principally in the Colonies. The number of commercial ventures which have arisen in India

and Australia is very considerable, and although the English capitalist reaps the benefit of these, the English workman derives no profit. The Mother Country is increasingly being transformed from a preponderatingly industrial into a trading, navigating, and even partly into a merely investing State, owing to the commercial policy of foreign countries, and the development of Colonial industries. The vast use and improvement in machinery has tended to lessen the number of workmen employed in the manufacture of English goods. Take, for example, the manufacture of textiles. Although the value of the production during the last fifty years has risen from 110,000,000*l*. to 205,000,000*l*., the number of workmen employed decreased from 1,500,000 to 1,300,000. In spite of the extraordinary development in this important branch of British industry, 6-700,000 fewer people (including members of families) are in employment than was the case half a century ago. The backwardness in many branches of industry, owing to foreign competition, has become painfully apparent to the English, and during the last ten years desperate efforts have been made to regain ground lost. The superiority of German manufactures has been ascribed often to better preparation at school, consequently a reform in education was planned, and the sum voted for it was enormous. To protect trade all German-manufactured articles had to be marked, 'Made in Germany.' A law relating to patents was passed which brought about the creation of a number of foreign branch establishments. But all these precautions could not bring back to the British Empire its lost commercial preeminence.

The times of abundant employment for the whole of the working classes is over even in England, and the numbers of the unemployed are increasing. It remains to be seen whether the settlement of the labour question, the economic policy of the Government, and the Poor Laws will succeed in solving the difficulty. Already once before the island kingdom has been face to face with the same question, namely, at the beginning of the last century, when Malthus devised his gloomy doctrine and Goethe regarded the reclaiming of land from the sea as the crowning ideal in Faust's life-purpose. At that time British genius found a way out of the difficulty. Principally by means of English capital large territories beyond the sea were made accessible for farming, and the products were admitted to England free of duty. To-day the question is a more knotty one; it is as much a problem of production as of distribution. The problem is how to increase industrial productivity and markets in spite of the protective duties of other large States in proportion to the growth of the population, to encourage agriculture in the oversea dominions,

and to check the growing disproportion between machinery and wage capital.

It is impossible to speak about English political economy without at least alluding in a few words to their credit system and their national debt. The typical spread of the cheque system has replaced the use of paper money, and has given to their money market a wider range than is the case in any other country. Almost two hundred years ago, long before the Continental banks were founded, England had made use of cheques, and the banking facilities there are considerably greater than anywhere on the Continent. Many of the leading English deposit banks have the control over more than 6-700 business houses.

And yet just in this wonderful arrangement for supplying the want of ready money there is a danger. The whole great money market rests on the narrow gold reserve of the Bank of England. London is still the only place in the world where one really receives gold, and therefore if there is a dearth in money loans, the Bank of England is the first to be exposed to an attack on its reserve. But although this Bank is to meet the claims of all the world's markets, and is to serve as the foundation for all deposits, yet it is considerably smaller in its reserve funds than, for example, the Austro-Hungarian Bank. Herein we have an explanation of the frequent changes in the English bank-rate during the last ten years.

Striking is the energy displayed in England in paying off the National Debt. The nineteenth century lay as a burden on the rising generation in Germany; in England it was just the contrary. The English National Debt is 200,000,000*l*. smaller than a hundred years ago. It is extraordinary that the British nation, in the middle of building Dreadnoughts, were able to pay off in one year 15,000,000*l*. borrowed during the Boer War. In strange contrast to this is the great fall in the value of Consols, which is at present lower than at any time since the Napoleonic wars. This may be partly explained by Goschen's conversion of them, and by the South African War; but mainly by the privilege given to a large category of colonial investments.

Since the time of the Romans no other nation has succeeded in striding across the earth and maintaining its mastery over far-reaching empires in different continents. But in contrast to what happened in the Roman Empire, there appears to be no sign of decadence either in the political or the social condition of England. The vigour and thoroughness of the race, the dignity of the individual, seem rather to have strengthened with time. No other nation has done so much in spreading what we call civilisation, by the way in which it has intervened in developing the prospects of less prosperous countries and in ameliorating

the lot of the people. England, with her wonderful statesmanship, in spreading education and a love of justice, has wrought inestimable benefits to mankind. Although her economic supremacy was not accompanied by an abundance of artists, as was the case in the Italian towns, in Spain and in the Netherlands, yet Great Britain, after acquiring political and commercial importance in the Victorian era, exercised through men like Carlyle, Darwin, Spencer and many others, the strongest influence on the development of intellectual life. Only in the narrower sphere of the plastic arts must England give place to the Continent, except, perhaps, in the domain of applied arts for satisfying the practical necessities of life.

The Empire—parts of which are united by the slenderest threads—rests on the foundation of unquestioned mastery at sea and on the peace of the world; hence the nervousness displayed by England on account of the naval and warlike preparations of other countries. Modern capitalism almost resembles a house of cards, which will fall down if one card is taken out. The narrow gold reserve, on which a huge credit system is built up, the dependence of the Mother Country on foreign imports, the great national movements in the Colonies, the decrease in employment of labour in manufactures, the formation of strong foreign fleets, the necessity for introducing universal military service, the great change in the old traditional Constitution by reforming the Upper House—are all problems of such deep importance that no nation has so far had to solve them all at the same time. Already the hold over Ireland is beginning to slacken, in spite of the pressure used for more than a hundred years, and Home Rule is within easy reach. Other changes will follow, and the coming generations will experience a fundamental change in old forms, which we to-day are only dimly suspecting, without being able to picture to ourselves what will accrue in the fate of nations and the culture of the future.

Charles Morawitz.

Vienna.

THE MUDDLE IN EGYPT AND THE WAY OUT[1]

Six years ago the Government of Egypt was looked upon as one of the most striking examples of British administrative success, of which the nation was justly proud. In face of great difficulties a bankrupt country had been made prosperous, tyranny had given place to freedom, and the coping-stone of Lord Cromer's great architectural triumph had been placed in position, when, in April 1904, the French nation agreed to our having a free hand in Egypt. England was to be at liberty to continue her work there without interference, an agreement to which France has loyally adhered. English officials in Egypt were interested in and proud of their work, and of the great progress achieved under Lord Cromer. The native officials had acquiesced in the position, and very little friction was observable between them and their English colleagues. As one of them, a Mohammedan, at that time remarked to the writer: 'the country is yours in all but name; why do you not hoist the flag and have done with it?' He at least was not unwilling to entrust the destinies of his country to the British Empire. At that time any young Englishman who entered the Egyptian Civil Service was looked upon as a fortunate being, and Lord Cromer was just arranging a scheme by which he hoped to have the pick of the Universities from which to recruit.

To-day what a contrast! Native officials discontented and irresponsive to their English colleagues' advances; English officials disappointed and thwarted; many of the younger men only too anxious to get away from uncongenial work to which they feel they have been introduced under false pretences; finally, the British public at home, realising that something is wrong in Egypt but not understanding what, or why, and, most unfortunately for their compatriots in Egypt, not caring sufficiently about the matter

[1] The writer has not unnaturally hesitated before making public certain of the following facts, but generalities without some particulars are not very convincing. He can assure his fellow-countrymen in the Egyptian Government service that no one has a greater admiration than he for the work they are performing under the present impossible conditions, and that no one is more convinced that their greatest desire is to be allowed to work unhampered and honestly for the good of the vast majority of the Egyptian people.

to insist upon the Foreign Office getting the Egyptian Government on to the right lines again. It is time some effort was made to lay before the public at home the true facts of the case.

The Government of Egypt is, as is inevitable, somewhat anomalous. It of course rests finally on the presence of the British troops in Egypt: that is to say, on the occupation, and the occupation is of necessity, strictly speaking, 'illegal,' although it has been acquiesced in by the other European Powers. An endeavour has been made on our part to refrain from altering the forms of government which we found in existence when we entered Egypt, and at the same time to control as unobtrusively as possible the native officials responsible for the government. These are probably the best lines to work on, assuming that the simplest solution of proclaiming the country a protectorate (a solution which is chiefly attractive on account of the great difficulty of at present legislating in Egypt under the Capitulations) is for ever to remain impracticable.

It is necessary, in order to understand the present state of affairs in Egypt and to make clear the existing mischief which this article is intended to expose, to state shortly what form of government we found in Egypt and what are the modifications we have made in it. At the head of the government we found the Khedive, although he was at that moment in a very precarious position; under him were the various Ministers, each at the head of his own department and each responsible to him.

How has this state of things been modified since the occupation? The government remains as much national in form as it was the day we entered Egypt, and, if the substance were identical with the form, Egypt would be governed as much in accordance with Egyptian ideas as it was in the days of the Khedive Ismail. But British control has been obtained by the presence of British officials in the background. To each native Minister is attached a British 'Adviser,' who is not responsible to the Khedive at all, but to the British Agent-General, the latter being himself responsible only to the Foreign Office; so that the ultimate responsibility for the Government of Egypt falls on the home Government. It must continue so to fall so long as the occupation exists.

Now the view of English and Egyptians as to the methods which are desirable and as to the objects to be attained in government are not identical, and it is obvious that the views of the British Agent-General and his British Advisers must ultimately prevail, so long as England remains responsible to her own conscience and to the world for the government of Egypt.

The mere statement of the position exposes its difficulty. A tendency to confuse the substance with the form is not unlikely, and must prove fatal. So long as British supremacy was insisted

upon by the strong personality who devised the system, things worked fairly smoothly. But a strong personality at the head is essential, and the iron hand within the velvet glove must never be altogether lost sight of. Once let the idea prevail that the grip is loosened, and difficulties must ensue. British 'advice' does not mean advice which may be adopted or ignored as the Minister pleases, but advice which must be followed; otherwise Egypt will go her own way, and her way is not ours. To entrust the government to Ministers whose aim is to make the government independent of British control is to create an impossible situation. Let us free our minds from cant. We went to Egypt to serve our own purposes, and we intend to remain there for the like reason, however much the majority of Egyptian officials, as is only natural, may desire our departure. Too much stress has undoubtedly been laid recently at headquarters on the purely educational side of the occupation. The primary reason for its existence has been overlooked. It is none the less true that it is the earnest desire of Englishmen, both in Egypt and at home, that the occupation should benefit the Egyptians; and no one will deny that it has done so in the past. To keep our troops in Egypt and at the same time to leave the inhabitants to the mercies of the former ruling class would be altogether unworthy of us, and is unthinkable. Our British civil officials must therefore remain there alongside the troops; and, if there, they must be allowed, in justice to themselves, to work to the best of their ability for the general good of the country.

Upon Lord Cromer's departure a new policy was openly inaugurated. The British officials were called together and lectured on the subject that they were in no way to attempt to govern, but merely to teach the Egyptians to govern themselves. Unfortunately, as has been pointed out, the native and British views of a just administration do not coincide. From that day onwards English officials have always had the feeling that they will not be backed up at the top, and that British influence is not really intended to be operative. The encouragement of the Nationalists has strengthened that feeling, and has added to their difficulties. In Egypt, where initiative is greatly lacking, all natives prefer to support the winning side. (It may be noted, however, that the Copts, after the murder of the first Coptic Premier, found this no longer possible; and to-day there is a real division between Moslems and Copts, the latter favouring British influence.) The position of the British subordinate official under existing circumstances is moreover often exceedingly unfair; he is obliged to acquiesce in what he knows to be wrong, and he therefore naturally feels that his work is being neglected. He is drawing his salary for doing nothing, nay, worse than that, for being

inspectors. It is not surprising that the native wants to know where is the necessity for paying an English official who no longer assists the administration of the country, but is in fact an encumbrance, seeing that the state of affairs would be exactly the same without his presence.

Having set out the general political situation in Egypt, we will now go more into detail and show some of the specific results of the present policy of *laisser-faire* in Egypt.

In the provinces the relative position of English and native officials is very similar to that of the Adviser and Minister in Cairo. At the head of each Province is the native *Mudir* or Governor, assisted by his native sub-*mudir*. British control is represented by the parallel and advisory staff of British Inspectors of the Interior, who, although members of the Ministry of the Interior, are in reality responsible to the Adviser at that Ministry. The Governor was formerly bound to work in harmony with the British Inspectors, who in the year 1906 numbered eleven.

These latter practically held watching briefs, inspecting the work of the native officials and forming estimates of their individual capacities with a view to promotion. The necessity for their approval of the promotions recommended by the native executive was in fact the key to their influence and the sanction of their authority, as well as the guarantee of honest administration in the provinces.

There is one criticism of the working of the system in those days which it is not fair to omit. The Inspectors sometimes, and the Junior Inspectors (who were in charge during the summer) always, were not sufficiently old for their position. It was not satisfactory that a native in the high position of a Governor of a Province should be really under the orders of a young man who might be his son. Nor was it fair to a boy, who must at least catch the complaint of a swollen head, to be put in such a position. Worked on those lines the system was bound to detract greatly from the importance of the Governor's position in the eyes of his province. Englishmen, however, whatever their faults of manner may be, are genuinely anxious in Egypt to work harmoniously with their native colleagues; and six years ago any Governor would have been perfectly willing and ready to work with any English Inspector of suitable age.

The system itself appears to be quite worthy of continuance, provided that Inspectors of sufficient experience are appointed, with, if necessary, an increase of salary to obtain the older men. Meanwhile their subordinates, while learning the business under them, should have no independent power, but merely report to their Inspector.

With the deliberate withdrawal of British influence now

observable, the English Inspectorate was reduced by more than 50 per cent. Only five inspectors were assigned to the whole of Egypt; while the surplus English officials were drafted off to new posts in which their duty mainly consisted in inspecting the buttons of a native policeman's uniform, without any disciplinary powers whatever with which to enforce their authority. It is scarcely surprising that men of University education find little satisfaction in this occupation.

The truth is that on the appointment of Mohammed Pasha Said, the present Premier, to be Minister of the Interior (a man who largely owed his influence to his Nationalist leanings and to his anti-British propaganda) no stone was left unturned to vitiate and neutralise the acts of his predecessors. Englishmen who were the known interpreters and friends of Lord Cromer's *régime* were either relegated to sinecures or their existing functions emasculated. New legislation passed during this period, such as the Exile Law (mentioned below), or the reorganisation of the Provincial Councils designed to be the germ for the development of the self-governing instinct, ignored the very existence of the few British Inspectors remaining. The men who had held watching briefs had now become briefless, their advice as to promotion was no longer sought, and they were left to wonder how they were destined to educate when all opportunities for influencing the native were denied them. The net result of the change was that nepotism became rampant once more; for the native staff of officials promotion was blocked by the appointment of the friends, relations, and political sympathisers of the Minister. Efficiency naturally perished. The entire failure of the cotton worm regulations under native auspices during this period was characteristic, and only attracted more attention at the time because it happened to hit the pocket of Lancashire and questions were asked in Parliament.

Lord Cromer was perfectly right in desiring as few British officials in Egypt as was consistent with efficiency, and those officials to be only of the best-educated class of men. But there are certain departments in which, as we have shown to be the case in the Inspectorate of the Interior, more British officials are absolutely necessary for efficiency.

Such also is the case in the Prison Department of the Interior. At its head is a distinguished Englishman who may well be satisfied with the transformation he has effected in the Egyptian prisons. The buildings are clean and airy, the prisoners contented and well fed, in fact better fed than they are in their own homes. But the Inspector-General of Prisons would doubtless readily admit the great difficulty he has in finding any native governors for his gaols who are capable of enforcing an effective discipline.

The warders are of an exceedingly unsatisfactory class, and it is sometimes difficult to remember that a uniform does not alter the characteristics of its wearer. There are seven central prisons, each of which contains some 700 to 1000 prisoners, with the staff of warders. Now there is little doubt that what is needed is an English officer (who has served in the Egyptian army) at the head of each of the prisons, with a couple of English non-commissioned officers under him as head warders. (Probably many an English officer would be willing to accept the post at a salary of 500*l.* a year and a house.) Nor can it be pretended that the proportion of three Englishmen to an establishment comprising at least a thousand natives, and of such importance to the State as is a prison, is unduly large. Yet if the lack of discipline is brought before headquarters and some such remedy is suggested, the answer is that the question is not whether the prisons are being administered satisfactorily, but whether they are better than they were at the time of the commencement of the occupation (the argument is a little difficult to follow), coupled with an absolute refusal under any circumstances to create any fresh posts for Englishmen in Egypt.

Although the well-intentioned criticism of President Roosevelt on Egyptian affairs has not been universally welcomed, it must be remarked that most of the British officials working in Egypt felt genuinely grateful to him for having endeavoured to bring before Englishmen at home the weakness and unworthiness of our present policy. Surely the present administration of the Interior alone is sufficient to justify his suggestion that if we are unwilling to govern Egypt efficiently we should leave it to others to take our place.

Next let us turn for a moment to the administration of Justice in Egypt—the department which, with that of irrigation, touches perhaps most closely the lives of her inhabitants. On entering Egypt we found the French system of law established there, and we rightly thought it best to continue its development, rather than succumb to the natural temptation of remodelling it on our own system. Sixteen European judges, fourteen of whom are British, assist their native colleagues, numbering over a hundred, in the Egyptian native Courts—the Courts which try those cases, civil and criminal, in which natives alone are concerned. The system is, roughly, that an Englishman, where he sits at all, forms one of a Court of three, the other two members being natives. The Englishman may be outvoted by his two colleagues, and in that case cannot express his dissent in Court (in this the practice follows the French system), but is bound to acquiesce by his signature in the judgment of the majority. His position is obviously liable to be one of difficulty, and, when English influence in the

country is in abeyance, it may become almost impossible. But the system, on the whole, works satisfactorily, and the English judge has, as a rule, the confidence of his native colleagues, who at least give him the credit for having no axe to grind. As a matter of fact, the native judges are perhaps the body of men who give most hope for the future of their country. They often work hard, are almost always interested in a point of law, and only fail at times to grasp the more practical side of the case.

Under these circumstances, if the English Judicial Adviser takes the trouble to keep in touch with the English judges, he can practically have his eye and hand on the administration of justice throughout the country. The following incident, however, is not unworthy of comment. Six years ago it was decided by Lord Cromer to appoint (in addition to those sitting on the Court of Appeal) an English judge to each of the seven Native Courts of first instance, five of which are in the provinces. As there were some dozen native judges in each of these jurisdictions it was not undesirable that an English judge should lend prestige to each central Court. (As a matter of fact to enable an English judge to be present at every sitting of importance in the provinces it would be necessary to have not one but two English judges in each centre.) It will be evident that the position of these new judges, fresh from the Bar at home, was at all events at first not an easy one. It was therefore arranged that these seven judges scattered throughout the length of Egypt should meet two or three times a year at the Ministry of Justice in Cairo to exchange views in consultation, and to aid the development of uniformity in the judicial system in vogue at each provincial centre. Several meetings were held with good results, but on the arrival of the new Agent-General the meetings were declared 'imprudent' and abolished. They were supposed to be distasteful to the native judges. It never occurred to the gentlemen concerned in the abolition of those meetings that conceivably their presence in Egypt was equally distasteful to the natives in their respective spheres, and that, while we were in occupation of Egypt, our duty was to govern it in accordance with our ideas of efficiency.

It may be remarked in passing that the late Sir John Scott, when Judicial Adviser, hoped that the Native Courts might some day be able to deal with all the judicial business of the country, and thus do away with mixed international Courts in Egypt. He of course realised that a larger proportion of European judges would be needed, were Europeans to be asked to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of these Courts.[3] Unfortunately, the tendency is now all in the opposite direction, and already the British judgeship at one of the central native tribunals instituted

[3] See letter of Sir John Scott to the *Times*, February 13, 1899.

six years ago has been abolished. In deploring this a native judge remarked to the writer that, although the British judge may be slower at mastering a case owing to the difficulties of the Arabic language, yet his presence adds enormously in the eyes of the district to the confidence reposed in the Courts.

One of the most important qualifications of a judge, to the mind of an English lawyer, is his independence of the executive, and we should have expected this rule to be observed in Egypt. The law has, in fact, been carefully drawn up to ensure the irremovability of the judges of appeal in the Native Courts, and the native judges are always appointed for life. Nevertheless, recently the British Adviser has, with the concurrence of the Agent-General, reversed the practice of the last twenty years, and, ignoring the independence of judges guaranteed by the law, has appointed British judges for periods of from seven to ten years. A native judge can safely be appointed for life, but an Englishman, forsooth, cannot! Another weakening of British authority! This innovation, by which at least every ten years the British judge has to sue for the good offices of the executive, is really taking away from the Egyptian people a safeguard promised them by the law. It is not too much to say that unless judges are independent of the executive, there is really no object in having any judges at all. The change in question has been carried through in spite of a (with one exception) unanimous protest by the British judges to the Agent-General, and it has been brought to the knowledge of the Foreign Secretary at home, so far without result.

A distinguished English judge, and the finest Arabic scholar in the country, has recently been dismissed after twenty years' service at the age of fifty-four for no other ascertainable reason than the hostility of the native Prime Minister, and without any kind of enquiry being granted to him, either at home or in Egypt. Such treatment of an Englishman must have a deplorable effect in the country. As a matter of fact, the position of even the senior Englishmen in the Egyptian Government Service has become intolerable. To whom can they apply for justice? The Foreign Office simply shelter themselves behind the 'Egyptian Government'—although they are, as has been shown, in fact responsible for that government. The desire to evade responsibility, so universal in Egyptian native circles, appears to be catching, and to have spread from Egypt to Downing Street.

There is this substantial benefit, at any rate, which may reasonably be expected from the Occupation, namely, that the British Advisers having control of appointments and promotions, the inevitable favouritism of the native Ministers may be kept within bounds. The British Adviser is altogether apart from the family influences in native circles, and he is able to ascertain from

his 'staff' of Englishmen whether native candidates are reasonably fit for the posts proposed to be offered them. In the Ministry of Justice, however, no less than in the Interior, the native officials complain that to-day promotion depends entirely on paying court to the native Minister or Under-secretary (who are probably 'Nationalists'), and that no kind of control is exercised by the British Adviser.

It has been shown that additional Englishmen are needed in the Ministry of the Interior. It would also appear that the English judges are insufficient to carry on the judicial system of the country. There are in fact fewer European judges in the native courts to-day than there were at the creation of those courts twenty-five years ago, and yet the work has increased enormously with increasing wealth and population. A few years ago Assize Courts were instituted to replace the old system of an appeal in criminal cases to Cairo; and one of the promised stipulations at the time of the change was that at least one member of the Court should be a European. Yet this is frequently ignored, and Courts of three native judges are constantly sitting on assize, thus depriving the Egyptian of a privilege which he had been promised, and might appreciate, as a result of the occupation.

The following is perhaps the most extraordinary chapter in the history of the Ministry of Justice during the past few years. Three years ago the administrative authorities were considerably perturbed by the increase of crime, and they came to the conclusion that some special effort must be made to cope with it. It was very sensibly suggested that a return to the old legal penalty of exile in one of the Oases might prove a greater deterrent to criminals than the up-to-date prisons; but the authorities had been dissatisfied with the small proportion of convictions obtained in the regular Assize Courts, the difficulty of obtaining sufficient reliable evidence for the Law Courts in Egypt being almost insuperable, and proposed therefore to set up a special administrative commission. In 1908, however, Sir Eldon Gorst in dealing with this subject wrote:

> It would be most undesirable to go outside the ordinary legal procedure and it would be impossible to provide sufficient guarantees against arbitrary interference with the individual. Moreover, any resort to exceptional measures would merely make matters ten times worse when the exceptional measures ceased;[8]

What, then, had become of the influence of the Agent-General when in July 1909 the Law of Exile came into force? It entailed a complete suspension of the legal guarantees under the ordinary law, and it would appear to have been the duty of the Ministry

[8] Sir Eldon Gorst, Egypt, No. 1, 1908.

of Justice to have protested against such exceptional measures being taken, at least until the new penalty of exile had been applied under the ordinary law of the land and had failed in its effects. But, so far from that being the case, the Ministry of Justice actually permitted a native judge to sit on these Commissions, in order to give an appearance of a law court to the proceedings, where he was in a minority of one to four with regard to the members nominated by the executive.

The trials were indeed a travesty of justice which could only bring a blush of shame to any Englishman visiting the sittings of the Commissions. At one sitting, when the writer was present, the Governor of the province, who presided, asked the witness the following questions :

> Do you know the prisoner ?
> *Reply.* Yes.
> Is he good or bad ?
> *Reply.* He has bad friends.
> *Prisoner.* Name them.

The witness did not reply, whereupon the prisoner, who was an old man of patriarchal aspect, possibly one of the forty-seven persons who, as Sir Eldon Gorst's report admits, had never previously been convicted or even prosecuted, exclaimed ' My Goodness ' (*Ya Salaam*). His surprise was shared by at least one of those present in court. However, the next witness to character (the only evidence required by these Commissions is that of notoriety of bad character) was duly called to take his part in the farce. The witnesses for the defence were interviewed by the local headman of the village outside the court and warned not to give evidence in the prisoner's favour.

There were practically no acquittals before this strange tribunal set up in Egypt under British auspices ; perhaps the kindest view to take would be that the British element in the Ministry of Justice was completely ignored. There is at least one quality which Englishmen in Egypt ought to be able to show, namely, honesty of purpose. Now the Exile Law has been administered dishonestly ; indeed, it is in itself dishonest, being drafted so as to conceal its true purport. It is officially known as a ' Law for placing certain persons under police supervision.' It states that the commissions will place persons of certain notorious criminal tendencies under police supervision in their own place of residence ; it goes on to permit (Article 7) the Commission at their discretion to order the finding of bail either personal or pecuniary, failing which the individual may be exiled. This article is, however, almost invariably applied, a personal guarantor if produced is not accepted, while the bail demanded is practically always a very large sum—200*l*. to 1500*l*.— and one quite beyond the ability

of the *fellah* to pay, who has thus no alternative to banishment. The figures in Sir Eldon Gorst's reports speak for themselves. Of 620 persons summoned 547 have been banished. A British Inspector was informed by the Governor of a province that nineteen persons were about to be exiled from his district. The Englishman, surprised, suggested that possibly some of these persons would find the bail, to which the Egyptian replied with significance 'We shall see about that.'

This deceptive drafting of the law accounts for the fact that no considerable objection was raised to it when laid upon the Table of the House of Commons.

The writer wishes to guard himself from saying that administrative deportation should never be permitted in Egypt. He can easily conceive of such a necessity, but, when it arises, the overthrowing of the ordinary law should be proclaimed openly and be carried into effect by decree for each particular case. The sense in which the present law was taken by the native officials is easily shown by the fact that they originally brought up 12,000 names as dangerous to public security.[4] To those who know the East the delight of being able once again to get the better of one's private enemies, with the attendant atmosphere of intrigue, may well be imagined.

In the abortive conference of the Egyptian Nationalists held last year at Brussels, the one sound demand on their programme was the abolition of this Exile law. It is most regrettable that the protest had not already been made by the Ministry of Justice.

The mention of one more department must suffice. We will take that of irrigation. The work that its members have accomplished in Egypt is always and everywhere regarded as England's greatest achievement in the country; and no one who has made the pilgrimage to the great Nile Dam at Assuan is ever disappointed in that stupendous example of England's benefits to Egypt. But the Irrigation Department in its turn is sick; if not quite unto death, it is at least languishing from inanition. Here a great effort has been made to show that the Egyptians are ready and able to fill a proportion of the higher posts in the various provincial centres. Sad to relate that object has not been attained; indeed, the contrary has been clearly demonstrated. There are no keener or more hardworking officials in Egypt than the young English irrigation engineers. Under existing conditions an unfortunate young Englishman may be placed directly under a native in one of these Irrigation 'circles.' (An attempt made to administer a small 'circle' entirely by natives had to be abandoned, in response to the unanimous request of the inhabitants.) The Englishman on taking up his work finds that, as usual, his

[4] Egypt. No. 1. 1910.

native chief is altogether unwilling to accept any of the responsibility which his post entails. The latter's great desire is to avoid attaching his signature to any paper, and he is always ready to throw over his English subordinate. One day, for example, the Englishman discovers that one of the native Government engineers is hopelessly corrupt, and that by incorrect measurement he has greatly exaggerated the length of a canal to be taken over on behalf of the Government, in order that he may divide the difference of price with the contractor. He reports the facts to his native chief. That gentleman at once politely explains that the native engineer has no doubt made a little mistake; and the latter is sent down to remeasure, and this time, of course, produces the correct figures. Any other report or suggestion made by the Englishman is of course always politely waived aside. It is useless for him to appeal to his English Inspector-General, who is himself unable to help him since he knows the orders of *laisser-faire* issued at the top, and that he, in his turn, will not be supported in Cairo. What young man could keep up his interest in his work under such disheartening conditions, and how little do the inhabitants of Egypt gain by his services!

The administration of one or two departments of the Egyptian Government to-day has been gone into in some detail. The other departments on examination will show the same influences at work, and everywhere the intentional weakening of British control.

It is a remarkable fact that practically no young Englishmen are being taken into the Government service to replace the older men when their time comes to depart. The proposition that their posts can be taken by natives will not bear examination, whether we consider the political situation or the interests of the peasantry or *fellaheen*. These last say that the policy of 'squeeze' by native officials has never been so rampant as it is to-day, with the withdrawal of British influence. One of them remarked significantly that what they would prefer would be an Englishman resident in every village. He is not likely to gain his desire. It is, however, certain that British officials in Egypt cannot be reduced, but ought on the contrary to be slightly increased. Lord Cromer's University recruiting system has been a dead letter so far as Egypt, as opposed to the Sudan, is concerned. Since his departure probably not half a dozen young men (outside the Ministry of Education) have been taken into the Government service. It is scarcely surprising that this is taken to show a desire to weaken British influence in the country, or even, in some quarters, to indicate an intention to leave Egypt altogether.

The present administration of Egypt is no administration at all. It is leading to chaos. Nor can the British Adviser as a rule be held responsible. He is chary of offering advice when he

knows that it can be ignored with impunity, and that no aid may be looked for from above to enforce it. When the Agent-General, with whom rests the Adviser's career, desires to carry out a policy of *laisser-faire*, nay, more, allows the appointment of native Ministers who, he knows, propose to ignore his 'Advisers,' one cannot blame the latter for doing nothing to imperil his policy, or for refusing to put themselves in an impossible position. The best of the Advisers are just as dissatisfied with their present positions as is the youngest English inspector in the country who draws his salary without being allowed to inspect.

The position of the English to-day in Egypt is very like that of the old woman who cannot get her pig over the stile. Everyone has ceased to perform his functions, and the Egyptian Government therefore won't cross the nationalist stile. Let the Foreign Office issue its orders for the continued supremacy of British influence on the Egyptian Government, and then the Agent-General will begin to govern, and the Advisers will begin to advise, and the Inspectors will once again begin to inspect, and there will be no difficulty in getting the pig over the stile.

The European community in Cairo is becoming thoroughly dissatisfied with our present administration of the country, and echoes of their feeling are gradually finding their way to the Continental press. It is amusing to find the British Agent-General forever lamenting in his reports the existence of the Capitulations which fetter his administration, and at the same time daily losing the confidence of the subjects of the other Powers, with whose consent alone they can be abolished. The greater the weakening of British control which they observe the more determined they very naturally are to preserve their existing rights against a native administration.

We must give up the idea that we can please everybody. If we govern Egypt for the benefit of the vast majority of its inhabitants, the blue-shirted *fellaheen*, for whom Lord Cromer in his farewell speech at Cairo stated he had worked, we must rest content with that; and with fulfilling our duties as trustees for Europe in providing security and ensuring prosperity for the country. There will always remain the Nationalist section who consider that they should be allowed to govern the country as they think fit, and, if we persist in favouring them at the expense of those who wish us to remain in Egypt, we shall thoroughly deserve the trouble which must naturally and inevitably arise in our administration.

As has been already mentioned, the English official in Egypt was happy to find that he had a weighty sympathiser in President Roosevelt. He fortunately approached Egypt from the Sudan, and was therefore struck by the great contrast in the way in which

we were fulfilling our obligations in the two countries. But what has been the result of his observations? A speech by Sir Edward Grey, saying that England must remain in Egypt. Very good; by all means, let us remain in Egypt. But doing what? Nothing? Nothing whatever to justify our presence there in the eyes of the world? Everything to go on exactly as though there were no British control at all? Surely this is a most extraordinary view to take of the duties of a great nation. It is certainly a pitiful undoing of all Lord Cromer's work. It is grossly unfair to the English officials working in Egypt.

The remedy is simple. As has been shown, the present system of British control is a somewhat complicated piece of political machinery, which only works when every little component part is allowed to do its duty, in which case it works rather prettily. It is easily thrown out of order. At the present moment it is clogged from the top downwards, and it is the business of the Foreign Office to set it going again. They must really take their courage in both hands, and venture to make themselves responsible for the government of one of the most easily governed countries in the world. A little firmness goes a long way in Egypt; they have only to show they mean business. Egypt needs a strong Agent-General with a free hand, determined to rule her for the benefit of the vast majority of her people; and there must be one proviso —it must be generally understood that those natives who are actively opposed to our influence will not be allowed to hold office so long as we continue to occupy Egypt. In less than a year Lord Kitchener, if he could be induced, or perhaps 'be allowed' is more appropriate, to do one more service for the British nation, would have the machine going smoothly again. English officials would soon find their native colleagues working amicably with them as of yore. Lord Cromer's foundations were well and truly laid.

R. Neville.

STONEHENGE AND THE HYPERBOREANS

The enthusiastic archæologist Stukeley, as quoted by Sir Richard Hoare in his *History of Wiltshire*, thus writes of the ruins of Stonehenge: 'When you enter the building, whether on foot or on horseback, and cast your eyes around upon the yawning ruins, you are struck into an ecstatic reverie, which none can describe, and they only can be sensible of that feel it. Other buildings fall by piece-meal; but here a single stone is a ruin, and lies like the haughty carcase of Goliath. Yet there is as much of it undemolished as enables us sufficiently to recover its form when it was in its perfect state: there is enough of every part to preserve the idea of the whole. When we advance further the dark part of the ponderous imposts over our heads, the chasm of sky between the jambs of the *Cell*, the odd construction of the whole, and the greatness of every part, surprises. We may well cry out in the poet's words, "Tantum religio potuit! . . . "'

Among these massive ruins many people assemble at the dawn of Midsummer Day, to wait, and watch, for the great spectacle of sunrise. For on that morning when the sun rises at the northernmost point of the horizon to which during the whole year it can attain, its first level rays strike along Salisbury Plain; and, shining in through the narrow entrance portal, penetrate to the very centre of the Stonehenge circle. Some little distance in front of the entrance there is a huge recumbent stone, measuring twenty-one feet two inches in length, which bears the name of 'The Slaughter Stone'; and about a hundred feet further away, in a line pointing to the rising sun, stands a monolith, about sixteen feet in height, called the 'Friar's Heel';[1] and tradition has it that when the sun rose above this monolith victims, human or otherwise, were sacrificed on that grim slaughter-stone. Research has confirmed this opinion, but it has enforced the conviction that high religious importance was attached by the builders

[1] I am indebted for a most interesting derivation of the much debated origin of this name to Mrs. Ross, of Dunmoyle, Co. Tyrone, who suggests that it was probably called in Celtic, *Cloch na freas Heol*—'The stone of the ascending Sun'; but that the first two words were forgotten, and the rest of the sentence was corrupted into 'Friar's Heel' by a race who knew not the language of the builders of Stonehenge.

of Stonehenge to the observation of the rising sun at the summer solstice, and the 'ecstatic reverie' induced, according to Stukeley, by the sight of Stonehenge at ordinary times, must be greatly enhanced for those assembled amidst its ruins at that moment of midsummer sunrise when they realise that as they turn their gaze towards the

> '. . . eastern gate
> Where the great sun begins his state,
> Robed in flame and amber light,'

they are there witnessing the same event which, thousands of years before, enchained the reverence of a bygone race.

But it has occurred to me that a no less thrilling moment of archæological exaltation might be aroused by a visit to the same spot when viewed by 'the pale moonlight,' at the opposite season of the year. For though the moon at Stonehenge cannot, as at 'fair Melrose,' cast her rays 'through slender shafts of shapely stones,' nor edge with silver any tracery on its rugged sarsen blocks: yet the interest of the archæologist may well be stirred on a full-moon night at the season of mid-most winter if, as he stands within this ruined temple close to its ancient altar, he should summon to his imagination another crowd of worshippers, as awed in veneration as those wont to honour the midsummer sunrise, waiting and watching with him for the moment when, while the western horizon is still glowing in sunset hues, the cold rays of the full moon shall penetrate between the high monoliths that frame in the narrow entrance of the temple, and strike on the altar-stone.

It has long been the habit to think of Stonehenge as very specially a solar temple, and Sir Norman Lockyer has based a most interesting speculation as to the probable date of its erection, on careful observations and calculations concerning the orientation of the building to the exact point on the horizon at which the midsummer sun must have risen about 1600 B.C. But at p. 54 of his book, *Stonehenge, and Other Stone Monuments, Astronomically Considered*, Sir N. Lockyer says, 'It is indeed possible that the present structure may have had other capabilities, such as being connected with the May year, the equinoxes, or the winter solstice; but it is with its uses at the summer solstice alone that we now deal.'

I desire here to draw attention to its uses at the winter solstice and to its probable 'capabilities' as connected especially with that season of the year: for then not the sun, but the full moon, is the heavenly body which may cast its beams down the avenue and penetrate into the innermost shrine of the building. The moon is, according to the poets, the symbol of all that is

'wandering' and 'inconstant'; yet the etymology of its name in every language teaches us that it is the 'measurer'—the measurer of months and of seasons, of years and of cycles of years. It need, therefore, be no matter of wonder, nor, as it seems to me, of doubt that the Druids, to whom many Greek and Roman writers attribute a more than usual knowledge of the heavenly bodies, should have observed not only the sun, but also the moon, and especially the full moon—'the moon walking in brightness'—and should have held festivals in its honour. And amongst full-moon festivals, naturally, none would have been marked by higher honours than that which most nearly coincided with the winter solstice. At no time of the year is the full moon more conspicuous, and its light more valuable, whether for worshippers, workers, or wanderers, than when, through all the hours of the longest night, it is to be seen accomplishing its high mid-winter arc above the horizon.

Mid-winter, moreover, was held, and is indeed still held in England, and in all northern countries, as pre-eminent amongst festival seasons. It was, as we learn, known as Yule-tide: when, as also at the summer solstice, bon-fires blazed on every hill, and a wheel, wrapped in flaming straw, and faggots, was sent like a riderless horse on its unguided course into the darkness. In southern lands, where summer's heat is dreaded more than winter's cold, poets spoke of beneficent powers stopping the coursers of the sun and tearing a wheel from off his chariot at mid-summer. In northern lands, where cold and darkness are feared as enemies, I cannot doubt that this Yule-tide observance symbolised the wheel torn from the chariot of the sun, at the winter solstice also, and at that season staying his disastrous downward course.

Nor do I think we need refuse to the archæologist a right to indulge in 'ecstatic reveries' not only at the moment of mid-summer sunrise, but also if happily for him, at mid-winter, amongst the Stonehenge ruins he should be able to observe the full moon rising above the Friar's Heel. Or whether, in some other year at mid-winter, he should watch for the already risen full moon to appear, when, pursuing its southern course some few degrees above the horizon, it should come into view between the high stone door-posts of the temple entrance, and shine down upon the altar.

Not every year, however, could the archæologist expect to witness this phenomenon; for the moon, unlike the sun, is not always faithful to the ecliptic line, and though during many successive years the moon would, as I have claimed, mark by its northerly rising the mid-winter season, yet, after those years, many others must consecutively follow, during which, neither at

its full, nor at any of its phases, could the rays of the moon entering through the north-eastern door-posts, strike on the central altar. But this consideration need not present a stumbling-block; indeed, it seems to me to add a further argument in support of the opinion that the varying cyclic movements of the moon were carefully observed by the Druids, and were made the occasion for festival demonstrations.

Such periodical alterations of the moon's course are dependent on the 18.6 yearly revolution of the nodes of the moon, and were easily noticeable in temples oriented, as was that at Stonehenge, to the most northerly point on the ecliptic line. It is, therefore, a not unreasonable conjecture that special celebrations accompanied the observations of these alternating phenomena.

Now we learn from Diodorus Siculus that Grecian inquirers into the mythology of the ancients noted that in a far-off island, inhabited by Hyperboreans, close observations of the moon were made, and joyous festivals were celebrated, at intervals marked by the visit of a god, whom these writers identified with their own god Apollo. Diodorus writes as follows[2]: 'We think that no one will consider it foreign to our subject to say a word respecting the Hyperboreans. Amongst the writers who have occupied themselves with the mythology of the ancients, Hecatæus and some others tell us that opposite the coast of Gallia Celtica there is an island not smaller than Sicily, lying to the north, which is inhabited by the Hyperboreans, who are so named because they dwell beyond the north wind. This island is of a happy temperature, rich in soil, and fruitful in everything, yielding its produce twice in the year. Tradition says that Latona was born there, and for that reason they venerate Apollo more than any other god. They are in a manner his priests, for they daily celebrate him with continual songs of praise and pay him abundant honour.

'In this island there is a magnificent grove (*τέμενος*), or precinct, of Apollo, and a remarkable temple of a round form adorned with many consecrated gifts. There is also a city sacred to the same god, most of the inhabitants of which are harpers, who continually play upon their harps in the temple and sing hymns to the god extolling his actions.

'The Hyperboreans use a particular dialect and have a remarkable attachment to the Greeks, especially to the Athenians and the Delians, deducing their friendship from remote periods. It is related that some Greeks formerly visited the Hyperboreans, with whom they left consecrated gifts of great value; and also that in ancient times Abaris, coming from the Hyperboreans into Greece, renewed their friendship and family intercourse with the Delians.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, ii. 47, ed. Didot, p. 115.

'It is also said that in this island the moon appears very near to the earth; that certain eminences of a terrestrial form are plainly seen in it; that the god (Apollo) visits the island once in the course of nineteen years, in which period the stars complete their revolutions, and that for this reason the Greeks distinguish the cycle of nineteen years by the name of the great year. During the season of his appearance the god plays upon the harp and dances every night from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, pleased with his own successes.'

A great question has been raised as to the place of residence of the Hyperboreans. And 'it has been contended, that though there are two nations of them, mostly when they are spoken of by the Greek writers, a race of people is meant residing in all or some of the British islands.'[3] It is, as it seems to me, difficult to understand the passage above quoted from Hecatæus in any other sense. The description of the island, and of the visits of the god to it, are, like most of the tales related of the Hyperboreans, somewhat fabulous. Winnowed grains of astronomical and geographical truth, however, remain for us.

To the Grecian Apollo many days marking the chief divisions of years and of months were held sacred, and special worship was offered to him at nine yearly intervals. There can be little doubt that these intervals marked divisions of the nineteen (or more accurately of the eighteen decimal six) yearly sun and moon cycles. The Daphnephoria was a festival held every nine years by the Thebans in honour of Apollo, surnamed Ismenius or Galaxias. It took its name, we are told, from the laurel, which, wreathed with olive branches and bright flowers, was carried in solemn procession by beautiful youths belonging to the noblest and most ancient families in the town. On the point of an olive-branch, decorated with laurels and flowers, a brazen ball was fastened, from which other smaller balls hung down. In the centre, under these, there hung amidst purple-coloured wreaths a ball smaller than that fixed to the point of the bough; and these were all bound together by a purple veil. The upper ball represented the sun, the one perpendicularly beneath it represented the moon, the others the planets and various stars. The wreaths, of which there were 365, represented the yearly course of the sun. The procession took its way to the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, and there hymns were sung in his honour.

The visits of Apollo to 'the island'—assuming it to be our own—were, according to Hecatæus, made in the spring season, not at that of the winter solstice. But Hecatæus wrote long ages after the erection of the solstice-marking stones on Salisbury

[3] See Higgins' *Celtic Druids*, p. 117.

Plain, and many changes in religious practices and calendrical observances took place, we may well believe, in the course of those ages.

If in this present age there still existed in Britain any who followed the more ancient cult practised, as I have here supposed, at Stonehenge in Celtic times, the full moon, which a few minutes after its rising shone into Stonehenge on the 6th of January of the year 1909, would have been hailed with pæans of exultation, for on that evening, for the first time after an interval of nine years and a few days, could the rays of the full moon have entered through the chief north-eastern portals of the temple and penetrated into its innermost shrine.

By consulting the almanac for the previous years we may convince ourselves that the last full moon that could have even glinted in through the entrance portal of the building occurred on the 16th of December 1899; and that during all the intervening years the mid-winter full moon must have risen too many degrees south of the point to which the building is oriented for its rays to have shone in through the chief entrance of the circle, though they must have fallen on the outer and southern face of the high upright stones that frame in that narrow entrance.

There are still many years of the cycle remaining, during which the full moon, if it is not obscured by cloud or mist, will shine directly into the Stonehenge circle. On the 16th of last December 1910 the full moon, whose rising was eagerly watched for by a small group of observers on that stormy evening, was thus obscured. Next winter not only the full moon preceding the solstice, on the 5th of December 1911, but the succeeding full moon of the 4th of January 1912—both being so nearly equi-distant from the solstice—should, weather permitting, shine into the Stonehenge temple through its north-eastern entrance; and by those who at that hour find themselves amidst its ruins, the phenomena we have here been imagining may be observed and studied in their actuality.

A strong confirmation of the opinion that astronomers in Britain gave attention to the eighteen-year cycle of the nodes of the moon is to be derived from a consideration of the description of the ruins of the circular temple of Avebury, the architecture of which is ascribed to an earlier date than that of Stonehenge. This description has fortunately been preserved for us by archæologists who carefully studied the ruins before the work of demolition, carried out by farmers, had rendered a right understanding of the original design impossible. Dr. Stukeley, whose enthusiastic words concerning Stonehenge stand at the beginning of this paper, visited the ruins of Avebury year after year; and an illuminating suggestion occurred to his mind in the

course of these visits, to the effect that the builders of Avebury had desired to represent the sinuous body of a snake in the two long avenues by which the circle was approached. These avenues were marked out by rows of stones placed at measured intervals on either side. 'When I frequented this place,' says Stukeley, 'which I did for some years together. . . . I found out the entire work by degrees . . . so that, at length, I discovered the mystery of it, properly speaking, which was that the whole figure represented a snake transmitted through a circle. This is a hieroglyphic symbol of highest note and antiquity.'

In order to put this design in execution, the founders well studied their ground, and to make their representation more natural, they artfully carried it over a variety of elevations and depressions, which, with the curvatures of the avenues, produced sufficiently the desired effect. To make it more elegant and picture-like, the head of the snake is carried up the southern promontory of Hackpen Hill towards the village of West Kennet—nay, the very name of the hill is derived from this circumstance.[4]

After some pages devoted to descriptions of the ruins and to a careful enumeration of the stones, still, at the date of his writing, in existence, the doctor continues :

Then we are brought to the very summit of the celebrated Overton Hill, properly the Hackpen, or head of the snake. The temple that stood here was intended for the head of the snake in the huge picture; and, at a distance, it very aptly represented it. It consisted of two concentric ovals, not much different from circles, their longest diameter being east and west. . . . Everybody here remembers both circles entire and standing.

This Overton Hill, from time immemorial, the country people have a high notion of. It was (alas! it was) a very few years ago crowned with a most beautiful temple of the Druids. They still call it the Sanctuary. I doubt not but it was an asylum in Druid times, and the veneration for it had been handed down through all succession of times and peoples.

To what physical or astronomical phenonemon, then, did this hieroglyphic symbol of a 'snake transmitted through a circle'—as represented by the Avebury temple and avenues—refer? An answer, and, as it seems to me, an answer full of interesting suggestion, is to be found, if we adopt the opinion that in the ancient circular temples of Britain, such as Avebury and Stonehenge, the cyclic movement of the moon's nodes was very specially observed, and marked by religious festivals.

In modern astronomical books, be they never so statistical and prosaic, we meet with statements such as the following, referring to a mysterious dragon : That point at which the moon at each revolution passes from the northern to the southern side of the ecliptic is called its descending node (☋), or 'dragon's tail.' The

[4] Dr. Stukeley says : 'In Yorkshire, they still call snakes—*hags* . . . in the British language, Pen denotes a head.'

other point at which the moon passes from the southern to the northern side of the ecliptic is called its ascending node (☊), or 'dragon's head.'

The best comment I have met with on this strange nomenclature is given in Jean Silvain Bailly's fascinating *Histoire de l'astronomie*. He says:

> Les anciens astronomes ont nommé tête et queue du dragon les deux points d'intersection de l'écliptique et de l'orbite de la lune, ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui les nœuds,

and having cited many references, in the astronomy and mythologies of various nations, to dragons and serpents, he adds:

> Tout cela a quelque analogie avec le serpent qui partout représente le tems, et avec le dragon dont la tête et la queue marquent les nœuds de l'orbite de la lune, tandis que ce dragon cause les éclipses. Mais cette superstition, ce préjugé universel qui se retrouve en Amérique comme en Asie, n'indique-t-il pas une source commune?

This dragon, now so tamed and harnessed to the car of modern science, was, I believe, the dragon represented by the winding avenues and circular temple at Avebury; the dragon also so constantly present in Celtic ornament of all kinds, the dragon standard of the Britons, the golden dragon which according to British legend was worn by King Arthur on his helm:

> The Dragon of the great Pendragonship,
> That crowned the state pavilions of the King.

Turning aside from Stonehenge in relation to the winter solstice, let us consider its possible uses in reference to the 'May year' as alluded to by Sir N. Lockyer in the passage already quoted. This discussion must entail attention to many dry calendrical facts, but it may, at the last, enable us to form—if not conclusive—at least interesting speculations concerning the affinities of our island ancestors with other ancient nations of the world.

There are some sarsen blocks among the Stonehenge ruins for the placing and orientation of which Sir Norman Lockyer claims an older date than that to which he ascribes the erection of the circular temple. At page 88, in his chapter entitled 'Was there an earlier circle?' he draws attention to

> (1) An interior circle broken in many places, and other stones near the naos, composed of stones, 'blue stones,' which, as we have seen, are of an entirely different origin and composition. (2) Two smaller *untrimmed* sarsen stones, lying near the vallum, *not* at the same distance from it, the line joining them passing nearly, but not quite, through the centre of the sarsen circle . . . There are, besides these, two large *untrimmed* sarsen stones, one standing some distance outside the vallum; . . . these are termed the 'Friar's Heel' and 'Slaughter-stone' respectively . . .'

At page 93, referring to the two smaller stones, we read:

> The important point about these stones is, that . . . a line from the centre of the circle over the N.W. stone would mark the sunset place in the first week in May, and a line over the S.E. stone would similarly deal with the November sunrise. We are thus brought in presence of the May-November year.

And at page 95, Sir Norman Lockyer sums up this chapter in the following sentence:

> Now the theory to which my work and thought have led me is, that the megalithic structure at Stonehenge—the worked sarsens, with their mortices and lintels, and above all, the trilithons of the magnificent naos—represent a re-dedication, and a reconstruction, on a more imposing plan and scale, of a much older temple, which was originally used for worship in connexion with the May year.

Sir Norman Lockyer devotes many interesting pages and chapters of his book to a description of the problems connected with the importance attached in Great Britain and Brittany to the religious and other festivals which marked the divisions of the May year, which was in his opinion instituted and followed by early settlers in Britain, in connexion with farming operations. He says (p. 18):

> When we study the history of our own country . . . we find that, in various times in our country, we have had a year, a farmer's year, beginning in the month of May; we have had another farmer's year beginning in the month of August; we have had another farmer's year beginning at the longest day; and it appears that the year beginning at the longest day was really the last year to be introduced.

In other passages he calls attention to the possible wish on the part of the ancients 'to divide the ninety-one days interval between the solstice and equinox.' And he shows that this could be done by orienting the temples (dolmens, or cromlechs) to the particular points on the horizon at which the sun rose and set on the four days midway between the solstical and equinoctial seasons.

While studying and pondering over the above carefully ascertained and recorded facts, and the opinions based on them by Sir Norman Lockyer, a theory suggested itself which to my mind will account for the so accurate alignment of the two smaller sarsens to the four mid-seasons of the year, and of the two larger untrimmed stones to the solsticial sunrise. This theory rests on the supposition that the inhabitants of Britain in, it may be, pre-Druidic times, were not so insulated by their narrow seas, but that calendrical methods—which we know were intelligently followed by many races in Europe, Asia and Africa from remote ages—should have found their way from those continents and should have expressed themselves in our land by monuments, not

indeed composed of costly materials, but monuments of such massive construction that they have been able to resist through millenniums the destroying powers of time; and the suggestion I would therefore make is that the placing and erecting of those four old sarsen blocks at Stonehenge should not be ascribed to a race desirous merely of marking a farmer's year—one dependent on the flowering or ripening of trees and crops; but that it should be ascribed to a race coming from some of the many lands, where there were, in ancient days, wise men and teachers who were already acquainted with the true length of years, and counted them sidereally, *i.e.* by the return of the sun to certain stars.

This method prevails in India, where its inhabitants at the present day, following the precepts laid down in ancient Sanscrit astronomical works, count their years as dependent on the return of the sun to a star-marked point on the ecliptic.

The Babylonians did in the second and third centuries B.C. so count their years from a fixed point on the ecliptic, and there is much evidence to show that so also did the pre-Semitic (Accadian) inhabitants of Babylonia. The ancient Egyptians were likewise acquainted with a sidereal year, dependent on observations of the heliacal rising of the bright star Sirius.

It does not therefore seem an impossible supposition that the inhabitants of Britain, whether Celtic or pre-Celtic, should at some date earlier than 2000 B.C. have laid down the two smaller sarsen blocks to mark the return of the sun to some star-marked point on the ecliptic; and turning to history and tradition to inquire from them some hint as to what that point might have been, and demanding also from astronomical science help to show us what star in the third millennium B.C. could have marked in conjunction with the sun a mid season between solstice and equinox, we find ourselves directed to a point historically and calendrically famous, namely the first degree of the constellation Aries.

This historically—and, as I believe, pre-historically—important point, is the first degree of the first constellation of the Zodiac, namely the constellation Aries, the 'prince and leader of the signs.' *

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, two eminent French scholars, Dupuis and Bailly, drew attention to the widespread importance given in ancient time to this point.

In his work, *Mémoire Explicatif du Zodiaque*, Dupuis gives in a diagram several Zodiacs in concentric circles; some divided

* The Indian solar and lunar zodiacs have their commencement at a point nine and a half degrees west of that fixed on as initial of the zodiac by Hipparchus 150 B.C. Throughout this article this Indian order is followed, thirty degrees being allowed to each constellation.

into twelve, some into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts. He represents the colures by a cross which quarters these concentric Zodiacs, and speaking of the twenty-seven and twenty-eight-fold divisions, he observes as follows :

On remarque d'abord, que ces divers systèmes lunaires, tirés de l'Astronomie de différens peuples, s'accordent tous à placer dans les cases correspondantes à-peu-près les mêmes étoiles. Il suffit, pour s'en assurer, de comparer les étoiles désignées dans la même case de la division de chaque peuple. On remarque aussi qu'ils ont pris tous, excepté les Chinois, les mêmes étoiles, pour point initial de la division, savoir, celles de la tête du Bélier. Les Chinois, au contraire, ont fixé le point initial dans la partie du ciel diamétralement opposée, vers les pieds de la Vierge et près l'Epi. (p. 4.)

For the fixation of that point as initial of the Zodiac Dupuis was tempted to claim the remote date of 14000 B.C., at which time the arrival of the sun at 1° Aries coincided with the autumn equinox. Many considerations have inclined me to assign for that fixation the lower date of approximately 6000 B.C. when the winter solstice, not the autumn equinox, was the season marked by the sun's entry into the constellation Aries.*

The star-marked band of the Zodiac has fallen nowadays somewhat into astronomic disuse and neglect. And further, on more than one account, the speculations of Dupuis and Bailly, concerning the antiquity of the science of astronomy in Eastern nations, have been disparaged. Some modern Greek scholars, 'plus royalistes que le roi,' even refuse credence to the statements of ancient Greek writers regarding the proficiency of Indian, Median, and Babylonian sages in that science, and still choose to consider all pre-Grecian and non-Grecian races as barbarian.

Within the last half century, however, from the tomb in which the records of ancient sciences and civilisations had lain buried for thousands of years a light, as from the grave of the wizard Michael Scott, has broken forth 'most gloriously.' Books, full of astrologic lore and gramarye, rescued by the Deloraines of modern archæological enterprise, have enabled us to realise the high antiquity, and the widespread importance, of the Zodiac, as a religious and civil institution. And the revelations yielded by the Mesopotamian inscribed clay tablets have abundantly corroborated some of the speculations ventured upon by Dupuis and Bailly in the eighteenth century.

Bailly, though he makes no serious attempt to explain the importance attached to 1° Aries, thus refers to the facts relating to it :

Mais pourquoi ont-il choisi cette constellation pour la première? Il est évident que c'est une affaire de préjugé et de superstition ; le choix du

* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.* January 1892.

premier point dans un cercle est arbitraire. Ils auront été décidés par quelque ancienne tradition, telle, par exemple, que celle que Muradi rapporte d'après Albumassar et deux anciens livres égyptiens, où on lisoit que le monde avoit été renouvellé après le déluge lorsque le soleil étoit au 1° du bélier, régulus étant dans le colure des solstices. D'Herbelot ne parle point de régulus : mais il dit que selon Albumassar, les sept planètes étoient en conjonction au premier point du bélier lors de la création du monde. Cette tradition, sans doute fabuleuse, qui vient des mêmes préjugés que celle de Bérose, étoit asiatique. Elle a pu suffire, ou telle autre du même genre,[7] pour fonder la préférence que les brames, ou les anciens en général, ont donnée à la constellation du bélier, en l'établissant la première de leur zodiaque. Ils ont cru que ce point du zodiaque étoit une source de renouvellement, et ils ont dit que le zodiaque et l'année se renouvelloient au même point où le monde s'étoit régénéré.[8]

Now it is precisely in the ancient tradition, fortunately preserved for us by Albumassar, and quoted by Bailly, that, as it has seemed to me, we may arrive at the probable date of the earlier building at Stonehenge; and the placing there of the untrimmed sarsen blocks which mark the point on the horizon of sunrise at the summer solstice, and of sunset and sunrise at the four mid-seasons of the year. The tradition refers us evidently to some important calendrical position of the stars of Aries, which was to be observed when Regulus was 'dans le colure des solstices.' Astronomical calculation sends us back, for this position of Regulus (α Leonis) to the date of 2400 B.C. when the longitude of Regulus was 90°; or to the date 2800 B.C. when the star Regulus, owing to its latitude north of the ecliptic, rose at the same point on the horizon as did the sun at the season of the summer solstice. Astronomy also points to the date, in round numbers, of 2700 B.C. as that at which the sun rose in conjunction with the 1° Aries at the mid-season between solstice and equinox, *i.e.* the 4th of February. These dates—unless we refuse all credence to the antiquity of astronomy in many lands, and to the importance of the constellation Aries—must incline us to adopt, at least hypothetically, the opinion that the four untrimmed sarsen blocks were not erected by the ancient Britons merely to mark the seasons of a 'Flower-year' and a 'Harvest-year,' but rather to mark an astronomical year 'lorsque le soleil étoit au premier du bélier, régulus étant dans le colure des solstices.'

The visitor to Stonehenge, who adopts this opinion, may realise

[7] The medieval writer, Syncellus, twice refers to these ancient 'traditions.' At p. 17 of his *Chronographia* he states that Eusebius was aware of the Greek opinion that many ages, or rather myriads of years had passed since the creation of the world, during the mythical retrograde movement of the Zodiac, from the beginning of Aries, and its return again to the same point (*Chronographia*, p. 17). And again, at p. 52, he refers to 'the return of the Zodiac to its original position, according to the stories of the Greeks and Egyptians, that is to say, the revolution from one point back again to the same point.

[8] Bailly, *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, pp. 482, 483.

as he gazes at the tall monolith of the Friar's Heel, that it has there held its upright position for the more than four thousand years since the time when it was first set up by the ancient inhabitants of Britain, to mark the rising-place of the bright star Regulus, and that of sunrise at the summer solstice. Then turning to the two smaller sarsen blocks, he will believe that at the same remote date the stone lying S. of E. was placed to mark the rising of the stars of Aries, and of the sun rising in conjunction with them early in February; and that the stone lying N. of W. was similarly aligned to mark the setting-place of the stars of Libra, and of the sun in conjunction with them early in May.

These untrimmed sarsens still mark sunrise and sunset at the same mid-seasons of the year; but the stars of Aries and Libra have long since deserted the points on the horizon marked originally by those stones.

And if we could convince ourselves that the rebuilders of Stonehenge were still desirous of counting their years as beginning at the sun's entry into Aries, the fact that the anciently placed sarsen blocks no longer marked at sunrise that calendrical event might account for the little regard shown by them for the position of the more anciently oriented untrimmed sarsen blocks.

But a study of the many stone monuments and alignments in Great Britain and Brittany gives us no ground for believing that at any date later than 1900 B.C. the inhabitants of those countries gave any special attention to the rising sun in conjunction with 1° Aries. In 1900 B.C. the sun would have risen in conjunction with that point about the middle of February, and as the centuries succeeded each other, it would have risen later and later in that month. I find in Sir Norman Lockyer's table of alignments no instance of such late orientations of the monuments.

We may not, therefore, ascribe the neglect of the sarsen stones to a race desirous of following an Aries year, but neither is it possible to ascribe that neglect to a race still desirous of following a 'farmer's' mid-season year; for the sarsen blocks, at whatever age Stonehenge was rebuilt, marked—as indeed they still do—the rising of the sun, or its setting, at the four mid-seasons.

At p. 320 Sir Norman Lockyer thus suggests another explanation of the motives which governed the rebuilders of Stonehenge:

> This change of cult may be due to the intrusion of a new tribe, but I am inclined to attribute it to a new view taken by the priests themselves, due to a greater knowledge of the true length of the year which could be observed by the recurrence of the solstices, and of the intervals between the festivals reckoned in days.

To this explanation of the matter, however, other objections seem to present themselves; it is difficult to attribute the introduc-

tion of the new cult merely to a greater knowledge gradually acquired by the priests themselves of the true length of the year. For, as has been noted, one of the most important of the four anciently placed stones—the Friar's Heel—was already aligned, if not with absolute accuracy, yet very closely to the point on the horizon at which the sun of the summer solstice rose.

Nor does it seem a quite adequate reason for neglecting the smaller stones, that at last the priests could reckon in days the dates of the May year, and of other mid-season festivals, and thus dispense with the assistance of the ancient stone marks. If the mid-seasons were to be honoured, the venerable stones which, so faithfully, still marked them, would not, we can surely believe, have been disregarded; and history and folk-lore teach us that, down to late Druidic times, the May year and mid-season festivals were religiously observed. Moreover, many monuments in Great Britain and Brittany—some certainly of a later date than Stonehenge—were aligned to sunrise in the spring season; and the festivals and superstitions connected with them maintained so strong a hold on the beliefs and practices of the inhabitants of Great Britain that the strength of Roman, Saxon, and Danish rule, and even the authority of the Christian Church, could scarcely avail to shake it off.

All the difficulties surrounding the question of the change of cult introduced into Britain, as Sir Norman Lockyer has inferred, at a date lying somewhere between 1900 and 1500 B.C., must stimulate conjecture.

Sir Norman Lockyer, though he inclines to the opposite opinion, admits, as we have seen, the possibility that this change of cult was due to the intrusion of a new tribe. And this hypothesis, if we can find any good reason for crediting that tribe with a determination to follow at the beginning of our era May-November festivals, will help to reconcile the neglect of the untrimmed sarsen blocks with the fact that the seasons marked by those stones were so religiously observed in Britain at and after the suppression of Druidism in our land.

If then we assume the advent of some fresh wave of Celtic immigration into our islands, and if we attribute to the newcomers sufficient authority to introduce a cult entailing the observance of a different calendar and of differently star-marked festivals, I would suggest that this new tribe oriented their stone monuments not to 1° Aries but to 1° Gemini, and this opinion I base on a consideration of the tabulated summary of British and Brittany alignments given in the appendices to Sir Norman Lockyer's book.

We there observe that some alignments were made to sunrise on the 25th of April; others, at later month dates, down to the 9th of May. Instead of attributing these so widely varying

orientations merely to unsuccessful efforts on the part of the Druids to mark the point of sun-rise at the exact mid-season festival of a May year, I would rather recognise in these variations evidence of 'a cult following a star.'

Now, about 1400 B.C. the sun was in conjunction with 1° Gemini on the 25th of April—and at about 300 B.C. it was in conjunction with the 1° Gemini on the 9th of May. These dates cover a great part of the interval between the period suggested for the rebuilding of Stonehenge and that of the overthrow of Druidic authority in Britain. Therefore, the monuments must have been aligned, whether intentionally or not, to some point not far from 1° Gemini. And I believe that evidence may be called in, concerning the calendrical methods of other nations, which will incline us to fix on that zodiacal point as the one to which many of those monuments were aligned.

We have, for instance, an indication that this very point was held in calendrical honour at some, it may be, remote age, in Italy; for we read, in Virgil's often-quoted verses, of the 'Bright Bull' who 'with his gilded horns opens the year.' A line drawn from the northern star-tipped horn of the Bull to its southern, also star-tipped, horn cuts the ecliptic at the junction between the constellations Taurus and Gemini, a point not marked by any conspicuous star: and the attention of star-gazers acquainted with the figures of the Zodiac would more easily be drawn to the 1° Gemini by this graphic allusion to the gilded horns of the bright bull, than by any more prosaic method.

The great twin-brethren, Castor and Pollux, we know were held in enthusiastic reverence by the Romans, and a magnificent temple in their honour adorned the Forum. It is difficult to dissociate this reverence and honour from all astronomic significance; and Virgil's lines suggest calendrical importance for the month during which the sun was in conjunction with the constellation Gemini.

High festivals were celebrated annually, in honour of the Ephesian goddess Artemis, in her great temple, counted in classic times as one of the seven wonders of the world. These festivals were celebrated in the spring season, and, it has been generally supposed, in the month of May. An inscription discovered some years ago by Wood, on the walls of the ruined theatre at Ephesus, informs us that great processional festivals were celebrated on the birthday of the goddess, and again and again the statement is repeated that the birthday of the goddess 'is the sixth day of the first division of the month Thargelion.' But scholars are not agreed as to what date in the Julian year this day in Thargelion corresponded. A date towards the end of April, or towards the end of May, is suggested as that indicated.

According to Sir Norman Lockyer (p. 52) the temple of the Ephesian goddess was oriented to sunrise on the 29th of April; and this fact might be claimed as in favour of the earlier of the dates mentioned above. But the choice of the 29th April, as a calendrical date, is, in itself, not one to be easily accounted for; and it should, I think, incline us to suppose, in this instance a stellar, rather than a seasonal orientation. In guessing, however, to what star any building has been oriented, it is necessary to know the date at which that orientation was laid down; and the original date of the laying down of the line for the orientation angle of the temple of Diana has not, as yet, been definitely ascertained. Fergusson, writing in 1883, observes, 'From various historical indications we learn that there existed at Ephesus seven, or eight, successive temples dedicated to Diana. . . the last three were certainly situated on the same spot, and built, as Mr. Wood found them, one over the other. . . .'

Any who hold the opinion that temples were in ancient times oriented either to some star-marked point on the ecliptic, or to the sun at some definite season, such as a solstice, or equinox, or accurately measured mid-season, may, having the courage of that opinion, place the original alignment of the earliest of these temples at the date, in round numbers, of 1000 B.C. That alignment would then have pointed to the sun, not only at the indefinite season of the 29th of April, but to the sun at that season at the star-marked point of the ecliptic—the 1° Gemini.

But here an important fact, established by late researches among the Ephesian ruins, is to be taken into consideration. This fact is that the entrance of the temple, contrary to Grecian custom, was at its western, not its eastern extremity. We are therefore not to think of the building as oriented to the sun on the 29th of April rising in conjunction with the stars of Gemini at a point on the horizon some degrees north of east. Instead, we should realise that the temple must have been aligned to an exactly opposite point on the horizon, *i.e.* to the stars of Sagittarius, and, as I believe, to the moon setting in that constellation some degrees to the south of west.

The sun in springtime—April-May—setting north of west, could never have shone into the building through its western entrance. But the moon as it circled month after month through all the figures of the zodiac, would, at its return to the constellation Sagittarius, have shone into the temple of the goddess—not every year—but at intervals dependent on the position of its nodes and of its phases. Thus towards the close of summer it might have been observed by the night-watchers in the temple setting in its first quarter; or again in the late autumn as a slender crescent at 'newlight' following the sun below the sea horizon;

and in the spring season setting in full-orbed splendour on the morning of, as we may suppose, the festival day of the goddess and lighting up with its rays her famous statue.

Some doubt has been entertained as to whether the Ephesian goddess, like her Grecian namesake, was a lunar divinity, but the fact that it was the full moon and not the sun that shone into her temple in the spring season may help to dispel that doubt; and, further, this fact may suggest an explanation of the very different characters and attributes of these two lunar goddesses. For the Grecian goddess is represented as crescent-crowned, and the crescent moon in the constellation of the Archer marked a quite different season from that marked by the full moon in the same constellation.

The honouring of the sun in conjunction with the 1° Gemini, and of the moon in its various phases at the opposite point of the ecliptic, stretches, I for one believe, back into far remoter past than anything recorded in history concerning Roman or Ephesian festivals. The religious symbolism of the ancient Medes, and—as derived from the Medes—that of the Assyrians, points with no uncertain finger, as I many years ago became convinced, to a zodiacal source for its basis.[9]

The figure of Ahura Mazda, and that of Assur, borne on Assyrian standards, seem to me to refer to the date 4000 B.C., when the equinoctial colure cut the ecliptic at the points 1° Sagittarius and 1° Gemini. Some passages also in the *Rig Veda*, in which the ancient god Rudra is referred to as Asura Maha, the 'Great Spirit,' and in which he is described as 'wise,' 'a great archer,' and one who (like the Grecian archer-god Apollo) 'was a great physician among physicians,' seem likewise to refer us to the mythologic importance attached to the zodiacal Sagittarius, and very specially to observations of the phases of the moon in that constellation.[10] These points of resemblance, in Median, Assyrian, Vedic, and Grecian myths suggest that all these legends shared originally the same astronomic basis, namely, observations of the moon in Sagittarius.

By thus localising in the constellation of the Archer the basis of the Artemis legends, we shall I believe find a possible phonetic clue to the name of the Roman goddess Diana, so generally identified with the Grecian Artemis. The ancient name of the constellation Sagittarius is in the Sanscrit language, Dhanus, meaning arrow. Classical dictionaries tell us that the names Diana and Dianus are only varying forms of Jana and Janus. If we now select from this quartet of names the two which held important positions in Roman mythology—Diana, the archer-goddess,

[9] See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, February 1896.
[10] See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, February 1909.

and Janus, the great time-measuring god—and if we identify these two Roman deities with the equally-honoured Grecian twins, Artemis and Apollo, we may come to think of these two names, Diana and Janus, as with but slight change echoing through long ages of time the ancient Sanscrit name of the constellation Dhanus.

Amongst the fabulous and evidently allegorical Grecian legends attributed to the sixth century B.C., concerning Abaris the Hyperborean philosopher, there are some which may perhaps point to the arrow in the Archer constellation. We hear of embassies from the Western Hyperboreans bringing presents to Apollo and Diana. We hear that Apollo hid amongst the Hyperboreans the arrow with which he slew the famous Cyclopes, and that Abaris carried this arrow in his hand on his journey to Greece, and presented it to Pythagoras.

The passage already quoted from Hecatæus, written probably about 300 B.C., associates Abaris with the Hyperboreans in our island, and draws very definite attention to the point on the ecliptic exactly opposite to the arrow in the Archer's hand; for he mentions the rising of the Pleiades. At his date the (heliacal) rising of the Pleiades announced to star-watchers the arrival of the sun at 1° Gemini on the 9th of May. It is therefore of the star-marked festival observed by the Hyperboreans at that pleasant season that we are to think when we read that 'During the season of his appearance the god plays upon the harp and dances every night from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, pleased with his own successes.'

This diversion into the mythologies of Asia and Europe leads us back to our speculations concerning the change of cult adopted by the builders of Stonehenge, and concerning the tribe to whose intrusion this change is to be attributed.

The evidence I have cited, while it does not furnish absolute proof, is enough on which to found a strong presumption that the worshippers of Artemis-Diana observed, as marks of their calendrical festivals, the moon in Sagittarius and the sun in Gemini, and this encourages us to attribute the same observance, with a more or less similar cult, to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Brittany, and thus to explain the alignment of their stone monuments, and also their persistent religious celebrations of May festivals down to, and for many years after, the Roman Conquest.

EMMELINE M. PLUNKET.

SOME NOTES ON CHATEAUBRIAND

II

We left Chateaubriand in Rome, where his devoted attendance upon Madame de Beaumont—it was on the 4th of November 1803 that she died—had won for him general sympathy, to which he was by no means indifferent. But he was anxious to quit scenes so full of death for him. He writes in his *Mémoires*: 'No one knows what desolation of heart is till he has been left to wander alone in places hitherto frequented by another who has made the delight of his life. You search for her everywhere, and you find her not; she speaks to you, smiles on you, is by your side; all that she has worn or touched brings back her image; there is only a transparent curtain between you, but so heavy that you cannot lift it. . . I strayed abandoned among the ruins of Rome. The first time I went out everything seemed changed to me. I did not recognise the trees, the monuments, or the sky. I wandered about the Campagna, and by waterfalls and aqueducts. . . I came back to the Eternal City, which had added to so many past existences, one more spent life. And by constantly frequenting the solitudes of the Tiber they imprinted themselves so vividly on my memory that I reproduced them correctly enough in my letter to M. de Fontanes.'[1] It was this devoted friend who had procured his nomination as French Minister to the little republic of the Valais. And on the 21st of January 1804 he left Rome for Paris, where he made preparations for taking up his new post. Madame de Chateaubriand was to accompany him. Her fortune had disappeared, and the arrangement that she should join her husband was opportune for her as for him. But they never went to the Valais. Chateaubriand shall himself explain the reason why:

On the 21st of March I rose early on account of a souvenir sad and dear to me. In the garden of the house built by M. de Montmorin at the corner of the Rue Plumet—sold during the Revolution—Madame de Beaumont, then little more than a child, had planted a cypress, which she would sometimes point out to me when we passed it in our walks. It was to this cypress, of which I alone knew the origin and the history, that I went to say Adieu. It still exists, but in a languishing state, and scarcely

[1] This celebrated letter on the Campagna Romana is dated the 10th of January 1804. Sainte-Beuve reckons it the high-water mark of French prose: 'En prose il n'y a rien au delà.'

reaches the height of the window under which a vanished hand had loved to tend it. I can distinguish this poor tree from three or four others of its kind; it seems to know me and to be glad when I draw near it: a melancholy breeze inclines its yellow head a little towards me, and it murmurs something to the window of the forsaken chamber: mysterious communications between us which will cease when one or the other shall have fallen. My pious tribute paid, I went down the boulevard and the esplanade of the Invalides, crossed the bridge Louis XIV and the garden of the Tuileries, and went out by the grille which now opens on the Rue de Rivoli. There, between eleven and twelve o'clock, I heard a man and a woman crying official news which caused the passers-by to stop, suddenly petrified by the words: '*Judgment of the Special Military Commission assembled at Vincennes which condemns to the penalty of death Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, born the 2nd of August 1772 at Chantilly.*' The cry fell on my ears like thunder: it changed my life, just as it changed Napoleon's. I went back to my hotel. I said to Madame de Chateaubriand 'The Duc d'Enghien has been shot.' I sat down at a table and began to write my resignation. Madame de Chateaubriand did not oppose me, and looked on with great courage while I wrote. She was well aware of my danger. The trials of General Moreau and of Georges Cadoudal were proceeding: the lion had tasted blood: it was not the moment for provoking him. M. Clausel de Coussergues then came in: he too had heard the news. He found me pen in hand. Out of consideration for Madame de Chateaubriand he made me strike out of my letter certain angry phrases: and it went to the Foreign Office.

The substance of the letter, couched in the usual official language, was that Madame de Chateaubriand's health compelled her husband to resign the appointment to which he had been designated, and that he begged the Foreign Minister to submit 'ces motifs douloureux' to the First Consul.[3] It appears to me that Chateaubriand, at this moment of his career, presents a spectacle which may well make us pause. The effect of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien was to strike terror into 'the good society' of Paris. To quote the words of Madame de Chateaubriand, in her *Cahiers:* 'As soon as the hero was changed into an assassin, the royalists precipitated themselves into his antechamber.' Alone, with one exception, among Frenchmen,[4] Chateaubriand declined to be associated with the author of so great a crime. The 'vultus instantis tyranni' had no terror for him. It had much for his friends. Madame Bacciochi, Napoleon's sister,

[3] Mr. Gribble (p. 128) speaks of this letter as 'disappointing' because 'it does not, as might have been expected, hurl indignant defiance at a Government guilty of a judicial crime,' but 'merely states, untruly, that Madame de Chateaubriand is ill.' I wonder whether if Mr. Gribble had been in Chateaubriand's place he would have hurled 'indignant defiance' at Napoleon. I am sure I should not have done so. It is a proceeding which would have been good and congruous for St. John Baptist, but Chateaubriand was merely an official declining an appointment; and assuredly the pretext—one of the flimsiest—for his declension deceived no one, Napoleon least of all.

[4] Louis the Eighteenth returned to the King of Spain the Order of the Golden Fleece with which Bonaparte also had been invested, declaring that there could be nothing in common between him and so great a criminal.

who took great interest in him, burst into loud laments. 'M. de Fontanes,' Chateaubriand writes, 'became almost mad with fear at first, and gave me up for shot.' But things passed quietly. Talleyrand, whether from design or from indifference, kept the letter for two days before submitting it to the First Consul, who merely observed 'Very well' (*C'est bon*). I consider that in this transaction we have, so to speak, the keynote of Chateaubriand's public career. Long years afterwards he wrote:

> Grâce à Dieu je n'ai jamais eu besoin qu'on me donnât des conseils d'honneur: ma vie a été une suite de sacrifices qui ne m'ont jamais été commandés par personne: en fait de devoir j'ai l'esprit primesautier.[4]

For ten years public life was to be closed to Chateaubriand. He had to fall back, as he says, on his literary career. In the year 1806-7 he made his Eastern journey which was to supply him with materials for his *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, and with local colour for *Les Martyrs*. His expedition ended, as all the world knows, in Spain, and in his meeting there Madame de Mouchy, concerning whom those who desire information will find it in M. Beaunier's *Trois Amies de Chateaubriand*, or in Mr. Gribble's volume. On his return to France he became the proprietor of the *Mercure*, and published in it an article on, or rather apropos of, a volume of travels in Spain, in the course of which he took occasion to make some reflections on Nero and Tacitus. Napoleon construed them as an allegory reflecting on himself. The *Mercure* was confiscated, and Chateaubriand's friends thought him fortunate in escaping prison. It was in 1807 that he bought a rustic country house—it is described as 'maison de jardinier'—in the neighbourhood of Sceaux, expending upon it a considerable portion of the money brought him by his books. He occupied himself much with planting and gardening, and found, as he tells us, great delight in that occupation. Here he wrote *Les Martyrs*, accounted the most finished of his works; the *Itinéraire*, which unquestionably contains some of his finest passages; and *Le Dernier des Abencérages*. And here he began his *Mémoires*, carrying out a resolution which he had made in Rome in 1803, and communicated to his friend Joubert, as we shall see presently.

In what I have still to write about Chateaubriand I shall use chiefly these *Mémoires*. I regard them as by far the most important work which he has left behind him. And he thought so too. They are not, properly speaking, confessions. Chateaubriand's account of them is 'j'écris principalement pour rendre compte de moi-même à moi-même.'[5] But of course they were intended for future generations, too, and in his letter to Joubert, just now

[4] *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, vol. v. p. 172.

[5] MS. of 1826. Quoted by Giraud, *Chateaubriand*, p. 30.

referred to, he tells him: 'I will not trouble posterity with the details of my frailty. I will relate of myself only what is in accordance with the dignity of man and—I dare to say so—with the elevation of my heart. One should put before the world only what is beautiful (*beau*). To reveal of one's existence only what may lead our fellow-men to noble and generous sentiments is not to lie unto God.' Elsewhere he says, 'I have let my whole life pass into these *Mémoires*,' and I agree with M. Giraud that for anyone who has eyes there exists no more sincere autobiography. Further, as that accomplished critic remarks:

> All his work leads up (*aboutit*) to this book, and without this book his work would remain incomplete and in part unexplained. He felt that deeply: hence his quite paternal tenderness for the poor orphan destined to remain on earth after him: hence the care which he took in writing it, the incessant retouches which he gave it, the unquiet curiosity with which he tried to foresee and to shape its fortunes. . . . It was more than a mere book for him: it was a part of himself, the dearest, the most intimate. A part? It *was* himself: it was his *ego* which he had cast into these pages: the mysteries of his heart—his 'inexplicable heart'—he had here, if not unveiled, at all events indicated to those who have eyes: the incomparable gifts of his genius are here profusely scattered. . . . It was not then in vain that for more than thirty years Chateaubriand had patiently, lovingly, retouched and fixed the image of himself which he would leave to his contemporaries, and to posterity. The image is flattered, doubtless, but less than has been alleged. And it would be easy, with a little ingenuity, to extract from the *Mémoires* a veritable indictment of their author.[6] The truth is that they are a sufficiently faithful portrait,—and that when we judge them, we may judge Chateaubriand and his works.[7]

And that is for me the special value of these *Mémoires*. They are the abstract and brief chronicle of his life and times by a great genius, who was one of the few honest men then found in French public affairs. But their interest is almost inexhaustible. Carried on by the magic of Chateaubriand's style, one reads and re-reads pages until one knows them pretty well by heart. They place

[6] So M. de Lacharrière observes: 'Chateaubriand s'est calomnié lui-même en exagérant certains gestes: il a montré à nu certains côtés de son caractère choquants pour les idées actuelles, mais qui pour les contemporains se voilaient d'une apparence plus sympathique.'—*Les Cahiers de Madame de Chateaubriand*, Intro. p. x.

[7] *Chateaubriand*, p. 34. By a cruel irony of fate these *Mémoires* were given to the world in a way utterly remote from Chateaubriand's design, and most calculated to defeat his purpose. His pecuniary necessities, in his old age, obliged him to sell them to what I suppose we may call a small company, who agreed to pay him an annuity of 20,000 francs during his life, and one of 12,000 francs to Madame de Chateaubriand in case she should survive him, and to publish them after his death. In breach of this engagement they began to publish them some months before his death, and—horror of horrors!—as a feuilleton in the *Presse* newspaper. This prostitution to the *canaille* of what was so deeply cherished by, and so sacred to, him was the last great grief of his life, and doubtless hastened his death.

before us, as in sunlight, the story which the author has to tell, and the moral signification of that story. Chateaubriand had that prophetic vision which is the prerogative of poets. He sees through the veil of phenomena to the causes determining them, and moralises like a chorus in a Greek tragedy. And while he deals with these high themes, he scatters by the way literary judgments of the greatest value. My space does not allow me to dwell on them, but I will give, by way of specimen, three that happen to meet my eye in the second volume of the *Mémoires*, which chances to be open before me. Where shall we find a more pregnant dictum than this: 'L'Angleterre est toute Shakespeare'? Profoundly true again is his estimate of the Byronic school: 'Lord Byron a ouvert une déplorable école: je présume qu'il a été aussi désolé des Childe Harolds auxquels il a donné naissance que je le suis des Renés qui rêvent autour de moi.' And how admirable is his criticism of Sir Walter Scott! While fully recognising the high gifts of the author of the Waverley Novels, he writes: 'Il me semble avoir créé un génie faux: il a perverti le roman et l'histoire: le romancier s'est mis à faire des romans historiques, et l'historien des histoires romanesques.'

The wise Duke of Weimar prophesied of the domination of Napoleon, when he seemed 'the foremost man of all this world': 'It is unjust: it cannot last.' It lasted till 1814. Two years before, Chateaubriand had said 'Napoleon's fate will be that of Crassus: the Russians will retire before him like the Parthians, and this will be the rock on which his power will split.' On the 31st of March 1814 the Allies entered Paris. A few days afterwards Chateaubriand published his pamphlet *De Bonaparte et des Bourbons*, a scathing indictment of the Empire and all its works, and an earnest plea for the old royal house. 'I flung it,' he said, 'into the balance: and all the world knows what an effect it had.' Louis the Eighteenth confessed it had been of as much service to him as an additional army corps. But to say that was to say too little. Then set in the scramble for offices under the restored monarchy, from which Chateaubriand proudly kept aloof. His friends did what they could for him, and he was nominated to the Swedish Embassy with the modest emolument of 33,000 francs. He felt that he was too poor to take it. Next came the escape from Elba. Not the least interesting portion of the *Mémoires* are the pages describing the condition of things in Paris when Napoleon was approaching the city. On the 23rd of March Louis the Eighteenth presented himself to the Chamber of Deputies, and among other brave words inquired, amid much applause, whether at sixty he could better terminate his career than by dying in defence of his country? He gave them to understand that he meant to remain at his post. This royal declaration filled

Chateaubriand with hope, and in a speech delivered by him on the morrow he said:

Let the King keep his word and stay in his capital. . . . Let us resist for only three days and the victory is ours. The King defending himself in his château will evoke universal enthusiasm. And if it is destined that he should die, let him die in a manner worthy of his rank. Let Napoleon's last exploit be to cut an old man's throat. Louis the Eighteenth in sacrificing his life will gain the only battle he has ever waged: and he will gain it to the profit of the liberty of the human race.

These heroic sentiments pleased the ear. To the King they appealed, Chateaubriand says, as having 'a certain Louis Quatorze ring' about them. But they were not translated into action. Louis the Eighteenth fled to Ghent four days after his memorable speech about dying at his post.

'If he had only kept his word,' Chateaubriand remarks, 'legitimacy might have lasted for another century. Nature herself seemed to have deprived the old monarch of the means of retiring by enchaining him with salutary infirmities. But the destinies of the human race would have been fettered (*entravées*) if the author of the Charter had adhered to his resolution. Bonaparte came to the succour of the future. This Christ of the evil power took by the hand the new paralytic and said, Arise, take up thy bed: *Surge: tolle lectum tuum.*'

The Hundred Days ran their course. In the miniature Court of Louis the Eighteenth at Ghent, Chateaubriand filled the post of Minister of the Interior *ad interim*, while remaining also titular Ambassador of the Most Christian King to Sweden. Intrigues abounded, and well-nigh every intriguer was 'in utraque sorte paratus'; just as ready to serve a Bonaparte as a Bourbon. The Duke of Wellington came over from time to time for reviews, and would be greeted with a patronising nod if Louis the Eighteenth, taking a drive, should chance to meet him. The *idée fixe* of the monarch was the grandeur, the antiquity, the dignity, the majesty of his race. And as Chateaubriand observes, 'this unshakable faith of Louis the Eighteenth in his kingship was a power—the power which gave him the sceptre. He was legitimism incarnate, and with him it disappeared.'

On the 18th of June 1815 Chateaubriand went out of Ghent by the Brussels gate to take a walk on the main road, carrying Caesar's *Commentaries* in his hand. He was deep in his book when, some two miles from the city, a muffled rumbling reached his ears. It was the distant roar of the cannon at Waterloo. Soon a courier passed and announced to him Bonaparte's entry into Brussels and the defeat of the Allies. He went back to Ghent, where there was a general *sauve qui peut*. Shortly, more authentic tidings arrived. Bonaparte had not entered Brussels; he had lost the battle of Waterloo, and had fled to Paris. Four hundred thousand troops of the Allies were marching thither after him. Louis

the Eighteenth received a friendly hint from Vienna that he would do well to follow them as soon as possible, or he might find his place filled up. The filling up of places was indeed the question of the hour. Chateaubriand had nothing of the courtier about ıim; he was absolutely wanting in the suppleness of character, the elasticity of conscience, needed by those who would thrive in Courts. He did not choose to ask for an appointment. He waited o be asked to accept one. Moreover, he shrank from the contaminating contact of some who were judged indispensable to the restored monarchy. He made no secret of his aversion from the infamous Fouché, from the faithless and venal Talleyrand. In a nemorable passage of his *Mémoires* he tells us how, when waiting n the King's ante-chamber, he saw the two together entering the royal presence: 'Vice leaning on the arm of Crime.' He came back to France with no offer or promise of office, but he was ıominated to the peerage, and was made a Councillor of State, a position which brought him a modest salary.

And now we come to the years of Chateaubriand's life in which ıe took an active part in politics. Some critics appear to find ; difficult to understand his standpoint. To me it seems quite asy. He was a legitimist whose personal sympathies with most alled by that name were very limited. He was also a liberal, in ıe best sense of the word, seeking to bind together the old ıistoric traditions of France with the claims—new in that country —of individual freedom. That was the dominant thought to 'hich he was ever loyal, and M. de Lacharrière appears to me well varranted in speaking of the unity of his political conduct. It is ue that, to the incalculable loss of France, his dream of an lliance between legitimism and liberty was not realised. That 'as not his fault. It was due to the falsehood of extremes which ıe found on either side. On the one hand was the dissolvent ndividualism of the revolutionary doctrine.* On the other, the olid dulness of a conservatism utterly unable to read the signs of ıe times; the dulness which had learnt nothing and forgotten othing since 1789, and of which Charles the Tenth may be taken the supreme type. Chateaubriand's lot was cast in a world not ıoving to his mind. 'Pourquoi,' he exclaims in a striking assage of his *Mémoires*:

Pourquoi suis-je venu à une époque où j'étais si mal placé? Pourquoi -je été royaliste, contre mon instinct, dans un temps où une misérable ıce de cour ne pouvait ni m'entendre, ni me comprendre? Pourquoi ai-je é jeté dans cette troupe de médiocrité, qui me prenait pour un écervelé

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* '*Douce patriarcale innocente honorable amitié de famille, votre siècle est* ıssé; on ne tient plus au sol par une multitude de fleurs, de rejetons, et de cines: *on naît et l'on meurt, un à un.*'—*Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 186.

quand je parlais courage, pour un révolutionnaire quand je parlais liberté.' [9]

Such then were Chateaubriand's political principles, from which he never swerved. They animated his speeches in the Chamber of Peers. They were fully unfolded by him in his pamphlet, *De la Monarchie selon la Charte*, which he published in 1816. This brochure, an admirable exposition of the doctrines of constitutional government, gave offence to Louis the Eighteenth and was seized by the police—illegally as the event proved—while its author was struck off the list of Councillors of State, and lost the stipend attached to that dignity. That reduced him to something like penury. He was obliged to sell his library and his country house, La Vallée-aux-Loups. He determined to turn to journalism. In conjunction with some of his friends he founded the *Conservateur*, which, thanks chiefly to his brilliant articles, soon became a great political power. He claims—not without reason—'la révolution opérée par ce journal fut inouie : en France il changea la majorité dans la Chambre : à l'étranger il transforma l'esprit des Cabinets.' In 1820 the Decazes Cabinet fell, and the Duc de Richelieu became Prime Minister for the second time. He offered Chateaubriand the Embassy at Berlin.

Chateaubriand accepted the offer, with some reluctance indeed, but he could not afford to decline it. One reason for his reluctance was that it removed him from the society of Madame Récamier, which since 1817 had entered largely into his life. His relations with this extremely beautiful and accomplished woman[10] have been generally supposed to be Platonic,[11] but M. Beaunier's inquisitorial tribunal[12] has decided otherwise. Whether the decision is right or wrong, I do not undertake to pronounce. I must refer the curious in such matters to M. Beaunier's own pages. What is certain is that in Madame Récamier Chateaubriand found that *adjutorium simile sibi* which unhappily he had not found in Madame de Chateaubriand. In a striking passage [13] which ends the first volume of the *Mémoires*, he does full justice to his wife's high qualities, her fine intelligence, her original and

[9] Vol. iii. p. 432.

[10] Benjamin Constant's account of her is : 'Sa beauté l'a d'abord fait admirer : son âme s'est ensuite fait connaître : et son âme a encore paru supérieure à sa beauté. L'habitude de la société a fourni à son esprit le moyen de se déployer, et son esprit n'est resté au-dessous ni de sa beauté ni de son âme.'

[11] As his relations with the Duchess de Duras unquestionably were.

[12] See *Trois Amies de Chateaubriand*, pp. 157-66.

[13] The passage concludes with these words : 'Je dois donc une tendre et éternelle reconnaissance à ma femme, dont l'attachement a été aussi touchant que profond et sincère. Elle a rendu ma vie plus grave, plus noble, plus honorable, en inspirant toujours le respect, sinon toujours la force des devoirs'—which is very neatly put.

cultivated mind and her admiration for him,[14] although, he adds, she had not read one of his works. 'She is better than I am,' he observes, though 'd'un commerce moins facile'—which no doubt was true. For the rest, Madame de Chateaubriand was greatly absorbed in the affairs of the Infirmerie Marie Thérèse, an asylum for invalid priests, which she and her husband had founded, and where she associated with religious and charitable persons given, like herself, to good works. It was not an atmosphere in which Chateaubriand could exist for long. He found one more congenial to him in Madame Récamier's salon, where all that was most illustrious in literature and politics gladly resorted, and where he was the central figure. For thirty years she was the light of his life. And when his life was drawing towards its close, he wrote thus of her in his *Mémoires* :

> As I approach my end it seems to me that everything which has been dear to me has been dear in Madame Récamier, and that she has been the hidden source of all my affections. My recollections of every period of my existence—those of my dreams as well as those of my realities—have become moulded, commingled, blended, to make an amalgam, of which she has become the visible form.[15]

Chateaubriand held the Embassy at Berlin for only a few months.[16] Then, in consequence of political changes in France, which need not be dwelt on here, he was nominated to the much-coveted post of Ambassador to the Court of St. James. He accepted the nomination with pleasure. 'It brought back to me,' he says, 'Charlotte, my youth, my emigration, with a multitude of joys and sorrows. Human frailty, too, delighted in the thought of my reappearing, celebrated and powerful, in scenes where I had been small and of no reputation.' Some of the most charming pages in the *Mémoires* are those which are devoted to this episode in his career. In September 1822 he left London to go as one of the French plenipotentiaries to the Congress of Verona. M. Villemain enumerates as present there : the Emperor of Austria and Prince Metternich, the Emperor of Russia with several of his

[14] The Duchess de Duras' judgment of her is amusing : 'C'est une personne qui a de l'esprit et surtout de l'originalité : elle adore son mari, et cela me paraît sa meilleure qualité.'—*La Duchesse de Duras et Chateaubriand*, p. 450.

[15] *Mémoires*, vol. iv. p. 488.

[16] The independence which characterises his despatches to the French Foreign Office during this period is remarkable. Thus in one dated the 10th of February 1821 he writes : 'Je désire, Monsieur le baron, que l'on m'évite des tracasseries. Quand mes services ne seront pas plus agréables, on ne peut me faire un plus grand plaisir que de me le dire tout rondement. Je n'ai ni sollicité ni désiré la mission dont on m'a chargé . . . Je suis au-dessus ou au-dessous d'une ambassade et même d'un ministère d'Etat. Vous ne manquerez pas d'hommes plus habiles que moi pour conduire les affaires diplomatiques . . . J'entendrai à demi-mot : et vous me trouverez disposé à rentrer dans mon obscurité.'

generals and ambassadors, the King of Prussia with his two brothers and his principal ministers, the King of Naples with his mistress and his confessor, the King of Sardinia with his Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the delegates of England—chief among them the Duke of Wellington.[17] Chateaubriand has left us a full account of the Congress in two volumes of entrancing interest. The question which above all others occupied it was that of mediation or intervention in the Spanish revolution. Chateaubriand, who had larger and more far-seeing views in politics than most of his colleagues, was strongly in favour of a French intervention which, as he judged, would do much to check the advancing spirit of unrest throughout Europe and to enhance the prestige of France. We learn from the *Mémoires* that in 1822 he was full of anxiety for the future of his country. He speaks of 'Cette Restauration à laquelle j'ai pris tant de part, aujourd'hui glorieuse, mais que je ne puis pas néanmoins entrevoir qu' à travers je ne sais quel nuage funèbre.' He became Foreign Minister, and in that capacity carried out victoriously the Spanish war. Lord Acton considers 'the overthrow of the Cadiz constitution in 1823' 'the supreme triumph of the restored monarchy in France.'[18]

Chateaubriand's tenure of the French Foreign Office lasted for fifteen months. The military success of the Spanish campaign was complete. And no doubt, as he had anticipated, one of its effects was to add to French prestige. But its result in Spain was to deliver that country to the unrestrained despotism of Ferdinand the Seventh, a prince as vindictive in power as vile in captivity. The guarantees for good government which Louis the Eighteenth sought from him were not forthcoming, or were rendered illusory. On one occasion Chateaubriand threatened to withdraw the French Ambassador from Madrid if the King did not pursue a wiser policy. But Ferdinand, surrounded by a furious and greedy *camarilla*, made no real reforms. Meanwhile Chateaubriand's position in the French Cabinet became more and more insecure. His relations with the Prime Minister, M. de Villèle, were unsympathetic. His masterful ways were distasteful to Louis the Eighteenth, who had never liked him. Nothing, however, suggested, as nothing could excuse, the manner in which he was dismissed. On Sunday, the 6th of June 1824, he went to the Tuileries to hear Mass at the Chapel Royal and to present his respects to the Sovereign. He was told that someone was waiting to see him in the Salle des Maréchaux. He found there his private secretary, who brought him a communication from the

[17] *La Tribune Moderne : Chateaubriand*, p. 231.
[18] *Essays on Liberty*, p. 89.

President of the Council transmitting a royal ordinance by which he was relieved of his office.

'Quel coup pour les Bourbons, et de leurs propres mains,' a highly cultivated Englishman, Mr. Frissell, exclaimed to Villemain when he heard the news. The insult was gross, and was of a kind which Chateaubriand would deeply resent. Years before —it was in 1816—Fontanes had said of him : 'Chateaubriand est un terrible homme : ils se repentiront d'avoir provoqué un homme de génie.' His late colleagues did repent. Chateaubriand put his pen at the service of the *Journal des Débats*, while the Villèle Ministry fell from one fault into another, and at last, in 1828, arrived at a degree of unpopularity which terminated its existence. Chateaubriand had cause to be satisfied. 'After my fall,' he writes, 'I became the acknowledged leader of French opinion. . . Young France was on my side to a man, and has never since deserted me. . . Crowds surrounded me whenever I showed myself in the streets. Why did I acquire this popularity? Because I had read the true mind of France. I had begun the combat with a single journal at my service. I became the master of the entire press.'

In the new ministry which was formed, M. de Martignac desired —naturally enough—to include Chateaubriand. But Chateaubriand declined to accept any place in it except that of Foreign Minister—he would return, he said, by no door save the one at which he had been thrust out—and Charles the Tenth would not consent to that appointment. He was however appeased by the nomination of his great friend, M. de la Ferronays, to the Foreign Office, and of another valued friend, M. Hyde de Neuville, to the Admiralty, while he himself accepted the Embassy at Rome. Madame de Chateaubriand—who had not been with him when he went as Ambassador to Berlin or London—determined to accompany him on this occasion, moved no doubt by her devout instincts. If the reminiscences of M. de Hausonville, then a young attaché, are to be trusted, her presence did not greatly add to her husband's peace and comfort. His most important work during the few months that he was accredited to the Holy See was the defence of French interests—or what were supposed to be such—during the conclave which followed the death of Leo the Twelfth. But the pages of the *Mémoires* which relate to this period are full of interest, containing, as they do, some admirable letters to Madame Récamier, and several diplomatic papers still well worth reading. Meanwhile the political situation in France was becoming ever more menacing. The Liberal majority in the Chamber of Deputies was in constant conflict with M. de Martignac's Ministry, which endeavoured in vain to form a party out of the

centres, or more moderate members, on both sides. In fact, the ministry was at the mercy of two great parties, both of which equally detested it, and over neither of which had it any control. Prescient of coming changes, Chateaubriand determined to return to France. Having obtained leave of absence, he left Rome on the 6th of May 1829, accompanied by Madame de Chateaubriand, who, as we read, took back with her for her Infirmerie de Marie-Thérèse, a plentiful supply of relics, medals, and indulgences, as well as the famous Micetto, Pope Leo the Twelfth's favourite cat, 'red streaked with black,' which had been given to her on the death of that Pontiff.

On arriving at Paris, Chateaubriand proceeded to pay his respects to the King, whom he found in a state of grave discontent with his Ministers. They were too liberal for him. For the country they were not liberal enough. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was vacant. There was some expectation that it would be given to Chateaubriand. But the King said, 'I won't say that he shall not be my Minister at some time; but not at present.' Charles the Tenth had other views, which Chateaubriand did not even divine. The accession of M. de Polignac to power, he says, never entered my head; 'M. de Polignac! son esprit borné, fixe et ardent, son nom fatal et impopulaire, son entêtement, ses opinions religieuses exaltées jusqu'au fanatisme, me paraissaient des causes d'une éternelle exclusion.' But it was on M. de Polignac that the royal choice fell. Chateaubriand had gone to Cauterets to drink the waters; and there news of the formation of the Polignac Ministry reached him. He knew well what this mad act of Charles the Tenth meant. 'Le coup me fit un mal affreux,' he writes, 'j'eus un moment de désespoir, car mon parti fut pris à l'instant; je sentis que je me devais retirer.' He immediately returned to Paris and wrote to M. de Polignac requesting an audience of the King, with a view of explaining to his Sovereign the reason which constrained him to resign his embassy. The King was unwilling to receive him unless he would retain his embassy, which he firmly declined to do, telling M. de Polignac frankly why. 'Je répondis que son ministère était impopulaire; que la France entière était persuadée qu'il attaquerait les libertés publiques, et que moi, défenseur de ces libertés, il m'était impossible de m'embarquer avec ceux qui passaient pour en être les ennemis.'

It is not necessary here to tell the story of the dethronement of Charles the Tenth. But it may be well to recall certain words addressed to him by Chateaubriand in 1821—he was then Comte d'Artois—nine years before the catastrophe came. 'The new France is now entirely royalist. It may become entirely revolu-

tionary. If the institutions of the country are conformed to, I would stake my head on a future of several centuries. If they are violated or abused, I would not answer even for a future of a few months.' Chateaubriand's position in the crisis brought about by the Polignac *Ordonnances* was stated very plainly in a letter of his to Madame Récamier. 'It is painful but clear. I will betray neither the King nor the Charter, neither legitimate power nor liberty.' His famous speech in the Chamber of Peers on the 7th of August 1830 is but an explication of these words. Charles the Tenth had fled, after abdicating in favour of his grandson, and appointing the Duc d'Orléans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom and guardian of the royal infant. But Louis Philippe was by no means satisfied with that arrangement. He had long aspired to the crown, and he thought—rightly, as the event proved—that his hour was come. Every effort was made to win over Chateaubriand to the Orléanist party. He was offered the Foreign Office, the Roman Embassy, or what he liked. His answer was, 'Would you have me give the lie to my whole life?' That was the keynote of his speech on the 7th of August—'a day ever memorable to me,' he says, 'for then I had the happiness to finish my political career as I had begun it.' Assuredly it is the greatest of his speeches, and perhaps he never wrote anything better than the paragraph which, as he tells us, moved him to tears when he delivered it:

> Inutile Cassandre, j'ai assez fatigué le trône et la patrie de mes avertissements dédaignés : il ne me reste que de m'asseoir sur les débris d'un naufrage que j'ai tant de fois prédit. Je reconnais au malheur toutes les sortes de puissance excepté celle de me délier de mes serments de fidélité. Je dois aussi rendre ma vie uniforme : après tout ce que j'ai fait, dit et écrit pour les Bourbons, je serai le dernier des misérables si je les reniais au moment où, pour la troisième et dernière fois, ils s'acheminent vers l'exil.

Chateaubriand refused then to take the oath to Louis Philippe as King of the French. He resigned his peerage, and, of course, the emoluments attached to it, and also his place of Councillor of State. He sold the trappings of his ceremonial dress—gold lace, shoulder straps, epaulettes—to a Jew for seven hundred francs. 'I was left stripped as naked,' he says, 'as a little Saint John.' He might have added, 'et mea virtute me involvo probamque pauperiem sine dote quaero.' So far as I know, in this heroic sacrifice to principle he stands alone among French statesmen of that time. 'Heaven's Swiss, who fight for any god or man,' is the correct account of well-nigh all of them.

In what I have written about Chateaubriand I have referred to his relations with his fair friends only so far as was necessary for the elucidation of his public career. If anyone desires full details

of his amours, are they not written in Mr. Gribble's *Chateaubriand and his Court of Women*, and in M. Beaunier's *Trois Amies de Chateaubriand*? Of the 'trois amies' I have been led to speak of two—Madame de Beaumont, the muse of his early manhood, and Madame Récamier, the guardian angel of his maturity and old age. But there is a third lady who came into his life in 1829, and who counted for much in the last two years of his public activity. She is mentioned only once [19] in the *Mémoires*, and then casually. But there are abundant sources of information about her, and they have been fully utilised by M. Séché, in his ably written volume which forms one of the series called *Muses Romantiques*.

Hortense Allart was born at Milan in the year 1801, her father being then 'membre d'une commission extraordinaire de liquidation' for that city. At the age of twenty she became an orphan. Her intellectual endowments were considerable, and she had received what was accounted a good education. For some two years she was a governess in the family of General Bertrand, where apparently she made the acquaintance of the Comte de Sampayo, a Portuguese gentleman, of whom M. Séché tells us 'Il était alors âgé de vingt-quatre ans, avait une jolie figure et l'âme religieuse.' With these advantages he won the affections of Hortense, who became his mistress, and in 1826 bore him a son, Marcus. Then their intimacy came to an end, Sampayo, notwithstanding his 'âme religieuse,' having abandoned her when she was about to become a mother. She had betaken herself to Florence, where, after a time, she appears to have had tender relations with Capponi, one of the heroes of the Risorgimento, who had been interested in a book entitled *La Conjuration d'Amboise*, which she had published when she was twenty-one. Another early work of hers was a volume of *Letters to George Sand*, with whose moral and religious principles she much sympathised, and who, later on, pronounced her to be 'one of the glories of her sex.' Hortense, says her biographer, 'n'écouta jamais que la voix de la nature'—'nature' meaning for her what her inclination prompted. She professed herself a Protestant, and had a kind of religiosity, real, however hazy; she was loyal, generous and true to her lovers, who, in the event, usually became her friends. 'C'était une âme simple et naturelle du XVIIIe. siècle, à qui le sens moral pouvait faire défaut, mais dont la sincérité n'était pas

[19] M. Beaunier well explains the reason why: 'Chateaubriand dans ses *Mémoires* parle beaucoup de ses amies : mais il a l'honorable soin de présenter ses amours comme des amitiés : le reste, il le donne à entendre. Avec Hortense ce n'était pas possible. Cette aimable femme avait eu de si célèbres et nombreuses aventures qu'en se disant son simple ami, Chateaubriand risquait le ridicule. Il supprima cette anecdote d'une existence qui était assez riche, au surplus, sans cela.'—*Trois Amies de Chateaubriand*, p. 230.

douteuse,' says M. Séché. For the rest, she was a very pretty woman, 'étincelante de vie, d'intérêt et de gaieté : un morceau de roi.'

In 1829 Hortense Allart was in Rome on a visit to her sister, who was married to a M. Gabraic, a man of business, residing in the quarter delle Quattro Fontane. She passed her time, M. Séché tells us, in exploring the ruins of pagan antiquity, with no more thought of Chateaubriand than if he had never existed, when she received from Madame Hamelin a letter of introduction to him. To prepare herself for the interview with the great man she read *Atala*, and was much charmed with it. Chateaubriand was much charmed with her. It was in the month of April 1829, and he was just then suffering acutely from ennui—which, indeed, was often the case with him. The visit of this young and fascinating woman at once dispelled it. 'Pour la vingtième fois de sa vie,' writes M. Séché, 'il avait reçu le coup de foudre : à cela rien d'étonnant, du reste, car Hortense était vraiment séduisante.' As for him, though turned sixty, his Olympian head and irresistible smile and charming manner had retained all the fascination of his earlier days, and he might have said, in the verse of Victor Hugo, 'le cœur n'a pas de rides.' M. Beaunier writes, 'It was as though the young women whom he loved, successively, with an assiduous ardour, ever renewed, communicated to him, by a phenomenon of gracious contagion, a persistent youth.'[20] However that may have been, Hortense Allart too fell under his spell, and when, in the course of a few weeks, he proceeded to Paris, on leave of absence, she followed him thither, and, to be near him, took an apartment in the Rue d'Enfer.

Chateaubriand's passion for his young mistress was of the intense kind which sometimes assails men at the *âge critique*, and in the troublous days which arrived he found in her society a welcome refuge from the strife of tongues. But her great work for him—'elle n'a rien fait de plus glorieux en ce monde,' M. Séché judges—was to bring him into relations of close friendship with Béranger, whom she had known intimately from her childhood. Louis Philippe was as much detested by the advanced liberals of France as by the legitimists. They by no means saw in him 'the best of republics.' They regarded him, not without reason, as a discounter and juggler who had jockeyed them. Chateaubriand had delighted them by his refusal to serve under Polignac; he delighted them still more by his contemptuous defiance of the new Sovereign. Béranger was quite one of the most influential men in the liberal ranks, and Chateaubriand, who greatly admired his songs and rated very highly his genius, gladly fell in with

[20] P. 184.

Hortense Allart's suggestion that he should make the acquaintance of the poet, upon whom he called, after some preliminary negotiations skilfully conducted by her. Béranger succumbed at once to the spell of the enchanter and wrote to Hortense to ask how soon she thought he might return the call—'tant je suis sous le charme, mais je crains d'être indiscret.' 'From the date of this visit,' writes M. Séché, 'the sentiment of respect and esteem which the two men cherished for one another changed into a friendship which lasted as long as they. On the 16th of May 1831 Chateaubriand left France for Switzerland, most certainly not without a view of returning. Béranger had dissuaded him from going. It appeared to him that Béranger's was the one voice which should call him back. No one had so much authority, so much popularity as the poet 'whose couplets, charged with saltpetre, had blown up the throne of Charles the Tenth.' After some hesitation Béranger wrote the song, 'Chateaubriand, pourquoi fuis ta patrie?' The summons to return was promptly obeyed. 'How can I be insensible,' Chateaubriand wrote, in his grand manner, 'to the flattery of that muse who has disdained to flatter kings?'

We read in Chateaubriand's *Mémoires* that this period was the happiest of his life, and M. Séché observes, 'Je le crois bien, puisqu'il savoura les douceurs de l'amour et de la popularité.'[21] Unquestionably his delight in the *popularis aura* was intense—so intense as to surprise Béranger, who, in a leter to Hortense Allart, observes, 'Bon Dieu, qu'il a besoin de gloire et de bruit!' But the *popularis aura* does not continue to blow for long with the same strength, or in one quarter. And, as a matter of fact, Chateaubriand's public career[22] was virtually closed in 1830. Moreover his *liaison* with Hortense Allart, which in the nature of things could not last very long, came to an end, deplored by him as untimely. He was himself, in some sort, the author of that calamity. 'Un jour,' M. Séché relates, 'pour se distraire d'Hortense, il lui conseilla d'aller faire un petit voyage en Angleterre : elle le prit au mot : mais quand elle revint, le charme était rompu : elle avait trouvé une nouvelle chaussure à son pied,' which, being interpreted, means that in England she met Henry Bulwer Lytton, afterwards Lord Dalling, to whom she transferred her mutable affections—as she frankly told Chateaubriand on her return. She had her notions of probity, and was faithful in her temporary unions. It was a great blow to him thus to lose 'sa dernière Muse, son dernier enchantement, son dernier rayon de soleil.' But he got over it, and he and Hortense were always

[21] P. 124.

[22] 'Public career.' Of course, I do not forget his chivalrous activities on behalf of the Duchesse de Berri in the immediately succeeding years.

friends. Her admiration of, her interest in him, lasted till his death in 1848.[33]

Unfortunately, it lasted longer. Hortense Allart had a way of recording in books her gallant adventures, under the slightest veil of fiction, which more expressed than hid them. Thus her novel *Jérôme*, published in 1830, is really an account of her experiences with Sampayo, who, as we have seen, was a Portuguese gentleman—married, we may note—and who is converted by her, for the purposes of her story, into a celibate Roman prelate. Her other novels are similarly autobiographical: a friend of hers remarked, 'You are the first woman who has made such frank confessions to the public.' None of them had much success, except *Les Enchantements de Prudence*, published in 1873—which had a *succès de scandale*. It is by way of being an account of her relations with Chateaubriand, and there seems no reason for doubting that it is substantially accurate. Veracity was one of her virtues. Indeed, no sort of reticence much checked her fluent pen. For example, she describes, with great liberty, her little dinners with Chateaubriand, in a *cabinet particulier* of a small restaurant, l'Arc en Ciel, near the Jardin des Plantes. She tells us how she would sing him favourite songs of Béranger—*Mon Ame, la Bonne Vieille, le Dieu de bonnes gens*, and how 'il les écoutait ravi, et cette belle poésie et la voix de sa maîtresse l'attendrissaient: ces chansons le sortaient de lui-même, éveillaient son génie, le jetaient dans un état exalté, triste et doux.' But I must refer those who desire further details of this flow of soul to the pages of M. Séché—or indeed of M. Beaunier or Mr. Gribble. The effect of these revelations was different on different readers. George Sand characterised the book as 'un livre étonnant,' and pronounced the authoress to be 'une très grande femme, une âme fervente qui n'est pas exclusivement chrétienne' (which was doubtless true); and while making 'certain reserves,' would throw no stone at her, but would rather present her with a crown of roses and oak leaves. The general impression among men of letters appears to have been one of cynical amusement. M. Antoine Passy wrote to Hortense: 'Cette grande figure littéraire, religieuse et politique, baisant vos pieds est un tableau ravissant.' But the legitimists, who had been wont to regard Chateaubriand as a paladin of their own, were of a different opinion. They found the picture by no means ravishing. Two of their chief writers expressed the general scandal, and burst

[33] She gives us a glimpse of him, a year before his death, in a passage which M. Séché quotes (p. 139): 'Il m'a charmée et touchée. Il ne peut marcher: il est mélancolique. Il a ses anciennes grâces: cette distinction, cette élévation qui en font un homme si attrayant. L'âge, au lieu de changer la beauté de son visage, l'a rendue plus remarquable.'

into loud lamentations and indiscriminate invective, when silence perhaps would have been more dignified and more polite. M. Armand de Pontmartin was aghast to find 'Chateaubriand, cette grandiose figure de défenseur d'une religion, de créateur d'une poésie, de précurseur d'une révolution littéraire, d'ordonnateur des pompes funèbres d'une monarchie vaincue,' exhibited, at the mature age of sixty, 'en un vicomte bohême, royaliste et Catholique pour rire, enfoncé jusqu'au menton dans cette coterie dominée par Béranger . . . infidèle tout ensemble à sa femme—ceci ne comptait pas—à Madame Récamier, à son nom, à son passé, à sa gloire.' Similarly, M. Barbey d'Aurevilly qualified as 'ignoble and horrible' the spectacle of the author of *Le Génie du Christianisme* 'sur le bord de sa vie, en bonne fortune de cabaret, avec une maîtresse, y chantant *le Dieu de bonnes gens* de Béranger,' and expressed his sincere pity for the husband, the sons, the daughters—if they have any—of the women who write such books.[24] Marcus Allart—now arrived at man's estate—was so disobliged by this unsought commiseration, that he sent M. Barbey d'Aurevilly a challenge to single combat, which was not accepted; whereupon he betook himself to the office of the *Constitutionnel*, and failing to find his adversary there, assaulted and battered some unoffending contributor, who was unfortunate enough to come in his way; for which he was condemned, in due course, to a month's imprisonment and a fine of two hundred francs.

Chateaubriand had been dead a quarter of a century when all this happened. And I suppose it did not matter to him. Does it really matter to us that, like Samson of old, 'effeminately vanquished,' he was thus exhibited to make sport for the Philistines? Is not their mirth more ignoble than his humiliation? No doubt his unquestionable strength and greatness were marred and foiled by as unquestionable weakness and littleness. But surely to him, if to anyone, may be applied Pope's doctrine of the Ruling Passion. I quoted in a former page his declaration, 'Je n'ai jamais eu besoin qu'on me donnât des conseils d'honneur. . . en fait de devoir j'ai l'esprit prime-sautier.' The testimony which he thus bears of himself is true. If we would judge him aright, we must remember that his ruling passion was loyalty to honour, to duty. But, after all, are we concerned to judge him? Let us rather take leave

[24] Hortense Allart, her biographer relates, was much astonished to hear of the scandal caused by the *Enchantements*, the more especially as she had ended the book with certain prayers—'de très belles prières,' her friends esteemed them—which, M. Séche tells us (p. 73), she thought would sanctify, or at all events purify, her confidences.

of him in the familiar and beautiful lines which he knew well and deeply treasured :[55]

> No farther seek his merits to disclose,
> Or draw his frailties from their dread abode,
> (There they alike in trembling hope repose,)
> The bosom of his Father and his God.

W. S. LILLY.

[55] In vol. xxii. of Chateaubriand's *Œuvres Complètes* will be found an imitation of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, which Sainte-Beuve praises : 'Vers tout-à-fait beaux et poétiques,' he says. I have no doubt this praise is well deserved, but the verses are widely remote from the thought and manner of the original. That is not the fault of Chateaubriand. The ethos of Gray's masterpiece is so utterly English that an adequate, or, indeed, a tolerable version of it in French is quite impossible.

THE BLIGHT OF THE LAND TAXES

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT

Of the new land taxation, around which last year there was waged a loud and wordy war, but little has been lately heard. The last nine months have been a period of hard, quiet work for the numerous officials appointed by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, under the Finance Act, 1909-10, to prepare valuations and to exact the taxes. Discussion as to the policy and prospects of that measure was for the time being in comparative abeyance, and all parties were waiting for signs and proofs of its real character in operation. The first aim of the Government was to work in as great secrecy as possible, to avoid comment and to produce so large a number of provisional valuations, as to give hope that the huge task of valuing all the land of the country upon strange and novel principles would be completed within some reasonable time.

The taxpayers, on the other hand, having endeavoured with little success to explain to the public what they regarded as the excessive, wasteful, and inequitable nature of the new land taxes, began perforce to set themselves to consider how to deal with the valuations so as best to avoid being fleeced. Several new organisations for self-defence, of which the most conspicuous is the Land Union, were consolidated and strengthened, and began attempting to alleviate the pressure of the Finance Act by political work, by showing up hard cases, advising the sufferers and raising test actions. After nine months of activity on both sides, there is material for reviewing the position of the opposing forces. These words are used advisedly, for it is the deplorable fact, which cannot be disguised, that the present Government's land policy has tended to alienate from the State the sympathy of a large section of its subjects, as well as to loosen party ties.

In the former article under this heading,[1] public attention was drawn to the discreditable origin and the disastrous outlook of the scheme of land valuation and taxation embodied in the 1909-10 Budget. Severe criticism of the Government's tortuous policy attained all the publicity secured by publication in this Review. It has not been

[1] 'The Blight of the Land Taxes,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, September 1910.

openly resented, nor has there so far been any attempt to put forward an answer. The theme can now be enlarged upon. The working of the Finance Act, 1909-10, is now beginning to make it possible to supplement criticism with specific instances of blunders in the Act itself, and of unhappy mistakes in administration, to use no harsher word, which fully justify the original allegations. Light has been let into dark places by the outspoken utterances of Mr. Pretyman and his colleagues of the Land Union, and by the numerous publications and Press communications of that body, to which the Government is unable to make any effective reply.

Members of Parliament who supported the land taxes have lately had frequent reminders from constituents of their own side, as well as the opposite party, that there is deep dissatisfaction in the country with the outcome. Radical builders and small-property owners are especially bitter at the deception practised upon them by their own leaders. Elections are beginning to be lost by Radical politicians in consequence of the land taxes, when parties are evenly balanced. It has been widely discovered that the operation of the Finance Act is not only wasteful, but foolish; not only oppressive, but in effect, if not in intention, even fraudulent.

In that last word lies the sting. Waste, folly, and oppression can be and are borne with, but the human taxpayer has not got it in him to enjoy being vilely cheated as well. It took him a year or two to find out that the Finance Act contains the active seeds of its own dissolution, for he really could not understand it. And no wonder. For neither Mr. Lloyd George nor even any expert has yet fully understood the Finance Act. Only its enormous capacity for mischief is quite easy to grasp. But the taxpayer's brain is being remarkably quickened by the numerous instances of dishonest administration which are continually coming to light. It is understood, of course, that dishonesty is not here alleged against individuals, but is asserted as the inevitable result of bureaucratic methods carrying into effect thoroughly dishonest legislation.

The remarkable agitation excited by the tactless emission of millions of copies of Form IV. in the middle of the summer holidays, is fresh in everyone's recollection. What will be the feeling when the country has been flooded with 'provisional valuations,' which will cause infinitely more trouble and expense to the recipients? That is, unless they are content to accept unresistingly estimates of the value of their properties made at red-hot haste by ill-paid and over-worked officials, appointed without thorough examination, and in many cases little acquainted with the neighbourhood. These valuations, be it remembered, are not made in the ordinary way, after much deliberation, for a proper fee, as for mortgages, with a margin of

20 per cent. for error, and with the valuers' business reputation depending on their correctness. The Government valuations are cheap and nasty, made without responsibility towards their victims, and for the express purpose of extracting taxes. Appeals are purposely made difficult and expensive. The basis of valuation prescribed by the Finance Act is not one of common practice or common sense. And, underlying all, is the vehement suspicion that the sinister object of the Government is not so much taxation immediately remunerative as to depreciate the property of a certain class, in order to carry into effect the wild ideas of the Robber-Socialists. The suspicion is amply justified by many public utterances of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Ure, Mr. Wedgwood, and other land-taxers. They seem to lose their heads and all sense of *meum* and *tuum*, directly they begin to talk about land.

With what reckless precipitance the whole project of land taxation was conceived is getting daily more clear. That is becoming its undoing. The Government seems to have fondly imagined at first that the valuation of all the land in the country could be got through in a twelvemonth. It all has to be valued as at the 30th of April 1909—already more than two years ago. Even now only a small proportion of the provisional valuations have been delivered. The fixing of a genuine retrospective value for land at a date already two years gone by, any practical man can see to be impossible. Will it be easier five years hence or ten years hence? The question is pertinent, for in a rough way we can now form a notion of the enormous and crushing magnitude of the task before the Government valuers. They are in round numbers about eight hundred in all. Not many months ago it was publicly announced that twelve and a half million copies of Form IV. had been issued. If it be assumed that this means at least twenty million separate valuations, the estimate is probably much under the mark. For in respect of great numbers of small building plots no forms have yet been issued, while only single forms in many cases have been given out for considerable estates, which will have to be valued in detail, field by field or plot by plot.

Absurd as it may seem, some zealous valuers appear to have been trying their best to carry out the Government's aspirations. On the 15th of February last Sir Rufus Isaacs asserted in Parliament that a single district office had turned out 40,000 provisional valuations up to that date. Now, the usual staff of a district office is one head valuer and four assistants. Let us suppose that few or no Form IV.'s came in duly filled up before the 15th of September 1910. Leaving out Sundays and holidays, there would then be up to the 15th of February 1911 about 126 working days. Thus if Sir Rufus Isaacs's information were correct (though it seems incredible), the four assistant valuers

would have been dealing with 318 valuations per diem—that is, 79½ apiece. But all the 'inspecting' would have to be done by the head valuer, who, working eight hours a day, would have about one minute and a half for each inspection!

Criticism has forced Mr. Lloyd George to state publicly in writing, what is obviously indispensable, that no valuation is to be made without 'proper inspection.' Can even the poorest cottage be 'properly inspected' in a minute and a half, including the coming and going of the valuer and the making of notes?

No allowance, be it observed, is here made for any office work, although the office work is very heavy indeed, and must take up a large part of each valuer's time.

However, these points need not be laboured, for, whatever has been attempted, Mr. Lloyd George has in his defence of the land taxes in Parliament on the 17th of May completely surrendered the Government position. He tells us that 381,000 valuations have been made. This is in about ten months. Let us suppose that 400,000 can be made in a complete year, though that is very dubious, for no doubt the valuers took the easiest work first. At that rate it will take fifty years to get through twenty million valuations.

From these considerations it is not unsafe to infer that the general valuation can never be completed at all with the present staff, even if done in the most worthless and perfunctory manner possible. But the staff cannot be greatly increased, for the Government has already depleted the auctioneers' and estate agents' offices of many of their best clerks by offering higher salaries than they were receiving. And the salaries paid are already 240,000*l.* per annum, not to speak of office expenses, which must be enormous. These district and assistant valuers are taken away from sound private business, and set to the fantastic and impossible task of valuing the country upon Mr. Lloyd George's theories. It is sad and demoralising for them. Yet Mr. Lloyd George braced himself to deliver a kind of sermon at the City Temple on the text of 'Waste.' Can a worse example of waste be conceived than this which he has himself created by his Finance Act?

It is not only the valuers whose time and the taxpayer whose money is wasted. There is an immense and continuing waste, both of time and money, inflicted on land and house owners, large and small, who are set to furnish elaborate particulars of their properties without payment, for no useful purpose, and are forced to defend themselves against one-sided Government valuations. Their properties are already depreciated, and at the same time they may ultimately have to find cash out of pocket to pay taxes oppressively levied upon property which they *hold in kind*.

And what is the result for the country? Mr. Pretyman,

with a question in Parliament on the 24th of May, elicited from the reluctant Mr. Lloyd George the damning admission that up to the 31st of March last, the increment value duty, the reversion duty, and the undeveloped land duty together had produced almost nothing at all! And this after an expenditure of half a million! Did ever mountains bring forth a more ridiculously still-born mouse? It is true these taxes will extort more money in the future, as and when the valuations get completed (if ever). But at what cost?

With regard to the most conspicuous new tax, the increment-value duty, what practical men foresaw has gradually become clear to the Government Department charged with the valuations. It is that owing to the depreciation of all land and house property caused by the passage of the 1909-10 Budget, cases of real increment value on the occasion of a sale are too few and far between to suit Treasury needs. So unless deliberate undervaluation can be extensively resorted to, the increment-value duty does not seem likely to bring in any net sum for years to come. But owners have it in their own hands to secure that they are not cheated in this way, for no palpable undervaluation is likely to stand for a moment on appeal. The moral is that an appeal should be lodged in every instance where the owner is dissatisfied with the provisional valuation. Either this will cause a complete block in the confirmation of the valuation, or the Government will have to 'cave in.' That is why it tries to frighten or cajole ignorant or timorous owners into accepting the provisional valuations without a struggle. No doubt this has been widely done by small owners, who are under the mistaken impression that low valuations mean low increment duty, whereas, of course, the reverse is the truth.

It is worth while here to quote a few instances of scamped or mistaken provisional valuations, which are evidently the by-products of undue haste, coupled with the intention of the Government systematically to undervalue. The public should not be allowed to forget what is known as the Camberwell case, where some good little freehold houses, similar to others sold only a few years ago at prices ranging from 275*l.* to 325*l.* each, and capable of being mortgaged for 200*l.*, were provisionally valued by a Government official at 134*l.* each, and this was divided up into 54*l.* for the site and 80*l.* for the building, which probably cost three times as much. The consequence, if this valuation were confirmed, would be that, supposing one of these houses were sold some day for 300*l.*, the vendor would be defrauded (the word is not too strong) of nearly 30*l.* for increment-value duty (save the mark!), when in fact he had not made a sixpence. The facts of this case were widely published by the Land Union. The Government has never produced any answer.

Then there was the case where six houses, all precisely alike in front, but three of them having an extra room at the back, were all provisionally valued at the same sum by the district valuer, misled by an omission in the filling up of Form IV., which he must have detected if he had thoroughly inspected the property. The tenants of the houses all signed a statement that no valuer had ever entered their premises. This case was published. The Government has no answer.

A third case goes further, for it is one in which increment-value duty has been actually demanded on a palpable loss! It was stated by Mr. Pretyman at the Land Union's general meeting on the 28th of March last. A builder at Elstree bought a plot of land for 40*l.*, which for two years lay idle. He then built a house upon it at a cost of 337*l.* 10*s.* He sold the house and land together for 375*l.*, which meant to him a loss of 2*l.* The district valuer, after struggling manfully with the crazy machinery of the Finance Act, evolved as his finished product a claim for increment duty on the ground that the plot of land which cost 40*l.* had on the occasion of sale grown to have the value of 57*l.* How? Why? For the joke is that the builder may still buy the adjoining plot, in all respects similar, for the original price of 40*l.*

The case is a small one, but is typical. It has been published. The Government has no answer. The claim is now withdrawn. Meanwhile the builder's Radical principles have been heavily bruised and shaken.

Among small house and land owners there are no doubt hundreds of thousands of the Government's own supporters, ready to leave their party if the Opposition boldly makes the repeal of the land taxes a leading feature of its policy. Yet, although the Opposition depends greatly as a party for assistance on the numerous land and house property owners of its own side in politics, it is hesitating to take the obvious course. What can be the reason? Why help to palliate for the Radical party the deserved and increasing unpopularity of the land taxes? Why should an important part of the Unionist Press give column after column to the harem skirt, and pass in silence over the great continuing national misfortune of the land taxes? It has its cue—the Radical Press is too wise ever to utter a single word about them if it can possibly be avoided.

The first number of the *Land Union Journal*, a monthly publication which ought to be read by every house and land owner, and every politician, for the sake of the truthful and non-party information which it gives about the current working of the Finance Act, sets out in terse language another case—this time one of sharp practice, extremely discreditable to the Government.

In August last the agent for the owner of some land containing minerals filled up Form IV. on his behalf, and stated that he

claimed all the minerals, but omitted to declare in the optional part of the form the nature and to give an estimate of the capital value of the minerals, which were not comprised in a mining lease and not being worked.

A few days after the form was filled up the owner succeeded in selling the whole property for 11,000*l*.

The nature of the minerals not being described in the form, and no estimate of their value being given, although by pure inadvertence, the Government claimed that under Section 28 of the Finance Act the minerals are to be treated as of no value at all in the owner's hands previously to the sale!

This is obviously fiction; yet on this fictitious basis the Government is guilty of the sharp practice of demanding 1600*l*. from the owner as increment-value duty.

The way in which the amount of the demand is arrived at is sufficiently curious. The Government arbitrarily values the land, without the minerals, at only 2230*l*., and then in effect calmly tells the owner that the whole difference between that sum and the purchase money of 11,100*l*. was 'increment' of value accruing between the 30th of April 1909 and the day of sale. But the minerals were in the land all the time, were they not? What brought about the change of value? Two strokes of a Government official's pen?

Cases like these, a few out of a heap, show how thoroughly false was the contention with which Mr. Lloyd George misled the Government majority in the House of Commons into granting the increment-value duty, and his party in the country into approving it; the contention that it would be levied solely upon the 'strictly unearned increment'—'the increment of value accruing to land from the enterprise of the community or the landowner's neighbours.'

Now let us see how the undeveloped-land duty is working. This is the wife that eats the fat, while Jack Sprat, the increment-value duty, eats the lean. And between the two they certainly bid fair to lick the platter clean without the assistance of the other new imposts. Of course, the fundamental assumption on which this tax is based is a silly and patent fallacy. It is that *all* land which is not purely agricultural can be, and at once ought to be, built upon or 'developed,' although neither the demand nor the capital to supply it exists. This is the false pretence on which the duty is extracted, not out of the land itself, but out of the pockets of the present holder. Take the case of a poor man who in time gone by has bought a few acres out of his savings, lets them agriculturally at 1*l*. per annum, and is hoping some day to sell for building. He cannot do this until the land becomes really ripe for building. Meanwhile, however, it is considered speculatively worth 500*l*. per acre, on the chance of its being built upon

in the end. The undeveloped-land duty steps in and seizes the poor man's whole income from the land. To pay it he must borrow at considerable expense or sell at a depreciated price. The State ignominiously extorts a few pounds. The wealthy purchaser at the depreciated price makes a large profit in a few years by holding until he can sell to a builder. In what sense is he more 'deserving' than the original holder? The cost of the land to the builder is not affected, for the new owner will not let him have the land any cheaper. Indeed, as the new owner may have to pay increment duty, the price will probably be increased and the house tenants will have to pay higher rents.

The Government is so desperately eager to rake in a little money from land taxes in any shape that it is actually sending out demands for undeveloped-land duty before the valuations have been completed and agreed to. If there is over-payment the taxpayer will have the pleasant and cheap experience of getting the taxes back again out of the Government's claws. This seems a good subject for a new test case.

Objections to the reversion duty are many. This is the tax on the benefit accruing to the lessor (according to the Government's interested valuation) when a building falls into his hands at the expiration of a lease, according to the terms upon which under free contract the lease was originally granted. Under the Finance Act, 1909-10, the pretence is made that it is always possible to estimate from the rent what the value of the land was when the lease was originally granted; usually ninety-nine years ago. The valuation is based upon this quicksand! Its foundation is dubious enough in simple cases; but what about those, common enough, where a premium was paid for the lease and no record of it remains?

One of the greatest perversions of equity in the Finance Act is the clause by the operation of which, whenever a lessee purchases the fee simple from his lessor, without either party gaining a single sixpence, the Government has been in a position to claim an enormous tax, on the purely technical ground that, owing to the lease being temporarily merged with the freehold by operation of law, the freeholder has acquired a reversion equal to the whole value of the building. In sober fact he acquires nothing at all. Attention was pointedly drawn to this contingency when the Bill was before the House. The Government, under the blundering advice of one of its own law officers, refused to believe the obvious. Now Mr. Lloyd George has been obliged to insert a clause in the Revenue Act, 1911, to undo the injustice—but only in part. Meanwhile every voluntary sale of a freehold interest to the leaseholder was stopped. Probably many individuals have thereby lost their opportunity of sale, and have suffered undeserved loss.

A point which deserves to be noted by the inhabitants of localities where the leasehold system of land tenure is prevalent, such as London and its suburbs, or Bournemouth as a provincial example, is that reversion duty extorts money for Imperial purposes from the pockets of the landowner in those districts which might otherwise have been spent in the neighbourhood. Other localities, where the leasehold system is not current, will escape these forced contributions. This is an incident of the Finance Act which points pretty plainly to the equity of giving reversion duty to the district in which it is raised, if reversion duty is to be levied at all, in flat defiance of the Government's promise that existing agreements were not to be broken.

It is often plausibly alleged by adherents of the Government, that no new taxes were imposed by the Finance Act upon agricultural land. But what is the doubling of the already too onerous death duties but the imposition of a new tax, though not under a new name? The doubling of the stamp duties has the same effect. And at the fiat of any district valuer, land now described as purely agricultural may at any moment become subject to increment-value duty, undeveloped-land duty, and mineral-rights duty. The net result, and, it is to be feared, the intended net result, of all these cumulative and never-ending exactions, is that many owners whose property is mainly invested in land, and whose active lives have been spent in the careful management of their estates, are now forced to sell. A comparatively poor family cannot, out of the meagre profits which land produces, find the money to satisfy State imposts aggregating five or six years' net income, once at least in every generation. It may be even oftener, when the property changes hands on death more frequently than this.

Agricultural values having now an upward tendency, the opportunity is not a bad one for such families to sell their properties in detail. The farms are either bought by speculators, who at once raise the rents, or the unfortunate farmers, another set of Government victims, are obliged to buy at high prices the land of which they are tenants, in order to protect their only means of livelihood.

When they do so, in nineteen cases out of twenty, they have to borrow two-thirds of the purchase money on mortgage at 4 per cent. interest, and lock up all the capital they can scrape together to pay the balance. Formerly they rented the land at a rate seldom exceeding 2½ per cent. on a low valuation. And all their capital was available for its proper working. Now their incomes are reduced and rendered precarious. The farms will be starved of capital, and they themselves denuded of the precious reserves, which formerly tided them over bad seasons. Their solvency depends on the value of agricultural produce continuing

to rise. If it falls they are ruined and have no landlord to fall back on.

The dispossessed landlords, severed from the district where their families have been long settled, and where they fulfilled many important public duties, are free to invest their liquid capital in countries where Robber-Socialism has not yet snatched the reins of government, while the average earnings of capital are much greater than in England. The spending of their incomes is lost to the countryside. The estate staff is scattered, and the wise management comes to an end. All this to carry out the loose theories of the late Henry George, in a country where the conditions are not the same as those prevailing in America, the birthplace of his theories.

The great nostrum of Henry George, wrapped up by him in a mist of hypocritical apology, and more boldly enunciated by such great authorities on land-management as Mr. Sidney Webb, in his Fabian essay, can be stated in a sentence or two. It is—Steal by legislation all property in land from the existing owners rightfully entitled to it by law and custom, by labour, purchase and inheritance. Make the State the land-grabbing landlord. Let it exact from individuals, by leasing at rack-rents, whatever profits can be derived from the stolen property, and apply the net income to the relief of the burdens which would otherwise properly fall on the community.

Except through the increased death duties, the new land taxes have not as yet mulcted the landowners very severely. But the burden of the mineral-rights duty is already severely felt by those who, because their means, often quite small, are invested in a security from which it is easy to take toll, are subjected upon specious pretexts to a special new tax, which amounts to no less than 5 per cent. of their capital. Minerals do not grow and replace themselves; therefore moneys derived from their exploitation, such as mining royalties, are not income, but instalments of capital in course of being refunded. Double toll is now being taken from mineral proprietors by the Government, on two different bases, mutually irreconcilable, as the following extract from a mine-owner's letter will show:

> I inherited a coalfield in lease to a company, largely worked out. The value of the coal in the field, unworked and unexhausted, was valued for probate as capital in the earth, and I paid 1*s.* 2*d.* estate and succession duty on each 1*l.* of capital. This capital is paid to me by the colliery company in annual instalments, but is then called *income* by Somerset House, and I am charged 1*s.* 2*d.* income-tax and 6*d.* super income-tax—1*s.* 8*d.* in the 1*l.* Now mineral-rights duty of 1*s.* in the 1*l.* is charged in addition, making a total taxation of 3*s.* 10*d.* per 1*l.* of my royalty.

If the nature of this gentleman's property had been almost anything other than minerals or land, he would have escaped

taxation to the extent of 2*s*. 8*d*. in the 1*l*. on his capital, and would only be paying income-tax on the real income earned by the investment of his royalties, after they are received as instalments of capital. Is he, and are his fellows, being fairly treated?

Another grievance of mineral-owners, at present *sub judice*, is the charging by the Inland Revenue Commissioners of mineral-rights duty in respect of minerals worked *previously* to the passing of the Finance Act. Where a lessor has treated his lessee with leniency, and has not pressed for payment of royalties at the moment they became due, he is now being penalised. For the Inland Revenue officials are claiming that all sums actually received in the 'last working year' are liable to duty, no matter in respect of what period these sums are really paid. Whether legally correct or not, this hardly seems morally right, or politically tactful.

One result of the State's levying taxes in this way is that it is itself treating as income, which may be at once wasted on any fad of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, money which is part of the capital of an invidiously selected class of its subjects. The State is *pro tanto* squandering a part of the general fund upon which future taxes might be honestly levied. Is this good finance?

Among the most annoying of the vicious characteristics of the Finance Act is the incessant time-wasting interference with the details of every transaction relating to land or house property, however trifling and insignificant.

Not long ago the transfer of a small chapel by a land company to some diocesan trustees, in consideration of its maintenance as a place of worship, involved four separate visits to Somerset House, besides much letter-writing, solely to convince the tax collectors that no duty whatever had to be paid on the transaction. On every conveyance of a tiny plot of land or a cottage the harassed owner is required to show the deed to the Inland Revenue authorities, as well as to deposit with them a copy of the conveyance and plan (if any), although the statute only authorises them to demand inspection *or* a copy of the deed. A test case might be raised on this point. The expense of the copy is only a pound or two, but it is much in relation to the value of very small properties, and as often as not it is found that after all no duty is payable—all the trouble is wasted.

Imagine other businesses than those connected with land vexatiously and expensively interfered with, at every step, in this manner!

Ambiguity in the drafting of the Act gives rise to infinite trouble. As a sop to small owners, when the stamp duty on conveyances of land and house property was increased from 10*s*. to 1*l*. per cent. on the consideration money passing on a sale, convey-

ances for sums under 500*l.* were exempted from the increase, provided they are not part of 'a series of transactions' (Section 73). The object of the proviso was ostensibly to prevent splitting a large sale into two or more parts, each under 500*l.*, to escape the higher duty. The vendor is obliged to state in a conveyance, stamped at the lower rate of duty, that it is 'not part of a series.' If he is wrong in so stating, he is subjected to heavy penalties. Now, it is the unfortunate fact that Somerset House is quite unable to inform purchasers what the words 'a series of transactions' mean.

A Lincolnshire landowner, who is cautiously law-abiding, has through his solicitors addressed three letters to the authorities at Somerset House, with requests for a definition. In his first it was asked whether a builder, having contracted at different times to buy from the landowner two adjoining plots of land, the purchase moneys of which, if added together, exceed 500*l.*, the transaction is or is not 'part of a series.' The Deputy Controller of Stamps promptly replied that it *is* so, and claimed the higher rate of duty.

In the second letter the landowner's solicitors asked the same question about three other purchases made at different times by the same builder, the plots not being all contiguous. This time the Secretary of the Board of Inland Revenue gave just the opposite reply—to wit, that the transactions do *not* form part of a series.

In the third letter the same question was again asked about three other small purchases made by the same builder. This time it was the Assistant Secretary who answered that

> the responsibility for determining whether or not the statement required by the proviso to Section 73 of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, may properly be inserted in an instrument is one which, in their (the Inland Revenue Board's) opinion, must rest with the parties in any given case, who, knowing all the circumstances, will be in a position to decide whether or no the statement will be in accordance with the facts.
>
> The Board are not prepared to advise, upon the facts before them, that the certificate can be inserted in any of the deeds in question.

Helpful, is it not?

Being still left in complete dubiety—for while the first two opinions from Somerset House appeared self-contradictory, in the third the riddle was altogether given up—the landowner instructed his solicitors to write to the Inland Revenue Commissioners yet once more. They accordingly did so, asking for an explanation of the apparent inconsistency of the first two opinions. They also drily observed that 'taking these two letters together, it would seem that if there are *three* contracts between the same parties running, no conveyance under any one contract is part of a "series of transactions"; but if there are only *two* such contracts, a conveyance under either contract is part of a series.'

This rather posed Somerset House, which took fourteen days to answer, with a vague attempt to reconcile the former self-contradictory advice, but repeating that the Board 'are not prepared to lay down a general rule for the construction of the expression "a series of transactions."' What are landowners and builders to do, in the meanwhile, until a test case has been fought and won over this conundrum?

And what is going to happen to a vast deal of the laborious valuation work of the land-taxing officials, if certain other test cases are not decided in accordance with the wishes of Somerset House? Already it has had to submit to the adverse decision of a judge in the action against the validity of Form VIII., promoted by the Land Union. The test case on Form IV., brought by the Yorkshire West Riding Land and Property Owners' Defence Association, and still before the Courts, may, when decided, have far-reaching effects. Many important questions as to the principles on which deductions in favour of the owners are to be made, in valuations of land, are still outstanding unsettled. In fact, the Finance Act bristles with debatable points, and there seems no finality or stability anywhere. Where is yet the sound and reliable foundation of ascertained value, free from doubt or perplexity, which the 172 Liberal and Labour members, who lately presented a memorial to the Prime Minister, profess to believe in as the basis of new spoliation of the land and house owners, in favour of the possessors of other kinds of property and those who have no property at all? Is not this hungry band a little too far in advance of the main army? Had they not better look to their flanks and rear, and rather turn their attention to some project of fair taxation all round, based on the ability of the subject to pay, and not on the desire to save their own and their friends' purses at the expense of a particular class of their fellow-subjects?

It is this greedy and unscrupulous aggression upon the rights and livelihood of a large minority of men and women who, taken in the bulk, are among the best and most valuable members of the State, which is a most painful and discouraging symptom of the times. Is it not a shameful thing that in a country such as ours it has become absolutely necessary that an institution such as the Land Union, independent of parties, should be founded to protect its members against imposition and exactions at the hands of the very Government, which ought itself to protect them, and deal out equal justice to all? This necessity is the sinister work of demagogues and party log-rollers. The only gleam of comfort so far is that in their ravenous haste, the foundations of the scheme of plunder have been so badly laid, that the whole edifice is already crumbling to its fall, and may thus destroy its authors.

CHARLES NEWTON-ROBINSON.

CONVERSATIONS AT THE SALON AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY

The Old Salon: Sir John and Lady Bilderby ascending the staircase to Gallery I.

Lady B. I know you think me absurd, but I never go up this staircase with the spidery railings (they are a great deal too spidery) without a certain glow of anticipation. What shall we find this year, I wonder?

Sir J. Some 1800 to 2000 more or less coarsely-painted realistic pictures; out of which you, in your enthusiastic optimism, will pick out about fifty that you really care for, and I, in my conscious rectitude of judgment, about half the number. I tell you, Mary, the place is too big; they have got to fill it somehow, and so they fill it anyhow. And then the painters are seduced into expanding trivial subjects into immense canvases, just because they know there is room for them; and so the wheel comes full circle. (*Entering Gallery I.*) Did I not say so? Look at that half-acre of canvas opposite.

Lady B. Well, come, you can't call this a trivial subject: 'La Musique, le Drame, et la Comédie (le Génie de la Musique révèle à l'Humanité les harmonies naturelles).' It is a State commission for a ceiling for the theatre at Agen.

Sir J. I applaud the State, with all my heart, for encouraging decorative painting on a great scale. I wish our ultra-Philistine Government would follow the example. But I think the State has made a bad shot this time. As a ceiling composition it is spoiled by the manner in which the general arrangement of light and dark makes a kind of diagonal line across it, and by the considerable extent of dingy surface representing the clouds out of which these allegorical phantoms appear. A ceiling painting should be bright and light in colour; everything should *float*. Marioton was the man who understood that better than anyone, and I see no one to take his place. But you do not seem to find this big room very attractive?

Lady B. H'm! No. You know they do not put the best things here. Oh! stay a moment. They have put my favourite

Didier-Pouget's two pictures here. I say 'his two' because you always say he can only paint two.

Sir J. I say that he only does paint two, and one of them I don't quite like. I can't away with his twilight trees; there is an unwholesome tone about them; they smell of paint somehow. And of course there is the usual exaggerated moon. I wish painters would compare the scale of the actual moon a little more carefully with the scale of the landscape; they would find that they nearly always make her too large. But the other picture, 'Lande Fleurie,' I agree is really fine; the foreground is a wonderful piece of realism, and it is honest painting in a broad style, and no niggling tricks about it. The picture would make a sensation at the Academy. I sometimes wonder he does not exhibit there.

Lady B. Perhaps he would not be very welcome. What would become of the sacred Leader? That is a fine landscape by Lefort-Magniez—that flat, sandy waste and the shimmer of sunlight on the sea and the tidal creek. Don't you think part of the genius of French landscape-painting lies just in that power of making a picture out of what at first sight seems an unpromising scene?

Sir J. And you who were admiring Didier-Pouget just now! But I agree; landscape painting lies not so much in the scene itself as in the power of the artist to put his own mind into it, to translate it into something that appeals to the mind of the spectator. But what has Mdme. Demont-Breton been about this year? Here is her principal work, 'La Lettre d'Islande'—what used to be called a 'rustic group'—a good deal of character in the figures, but what a tame and dull tonality! Who would ever have thought that was by the painter of 'Dans l'eau bleue'? It is disappointing.

Lady B. It is. I always used to look out for her pictures as a sure source of pleasure. But goodness, John! What is that in the next room? Is it the nightmare materialised?

Sir J. It seems to be a white horse, but very materialised, as you say; smacks more of the *chevalet* than the *cheval*. Apparently it symbolises France throwing over Napoléon; a counterblast, I suppose, to the recent revival of the Napoleonic cult. But there is my painter friend, De Latélier; I must introduce him. I wonder what he thinks of it.

Lady B. And are you equal to a critical argument in French?

Sir J. O, he speaks English quite well; was at school in England for two or three years. Drops into a French idiom now and then, perhaps.

De L. (*after due introduction and compliments*) What I think of that? Well, our friend Debat-Ponsan is rather given to painting moral lessons of a somewhat sensational type. I do not think it is what art was intended for. Besides, why make false history?

After Elba, France received back Napoléon with open arms; it was you English (always with the help of that old ruffian Blücher and the blunders of Grouchy) who pulled him out of the saddle. I never could understand why you interfered. However, this is not art, and we are all at *entente cordiale* now.

Sir J. There were influential men in both Houses of Parliament who thought the same at the time—a certain Lord Byron among them.

Lady B. Well, I don't think much of a Frenchman who paints a picture to throw ridicule on Napoléon. He was better employed on that charming little pastoral in the corner. But where is your picture, M. de Latélier?

De L. I do not exhibit this year. I am too much occupied with the commission the Government has given me for a large decorative painting for the Salle de Mariage of the new Mairie at Petite-Ville-en-la-Boue. The subject was prescribed to me: 'Le Génie de la Chimie enseigne les habitants de Petite-Ville-en-la-Boue sur les bases scientifiques de la vie.' You understand, there are large chemical works there, and the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, which also governs public art, likes that the decorations of a Mairie should have some relation to the industries of the town. It is a difficult subject to treat effectively in painting.

Lady B. (*trying to look serious*) It must be, I should think. But why in the Salle de Mariage, of all places?

De L. It is the principal room in a Mairie; and you will always find, in the Government commissions for the decoration of Mairies, that the Salle de Mariage picture conveys, or is intended to convey, some lesson on life—the dignity of labour, the sharing of life's burdens, &c. As I said, I don't like the *morale* in art, but it is well intended, and in such a matter the artist is the servant of the Government, and one must carry out its ideas, according to the best of one's poor ability. And after all, our Government does much for art.

Lady B. Indeed it does! English artists may well envy you such a Government. It is refreshing to see the list of pictures and sculpture 'Purchased by the State.' But I don't recognise any pervading principle in the selection, such as you say there is in the Mairie decorations; they are not all bought as moral lessons, are they?

De L. No, no; some things are bought simply because they are good, like Mlle. Rondenay's masterly open-air nude study, 'Au bord de la Mer,' of which the only moral is that it is much pleasanter and healthier to bathe without a costume, which is incontrovertible; I am told the ladies in Sweden insist on that liberty. But a great many things are bought with a purpose. M. Pinez's 'Jeunesse' shows how good it is innocently to enjoy

life; M. Zingg's 'La Nuit' (which is only a bad imitation of Millet) how love is the sweetest reward of rural toil; M. Jamois' ugly picture, 'Devant l'hospice,' invites you to consider and pity the unfortunate in life; and so on. Then there seems to be a desire to make a collection of paintings of remarkable scenes in France; that accounts for the purchase of M. Guillemet's 'La Cité de Carcassonne.' That is a good idea in one sense, but still it is only *l'art topographique;* there are landscapes in the Exposition far more worth purchase for their artistic qualities.

Lady B. Then you think the Government takes too serious a view of painting—makes it too much of a sermon?

De L. Too serious, Madame? by no means; not serious enough. I assure you that in regard to art I am everything that is most serious; only I am serious in a different way. Now you in England—is it not so?—consider art merely as an amusement, a relaxation, even perhaps a frivolity. I don't speak for you and Sir John, of course, but is not that the view of English society generally? (*Lady B. assents.*) Now in France not only the artists, but the nation generally regard art as about the most serious concern in life; *à preuve* that when a young man—painter, sculptor, or architect—has gained the Prix de Rome he is exempt from military service; he is considered too valuable a person to be shot at. I remember explaining this to a fine young Englishman, an officer in your Army, and his dead silence implied that he felt not only astounded but somewhat insulted. And therefore I think that glorious fellow Regnault, whose monument you may see in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, made an error of judgment when in our so disastrous war he threw over his liberty as a Prix de Rome, to die fighting in the ranks. His friends urged him against it; said he was absolved by our law from any duty to fight; as artist he stood alone, as a soldier he was but a unit among thousands; but no, he said France needed all her sons to fight for her, and go he would, and a bullet was the end of him. My father, who knew him well, and who, of course, went through all the stress of the *année terrible*, told me he considered Regnault's death the greatest calamity the war had brought upon us.[1] All that fiery genius, all that hope of a great career, lost in a skirmish at the age of twenty-eight!

Lady B. (*with a perceptible glistening in her eyes*) Oh, no, no, Monsieur! Not lost; no noble and self-sacrificing action like that can ever be said to be lost; it remains for all time as an example to the world. I am glad to have heard the story. I shall always honour Regnault's name now; we must go and see his

[1] This remark was actually made by a Frenchman to a friend of the writer, shortly after the 1870 war.

monument. Doesn't it remind one, John, of that verse of Clough's that I like so much? :

> 'And not for piping empty reeds,
> And not for colouring idle dust;
> If live we positively must,
> God's name be blest for noble deeds.'

Sir J. I like the feeling that prompted those lines, too; but still, you know, the dust may not always be 'idle,' nor the reeds 'empty'; and, after all, it must be remembered that Clough's artistic sensibilities were not very highly developed, as far as one can gather. But I am afraid we have quite puzzled our friend.

De L. It is true; I hardly follow your line of thought, nor that of your Clœuf, whoever he is. But we are forgetting the pictures.

Lady B. As we certainly cannot look at all to-day, it would be interesting if M. de Latélier would pilot us to some of those he thinks most worth attention.

De. L. Willingly, Madame; you honour me. We have passed Gallery IV.; I hope you looked at Humbert's portrait of a lady there; if not, see it another time. He is our finest portrait-painter, and he never paints the costume with so much hard brilliancy as to make it appear the main subject of the picture, which is a fault with some of our cleverest men; in fact, it is a perfectly-balanced style, unlike that lady's portrait by Fournier in the corner, all dress and jewellery—what we call *clinquant*. There is nothing very much in these two or three rooms. Come and look at Aimé Morot's fine vivid portrait of two children.

Sir J. I cannot pass Harpignies; *his* trees do not smell of paint, at all events. He has the most remarkable sense of style in landscape painting; no single detail in the picture is like nature, but the total effect and balance of tone is so complete; though for the first time I see a little weakness and uncertainty in the middle distance. Of course I know he is a very old man now. It is curious how the scale of this place puts one out. I have noticed two or three good landscapes in passing—one by Mathieu especially—which would be important works at the Academy, but they seem lost here. You have to paint landscapes up to the scale of the rooms for them to produce their effect. Oh! here is Aimé Morot's portrait of the two children; a little over-finished, perhaps, but how bright and natural in expression and pose. That's a good landscape by Marché, 'Pâturages à Urville-Hague'; it shows the attention you give in France to composition in landscape.

Lady B. Ah! Here's Moteley's picture; I was hoping we should not miss him. What a stormy scene; the dark old sombre cottages and the furious sea beyond. Don't you quite feel what a blast of wind we should meet round that corner? Oh, its fine! It's fine!

De L. It is; and do you know I have never noticed his pictures before.

Sir J. Oh, no one does; we discovered Moteley ourselves; you never see his name in the papers. Apparently the writers of newspaper notices of the Salon only go and look for the names they know, and describe the pictures, and then they call that art-criticism. I see Gallery XVI. is entirely devoted to M. Cormon's ceilings for the Petit Palais; 'une vision synthétique de l'histoire de France; vaste ciel dont les nuées se décomposent en figures.' Well, shadowy realistic armies fighting in the clouds do not appeal to me; the studies of types of figures for the accessory panels are very good, but I am afraid the ceilings are a failure, whether in a decorative or a historic sense.

De L. I am afraid I must agree. I don't think anyone will follow out the meaning of those ceiling paintings when they are up, and they are not very decorative in effect. Here is Gervais' wall painting, 'Amour, source heureuse de la vie' (I do not know where it is intended for), which will please you better.

Lady B. Yes; it is a fine dignified composition, and how well he has linked up his groups by that circular garden colonnade which crosses the foreground and reappears in the distance. But, do you know, when I remember 'Le jugement de Paris,' and 'Les Grâces Florentines,' I am rather jealous of seeing Gervais expending so much of his talent on costume figures?

Sir J. Yes; he should be painting idealised nudes, but he is very versatile. Is it not strange, de Latelier? Here is a man who for years back has been exhibiting some of the finest and largest pictures in the Salon, in the most elevated style—a man who might be called the French Leighton, but with greater power and versatility than Leighton—and in conversation about pictures I never met a soul in England who had ever heard of his name or his works. If you mention Gervais to an English art critic he thinks you mean Gervex, who I suppose is the more popular painter.

De L. 'Popular,' M. Gervex? No, no, my friend; *populacier*! To serve you with a word from our vocabulary. I detest his style of pictures; though he did, in a serious mood, paint one impressive one, in illustration of de Musset's 'Rolla.'

Sir J. Yes, yes; I remember it well—a picture with a tragic power about it. But you could not exhibit that in London; nine-tenths of our people would not understand it, and the other

tenth would call it—like the poem—immoral; perhaps not without excuse.

De L. Well, I am afraid we could not set up de Musset as a model for the conduct of life. You know the story of his coming to a meeting of the Académie, after long neglect, when the President politely greeted him with 'de Musset s'absente trop,' and a loud whisper was heard, 's'absinthe trop.' But I want to show you a remarkable work in Gallery XXII.

Sir J. One moment; here are the two small pastorals by Laugée (another beautiful painter unknown in England), perfect as ever in the composition of figures and landscape, though I think this time his skies are a little too strong for the complete balance of the whole. Well, to your remarkable work.

De L. This, by Zier, on a line from 'Namouna':

On est si bien tout nu, dans une large chaise

'Toute nue,' it ought to be, of course, for the picture. Look at the breadth and vigour of the flesh painting, and the brilliant manner in which the table accessories are indicated, without a touch more than is required. It is perfect mastery of the brush.

Lady B. It is; only I think it is odious. Why could not he have expended the same talent on something less vulgar? A coarse-looking woman, with her face obviously flushed with wine, is not pleasant to contemplate at the best. To paint her naked, in an ordinary drawing-room chair, is making it worse. I do not like to use strong words, but really I call it indecent. Of course, Monsieur, you will say art is art, and the painter wanted that kind of effect. I think that to say that a picture is one that no lady would have in her room is a serious charge against it. Why, would you, John, if you were fortunate enough to be still a bachelor, even hang it in your room?

Sir J. If I had a large picture gallery I would be glad to include it. For a small selection of pictures for one's living-room, no. I think it might create an unfortunate impression as to the good taste and, perhaps, even the morals of the owner. You must not suppose, de Latélier, that my wife has the slightest tincture of the vulgar idea that there is any impropriety in the nude figure; both of us consider the nude in sculpture and painting as the highest achievement in art. But we say that the nude figure is painted for one of two objects—for its pure physical beauty, or as the expression of an abstract ideal which would be spoiled by the prosaic details of costume. Where there is neither physical nor ideal beauty we do not see the object of it, unless to display (as here) the technical skill of the painter.

De L. And the technical skill, then? Is that not a beauty in itself? But that is your English point of view, I suppose. Here

in France we think that art is supreme, and is free to seek her own ends and choose her own means.

LADY B. And I should say, Monsieur (with all humility in venturing to differ from an eminent artist like yourself), that the conduct of life and the conduct of art are much more interwoven with each other than you are ready to admit, and that you cannot divorce them absolutely without danger of injury to both. But what is this immense picture of absurd people making love to each other in frock coats and large bonnets? 'Paul de Kock et la Jeunesse en 1830,' for the Salle des Fêtes of the Mairie of Lilas. Who is Paul de Kock?

SIR H. He was a voluminous novelist of the last century, whose books are not read by ladies.

LADY B. Oh! When I hear that said of books I always think, Then why are they read by gentlemen?

SIR J. Well, they are not much, now. They are *vieux jeu*.

LADY B. Like the picture. And there is Seignac, with his usual barefaced imitation of Bouguereau. M. Henri Magne has made a fine picture out of 'Le grand-orgue à Vêpres,' an old organ-case with the wheel window making colour-stains on it. It is not often one sees an organ as the principal element in a picture.

DE L. No; and it is an organ worth painting. It is the grand Renaissance organ-case in the cathedral of Troyes.

LADY B. And here is Palézieux's picture; you remember how you admired his stormy sea two or three years ago. What do you think of this?

SIR J. I think that boat will be capsized the next minute! I don't want to hurt your patriotic feelings, de Latélier, but it is curious that those of your painters who paint the sea well do not seem to know how a ship or a boat behaves on the water: they put them in impossible positions.

DE L. I daresay you are right; we are not *loups-de-mer*, like you islanders. To me the most pleasant impression of a ship is that which I get after walking down the *passerelle*—what you call the 'gangway'—and looking back at it from *terra firma*. But I love to study sea effects—from the shore; *suave mari magno*, you know; and I do know that the sea is not made of printer's ink, as in M. Matisse's pictures. But come and look at Robert-Fleury's picture, 'Le repos du modèle.'

LADY B. Ah! I like that. It is refreshing, after seeing all these women tumbling about on couches in no very modest attitudes, to come on a nude which is quite unsensuous, and simply a capital painting. She has a fine and interesting head, too; can she have been really a professional model? Anyhow, it

is an admirable painting. But Robert-Fleury nearly always interests me.

Dr L. Yes; he comes of a good stock—*bon chien chasse de race;* his father was one of the best French painters of his day. Here are Bonnat's two portraits, very solid paintings of very solid-looking people. As far as the object of portraiture is to produce a likeness, a record of the personage, nothing could be better, though they are not very attractive in a pictorial sense.

Sir J. And here is another instance of inherited talent, in this noble landscape, 'Dans la dune,' by M. Mercié *fils*—the finest landscape we have seen yet. Who are these leaping people in odds and ends of museum armour: 'Les héros de Marathon'? No, no, M. Rochegrosse, *that* will not do, except for the stage. But I am afraid we shall have to make short work of the remaining rooms.

Lady B. I must see my Biva's. Just look at 'Les brumes sur l'etang de Villeneuve-l'Etang.' Really, he has out-Biva-ed himself this year. Oh, yes; I know it is not the highest class of landscape painting, but when a man has such an extraordinary gift of realism in one class of scene, I say by all means let him use it. But it grieves me to find there is nothing by our beloved Paul Chabas this year.

Dr L. But here are two fine pictures by his younger brother, Maurice Chabas, somewhat in the same school; and what do you say, Madame, to this example of nude painting, 'Farniente,' by Guay? Is that also 'vulgar'?

Lady B. No, indeed; it is a splendid piece of painting—and drawing; and it is beautiful in a material sense. To be sure, there is no sentiment in it, but believe me I can appreciate such technique as that, when it is expended on what is beautiful in itself. It is technique expended on what is ugly and vulgar that does not appeal to me. Is there anything else you want to show us before we leave?

Dr L. I daresay you don't care to come out of your way to see Comerre's big sensational picture, 'Le Déluge'—a crush of naked men and women saving themselves on to the last peak left standing out of the water.

Lady B. Well, no; I think the Deluge is like Paul de Kock—*vieux jeu.*

Dr L. Well, I should like to show you Calvé's landscape, 'Calme du Soir,' in Gallery XXXVI.

Lady B. Yes, that was worth staying for; what a grand decorative simplicity in those tall upright stone-pine stems, with the line of the calm sea cutting across them. That is a piece of the true poetry of landscape. By the way, we have not seen Joseph Bail's picture.

De L. 'Servantes pliant du linge'; it is in the next room.

Sir J. It is a beautiful effect of light and composition, but he might have put a little more individual character into the two heads.

Lady B. Now, do you know, I think that would have been a mistake; it would have disturbed the balance of the composition; you must take it for what it is, an artist's vision of a moment's effect of light and colour; nothing more.

De L. If I may be permitted to say so, that is an excellent piece of criticism of Madame's; I see that we have feelings about art in common, after all! There is not time to go through the New Salon, but I want you to come in for a moment, to see Lerolle's pictures.

Lady B. Has Guillaume his usual set of little pictures? I should like to see those.

De L. We will go there first; they are in Room XI. of the New Salon.

Lady B. I am disappointed; he used to paint such exquisite little nudes; he seems to have taken to painting only satirical Society pictures. I do not understand the meaning of 'Un coup de sonnette,' though I see it amuses you gentlemen very much.

Sir J. (*aside to her*). Between ourselves, I think it a very vulgar joke, but I positively dare not say so to a Frenchman; he would think I had no sense of humour. Never mind the meaning; it is one you would not appreciate.

Lady B. But what is all that noise in the next gallery? Is there a quarrel going on?

Sir J. (*after investigations*). It is not in the next gallery; it is in the next but one. It appears to be an 'Amurrcan' lady engaged in expounding, to a group of her compatriots, in the shrillest of nasal voices, the merits of a painter I never heard of before, who is a native of the State of Michigan, and how one picture is 'the most *re*-markable work in all the two Salons.'

Lady B. ! !

Sir J. No wonder you raise your eyebrows; but I am ceasing to be surprised at anything in the way of American conceit about their artists. Why, I read in an American magazine a few weeks ago that all sea-painting that was worth anything had been done by American artists of the present generation. Just imagine the sublime impudence of that; Hook, Brett, Henry Moore, Mesdag, Somerscales, and Napier Hemy, all wiped out of consideration. It is too ridiculous.

De L. Well, you cannot expect us to feel harshly towards people who pay us the flattery of imitating our art and our art institutions wholesale. Look at architecture, for instance; American public architecture is very good, but it is all imitated

from us, down to the very way of getting up their drawings; all Ecole des Beaux-Arts at second-hand. I believe some of them even put French lettering on their drawings. It is flattering, no doubt, but also—rather amusing. But come and see Lerolle's pictures.

Lady B. Will it take us out of the sound of that woman's voice? She seems to be giving a general lecture now, *urbi et orbi.*

De L. (*laughing*). Yes; they are in a room on the other side of the Central Hall. . . . This larger picture, this kind of *al fresco déjeuner* in a meadow, is bought by the State, from purely artistic motives this time, we may suppose; but it is not the one I like best, what I wanted you to look at was this single-figure picture, 'Le Peignoir,' which I have taken a fancy to.

Lady B. I agree with you; I call that really a picture in the true sense; it is such a complete whole. In the case of a nude figure in the middle of a landscape, one has so often the impression of the figure being finished separately and then the landscape added; this gives you the impression of being thought out and painted as one whole; the grass and trees belong to the figure and seem to be painted, so to speak, with the same brush.

De L. Exactly; I am glad to find we are again in sympathy. I see it is near closing time, and I now must say good-day, and thanks for your good company.

Sir J. We shall have to give another day to the sculpture. But I wish you would come and discuss the Royal Academy with us, also. Can you steal two or three days from your big picture?

Lady B. Do, M. de Latélier; come and pay us a visit; I should be interested to hear how the Academy strikes you as compared with the Salon. Of course, it is on a much smaller scale, in every sense, but you will find some good things there.

De L. I am sure I shall. Do you know, I am ashamed to say that I have never visited the Royal Academy. It is that Channel crossing, you know! But really I feel I ought, after your kind invitation.

Sir J. *Au revoir*, then. We will write and arrange.

II

(Sir John and Lady Bilderby, and M. de Latélier, having lunched at a club in St. James's Square, are discovered walking up Duke Street on their way to the Academy.)

Sir J. (*on reaching the top of the street*). Here we are.

De L. The building opposite? Well, my good friend, you

must at least admit that we beat you in the architectural *encadrement* of our exhibitions. *Ma foi!* and you call that architecture, and for a façade to a palace of art, of all places! To be sure, I should not speak in this way, for I think your Houses of Parliament one of the finest architectural conceptions in Europe, though in a style I have not much sympathy with: but to find this piece of banal commonplace as the screen of your leading art exhibition is rather a shock to anyone who has been used to the architecture of our two Art palaces on the Champs Elysées.

Sir J. I cannot deny that; but I hope the contents will please you better than the frontispiece.

De L. (*in Gallery I.*). 'A portrait in black and white,' and a charming one; that is how I like to see a lady's portrait; the face the principal interest, not a study of millinery; for myself, I could have done without the dog.

Lady B. Well, you see, dogs are Mr. Riviere's *forte*.

De L. I should say his *forte* lay in painting a pretty girl with such an expression of sweetness and dignity. 'The Outskirts of a Northern City'; too ragged for landscape, no composition. 'The Foot-Bridge'; that is more the thing; there is style in that; now, I should have liked to have seen that in the Salon on twice the scale; the scale is too small for that monumental building of trees.

Lady B. Yes; but I cannot help thinking that Sir Alfred East, in aiming at unity of effect in his landscapes, has a little too much sacrificed local colour in this and one or two other examples; the grass seems too much the same colour as the trees; you do not see that in nature.

De L. You might, under some conditions of light; but that is not the point. I hold that there are two reasonable ideals in landscape-painting; one to show in all its force some vivid contrast of natural effect; the other, to build up a composition of your own, using the material of nature as the basis. And that last is the more intellectual form of the art. That is the principal of Harpignies, whom you, I know, appreciate.

Sir J. Thoroughly. But come across and look at our sea-painter, Mr. Hemy; I am sorry he is only on rather a small scale this year; you should have seen his great picture, 'Youth,' some years ago, which an English critic justly called 'the finest sea-picture ever painted.'

De L. 'In Spite of Wind and Weather.' Yes, I confess you English beat us at sea (you always did—what?); and I see what you meant about the ships—you know how to put them on the water. How that boat *goes*! What's this—'Stumping the Cow?' *Qu'est-ce que c'est que cela?* But the title does not matter, it is a fine vigorous little picture, after my heart. What is a painter with

a French name, and painting in such a French style, doing in the English Academy? He ought to have been a Frenchman. By the way, I notice that in your catalogue you put the title of the picture first, and then the painter's name; in ours, you know, we put the painter's name first, in large letters, as the important fact, and the title is secondary.

Sir J. That is the difference between the English and French view of art. When our people come to an exhibition, ninety-nine out of a hundred of them want to know, first, what is a picture about? What story does it tell? Whether it is good or bad as a work of art is quite a secondary matter. In fact, to most of our people the Academy Exhibition is merely one of the best shilling shows in London; as long as the subjects of the pictures are interesting the question of art counts for very little.

De L. Then a good deal of good art must be thrown away upon them; for though this room looks very small after the Palais des Beaux-Arts, it seems to me this small room contains some very good small pictures.

Sir J. I think it is the best room this year. You will find a large picture in the next room.

De L (*looking at 'The Amazon'*). Yes, I am *chez moi* here; that is a Salon picture; why did not Lavery send it to us? It would have been seen much better in one of our large galleries.

Lady B. Yes; here it looks just a little rough in execution; not that I want to see a groomed horse with shiny patches on him; but the foreground and landscape are rather scrappy in style, and irritating to the eye; they would have fallen into their place, very likely, at a greater distance. But come into the large room.

De L. Oh! I see you have one large gallery, though you do not seem to put your large pictures in it, which is odd. Plenty of landscapes here again. 'A Lancashire Valley,'—rather sombre, certainly, but quite good style; 'The Call of the Spring'—no style at all; scrappy; 'A Western Valley'—well composed landscape of the realistic type, what I call a sensible landscape, but does not appeal to the imagination much. 'Cornwall'; a grand sweep of land and sky; I like that.

Sir J. Mr. Lamorna Birch is rather a new man; I do not think he has exhibited at the Academy before; not prominently, at all events.

De L. Well, he is going to do something. I see here is your President's principal work—a portrait of a lady coming downstairs; rather hard, but dignified; I would say, the way a lady should be painted by a President.

Lady B. As you were looking at landscape, you should look at

Mr. Davis's 'Ewhurst Hill'; he is one of our most beautiful and refined landscape painters, and I should say peculiarly English in feeling.

De L. (*after looking carefully at the picture*). Yes, it is charming work, full of beautiful and delicate detail, but not what in France we should call landscape art; it is rather the loving and conscientious reproduction of a scene. Now, I daresay English people would think those landscapes by Mercié and Calvé that you saw in the Salon very bare in comparison with this, but don't they appeal to a higher artistic sense?

Lady B. Yes, I think I must admit that, though I confess I love Mr. Davis's pictures. But the idol of our public in landscape is the painter of 'Looking down a Welsh River,' on the opposite wall.

De L. Oh, that is the ideal of the English public in landscape, is it? Then that explains a great deal. I see Sir Alma-Tadema has struck out rather a new line this year; I like him better in marble. And here is your very clever painter, Mr. Sims, who has qualities that appeal especially to us, who has unwisely tried to make a picture by cutting out various scraps of 'Legend' and pasting them together. You cannot make a picture that fashion.

Lady B. There is a better legendary picture in the next room, Mr. Craig's 'Goblin Market'; you have to know the story to understand it. (*Describes the plot of the poem.*)

De L. I see; a very clever piece of *diablerie*, and full of ingenious detail expressed with an admirable sense of colour. It will bear a great deal of looking into.

Lady B. John, look up there at 'The Constitutional'; isn't it curious how that kind of attempt has been repeated since poor Furse made his great success with the 'Return from the Ride?' And how do you like 'The Man in Black,' Monsieur? That ought to appeal to your artistic sense.

De L. Aha! An echo of Velasquez, and a very clever one; one of the cleverest things I have seen here.

Lady B. Yes; Mr. Orpen is a painter who sometimes delights and sometimes exasperates me; I do not think he has quite made up his mind as to his line in art; he is still experimenting. John, it makes me rather unhappy to see Mr. J. F. Bacon painting portraits of sheriffs and people; he should be doing something better. I can never forget 'The Announcement.'

Sir J. A painter has to live, I suppose; but I wish we had more of his inventive pictures. You remember, I was so charmed with that chromo-lithograph he designed for Raphael Tuck's Shakespeare Calendar for 1910—Lysander and Demetrius wooing Helena—that I cut out the picture and framed it, at the end of

the year, so as not to lose it. It would be quite worth working out into an important painting.

De L. 'The Drove;' good cattle-painting, but rather prosaic; it is quite possible to put sentiment into a cattle-picture.

Lady B. Mr. Arnesby Brown has done so often, I assure you; he can be more interesting than this. But what do you think of Mrs. Knight's 'Daughters of the Sun,' opposite?

De L. Another Salon picture; not at all like English painting generally. But I think the clever artist has rather forgotten that intense sunlight means also strong shadows; she has lost some of the sunlight by dint of having too much of it. But it is no commonplace work.

Lady B. 'An Evening in June'; rather too large for the subject, isn't it? And somehow those Chinese lanterns do not seem really to shine; they are only colour, not light.

De L. There are two figure pictures on the other side that are really good, especially 'By the Lake'; that is a real picture, the figure and the landscape form an artistic whole, in a fine broad style. You could make a poem out of that.

Sir J. And here is one of the old school of what used to be called 'Historical Pictures;' Charles II. presenting one of his mistresses to the Queen; a kind of picture seldom painted now; but I don't see why it is not one object of painting to revivify past scenes in history. Of course it is a class of picture in which the illustration of an incident is looked to rather than the artistic effect, but it has its value; and we have Tattegrain's picture of coast defence, in the Salon, to quote against you for the same sin.

De L. Yes; and that is not a bad incident picture, but it is not Tattegrain at his best. A painter is never at his best when he has to trouble his head about 'How did it happen?' instead of thinking only of pictorial force and effect.

Lady B. I am afraid you would never persuade our public to agree with you; they love that kind of picture, and it gets engraved in the illustrated papers. But if you want to get away from the historical to the ideal, there is Sargent's 'Armageddon' for you; that is ideal enough, isn't it?

De L. I do not know anything about the battle of Armageddon. It seems to be a marmalade of men and horses falling through the air (I quote 'marmalade' from Daudet; you remember how Tartarin's sending home the skin of the tame lion persuaded all the inhabitants of Tarascon that he had killed 'toute une marmalade des lions'). In the Book of Revelation, is it? My Biblical learning has been neglected. But here is something Biblical that I can understand better—Mr. Collier's 'Eve.' It is not Eve, and

it illustrates what you said in regard to Lerolle's picture; the nude figure does not seem to belong to its surroundings; but it is a thoroughly good nude, well drawn and well painted; a little too pretty, perhaps, but we should welcome it at the Salon, nevertheless.

Lady B. Gallery IX. contains the small cabinet pictures, we must neglect those. Here is a large picture of an outdoor party, 'The Sonnet,' which may remind you of the Salon again; you are rather fond of these open-air domesticities on a large scale.

De L. Too fond; but permit me to say, Madame, that we do them a great deal better, as you would very soon find if you put this alongside, for instance, of Finez's 'Jeunesse.' This is flat and tame in effect, and does not justify its size. What are these funny-looking little tea-tray things on the other side? 'Living-room pictures'? Ah yes, for the nursery; I understand.

Lady B. I see Miss Kemp-Welch professes to be illustrating 'A Last Ride Together' in this large equestrian group; it will never do in that light. She had better have left Browning out, and simply called it 'A Morning Ride.' As an illustration of the poem it looks absurd; in fact, it is not a poem that will bear illustration.

De L. I do not know Browning; he is too difficult for a foreigner. What is through that door?

Lady B. It is the Architectural Room; you will not care for that.

De L. The Architectural Room? Is that the way you illustrate architecture here? Why, it is nothing but pretty pictures; I thought it was the Galérie des Aquarelles. *Ma foi*, what a way to illustrate architecture! Pictures of architecture are no use; what you want to illustrate in architecture is the whole structure and growth of a building; the plan, and the exterior as evolved from it; that is architecture. Why, there is hardly a plan to be seen. At the Salon we expect complete plans of a building; they are the basis of the design. But there is no room for them, of course, in this little closet of a place. Architectural Room, indeed! That is the worst sight I have seen here.

Sir J. I suppose you are right; indeed, an architect friend of mine said he believed plans were objected to as unsightly, and that when he inserted a plan on a card in the corner of a frame, it was removed before the drawing (which was unintelligible without it) was hung. But you see, the Academy appeals to the public, and architectural plans, I suppose, do not. I never thought about it in that light before.

Lady B. Come and look at Mr. Hornel's picture; I should like to know how it strikes you. It is like nothing else in the Galleries.

Dr L. I see; very charming children's heads inserted in a kind of mosaic of pebbles, supposed to represent flowers, &c. It is original, no question; it is not every man who invents a new manner of painting out of his own head. It is a style that would work out well in mosaic, I should say. But there is not much room for variety in it; I should think a succession of them would become monotonous. But where is the sculpture, by the way?

Sir J. In the Central Hall and the room opening out of it. I cannot say it is a good sculpture year. As a rule, I think we are rather strong in sculpture, in quality though not in quantity; the art receives so little encouragement in England.

Dr L. Not much encouragement here, certainly, if you cram it into these two small rooms. Sculpture requires space round it. And certainly I am not impressed with the examples; what weak affairs are those two life-size nudes in the Lecture Room. The one thing that strikes me as really of interest is this bronze group of Elizabeth and Philip II., though it is a little too pictorial for sculptural treatment. But very clever, very clever; what capital character in Queen Elizabeth's face and attitude. But my conclusion is, my friends, that this is mainly an Academy of painting, and that sculpture and architecture are very poorly treated, and only admitted on sufferance. Tell me, Bilderby, is the Royal Academy a wealthy body?

Sir J. I cannot say; it is a very influential one. Why?

Dr L. If they can command the money, this is what it seems to me they ought to do. I see there are two wings attached to this building, flanking the courtyard; who occupy those?

Sir J. Certain learned societies.

Dr L. Well, let them buy out those societies, connect those two wings with the centre building, and roof over the courtyard with glass as a sculpture court. Then they would have room for an adequate exhibition of all the arts, including a proper light and space for sculpture. And then, they should build a new façade to the street, in the highest style of architecture, forming a worthy frontispiece to a home of the arts. Well, good-bye; I am glad to have seen the pictures, and, as far as they are concerned, I am inclined to say that, while there is nothing equal to our best, the proportion of good to bad and indifferent pictures is, on the whole, higher at the Academy than at the Salon.

Sir J. I have been inclined to think so, too. As I was saying to my wife the other day, your building is too large to leave any chance of being entirely well filled.

Lady B. I suppose you have looked at our National Memorial to Queen Victoria, which was unveiled the other day?

Dr L. (*hastily*). Yes, yes, I saw it. Quite national; very English, very.

Lady B. Well, I wish you success with your picture of 'Le Génie de la Chimie.'

Dr L. I am afraid I should reply after the manner of the fat man in Shakespeare: 'Ah! no more of that, Madame, an' thou lovest me.'

H. Heathcote Statham.

THE FACTS AT THE BACK OF UNEMPLOYMENT

[Since the following pages were written the Chancellor of the Exchequer has introduced his proposals for national insurances—one of the contingencies to be insured against being that of unemployment. That this evil, in so far as it is an incident in the industrial life of a country otherwise progressively prosperous, may be obviated by some scheme such as that which Mr. Lloyd George proposes, is the hope of all parties, and many, who are usually sceptical, are moved by a belief in its possibility. But any country, sooner or later, may be overtaken by circumstances in which incidental unemployment, such as that which Mr. Lloyd George contemplates, may be accompanied and ultimately dwarfed by unemployment of a different origin—unemployment against which no insurance could even tend to be effectual. When Venice, owing to external and world-wide causes, lost her commercial supremacy, how could any insurance have affected unemployment amongst Venetian sailors? The moral which Venice suggests may find, with appropriate modifications, an application nearer home. This article deals with the reasons for supposing that such may actually be the case, and with a number of fallacious arguments by which the issue is too frequently obscured.]

I

Facts which are either Neglected or else Inverted.

Unemployment, as such, is no new phenomenon. Alternately increasing and diminishing in accordance with many fluctuating circumstances, it has co-existed in this country with the provision of work for an increasing number of workers, and with a rise in the rates of wages from decade to decade which was maintained from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the end of it.

Of late, however, this evil has begun to assume proportions which invest it, or seem to invest it, with a practically novel character, and though some parties may seek to minimise, whilst others perhaps exaggerate its extent, all admit that it is serious enough to demand special attention.

I do not propose here to discuss the suggested cures. Cures depend upon causes. We must deal with causes first: and the

point which I here desire to force on the attention of the reader is that, whatever may be the extent of the evil, and whatever may be the ultimate causes of it, there is one general proximate cause, which has been in existence for a number of recent years, but which no party hitherto appears to have clearly recognised. Certainly no party has clearly and publicly stated it.

The nearest approach to a straightforward recognition of it is, curiously enough, to be found in the utterances, not of any Liberal or any Conservative statesman, but of a Socialist member of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. He has come near enough to the truth to distinguish himself by what virtually is a vehement denial of it, like an amateur detective who, having caught a murderer red-handed, should declare that, whoever committed the crime, this man was obviously innocent.

The person to whom I refer is Mr. Philip Snowden, who made a long speech on the subject last summer in the House of Commons, which is given in the pages of the *Official Reports of Parliamentary Debates* for July 4, 1910.

II

A Socialist Statistician on Wages and Unemployment.

Mr. Snowden's speech, from which the following extracts are taken, was directed against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who proposed to defer certain projects for 'social reform' till a revival of trade should so enrich the country that the tax-collectors could provide the Government with a larger surplus revenue. Mr. Snowden contended that no such delay was necessary, because—so he proceeded to argue—'the condition of the great mass of the people' is no better during periods of good trade than it is during periods of depression. 'As a matter of fact,' said Mr. Snowden, 'I could prove that it is worse; because there is always a considerable increase in the cost of living during a period of good trade, and, with the exception of one or two large industries, the wages of working people do not increase during the period of trade prosperity.'

Mr. Snowden then proceeded to support his general thesis by two sets of figures, one relating to the foreign trade of the country, the other to the amount of income assessed to income-tax. By the first set of figures he sought to show that expansions of foreign trade do nothing to lessen unemployment: by the second set he sought to show that conditions which increase the total of the assessed incomes of the country do nothing to increase the total of the income of the working classes. Both parts of his argument shall be given in his own words.

I find [he said] that in 1901 the total of our foreign trade (*i.e.* exports of Home products plus imports) amounted to 801,000,000*l.* The unemployment at that time, according to the returns, was 2.5 per cent. In the year 1905 our foreign trade had risen to 894,000,000*l.* The unemployment was double in percentage, and although in these four years—1901-1905—the foreign trade had risen by nearly 100,000,000*l.*, wages in these five years had gone down by 13,000,000*l.* You had an increase of 100,000,000*l.* in the amount of our foreign trade, a doubling in the percentage of unemployment, and a decline of 13,000,000*l.* in wages.

Let us now [he said] turn to the Income-tax Returns. In 1901 the gross amount assessed for income-tax was 833,000,000*l.* In 1905 it had risen to 912,000,000*l.* The numbers of unemployment doubled, and the wages had gone down by 13,000,000*l.* In 1906 foreign trade had risen to 983,000,000*l.*; unemployment was down. The income-tax assessment had risen to 925,000,000*l.* In 1907 the foreign trade record was 1,072,000,000*l.* Unemployment was slightly higher than in the previous year, when the volume of trade was lower. In 1908 foreign trade was down, and a decrease of 5,225,000*l.* in wages. In the following year—1909—foreign trade had gone up to 1,003,000,000*l.*; unemployment was practically a record, and wages during these two years were down by nearly 7,000,000*l.* What do the Income-tax Returns show? Bad trade or good trade, they are ever swelling bigger and bigger. . . . I venture to say that I shall not be far wrong if I say that the current amount on which income-tax will be assessed during the coming year will not be far short of 1,100,000,000*l.* . . . Let us see how are wages. The Board of Trade Returns for the five completed months of this year show that there has been an increase in wages of 8,139*l.*, and a decrease of 5,587*l.* That shows and proves the statement I make that the working people are not going to share in this prosperity, and that it will go, as the result of all former prosperity has gone, to increase the wealth of a small class of the community, who are already enormously rich.

These figures and arguments, as put forward by Mr. Snowden, I shall submit to two kinds of criticism, which so far as is possible I shall separate. The one will relate primarily to Mr. Snowden's own assertions. The second will have a wider range, and will deal with errors which Mr. Snowden shares with politicians and economists whose opinions are otherwise in complete antagonism to his own.

I shall begin with certain criticisms which in themselves are of minor importance; but even these, from certain points of view, will be found to have their own significance.

III

The Statistics of a Socialist M.P. Analysed.

Trade, Wages, and Unemployment.

Let us take, then, Mr. Snowden's general argument in the form in which he himself stated it in the House of Commons; and, since he claimed at every point to substantiate it by specific figures, let us submit these figures, and the manner in which he interpreted them, to the scrutiny which they affect to challenge.

Taken individually these figures are, with one exception, sufficiently accurate, for they enable us readily to identify their counterparts in various official Returns. The main question to be considered is the way in which he selects, and the kind of conclusions which he draws from, them.

In the year '1901,' he said, unemployment was 2.5 per cent. and our foreign trade was 801,000,000*l*. In 1905 our foreign trade had increased by very nearly 100,000,000*l*., yet unemployment had nearly doubled, and wages as a whole had gone down by 13,000,000*l*.

Now we may begin by observing that the year in which the official Returns show unemployment to have been 2.5 per cent. was not the year 1901, but the *preceding year 1900*; and this misstatement, though from many points of view it might be trivial, throws a very important light on Mr. Snowden's argumentative methods.

There are two distinct propositions which he here desires to establish. One is that the number of persons unable to find employment has no tendency to diminish in proportion as the volume of trade expands. The other is that the wage-income of the country as a whole—or the share of the national income which goes to manual labour—not only shows no tendency to increase as the profits of the employing classes increase, but is actually and absolutely year by year diminishing.

Let us consider the relation of unemployment to the state of our foreign trade first. With regard to this question Mr. Snowden is so far right that, if we assume the official Returns as to unemployment to be accurate, a selection of figures can be given which seem to show that a mere expansion of trade is not only no guarantee that the percentage of unemployment will diminish, but is also no guarantee that, for the time, it may not actually increase. But though certain years may be selected from 1900 onwards, the figures for which support such an inference, other years may be selected—these are carefully ignored by Mr. Snowden—which suggest with equal force a conclusion precisely opposite. It is true that, if we compare the years 1900 and 1905, we find that at the former date, when our foreign trade amounted to 814,000,000*l*., the percentage of unemployment was not more than 2.5; and that at the latter, whereas our foreign trade amounted to 894,000,000*l*., the percentage of unemployment was 5. But, on the other hand, if we take the years 1900 and 1901, with a foreign trade respectively of 814,000,000*l*. and 801,000,000*l*., we find that the percentage of unemployment, which had been 2.5 for the former year, had risen in the latter to 3.3, this increase coinciding with a diminution in trade of 13,000,000*l*. Again, if we take the years 1904, 1905, 1906, we find the values of our

foreign trade corresponding to them to have been 851,000,000*l.*, 894,000,000*l.*, and 983,000,000*l.*, whilst the corresponding percentages of unemployment were 6.0, 5.0, and 3.6; unemployment thus, for three consecutive years, exhibiting that precise relation to which Mr. Snowden denies.[1]

From the question of unemployment let us now pass to that of wages. 'Whilst, between the years 1901 and 1905, foreign trade had increased, and whilst the total assessed to income-tax had increased from 833,000,000*l.* to 912,000,000*l.*, the amount paid yearly in wages had diminished by 13,000,000*l.* Such is Mr. Snowden's statement. On what authorities is this statement based? It is perfectly easy to identify them. The amounts which he describes as having been assessed to income-tax are the gross amounts reviewed for purposes of ultimate assessment, as given in the *Statistical Abstract* and other official publications. The diminution in the total paid as wages is based on certain figures given in a Table at the top of page 59 of the *Abstract of Labour Statistics* for the year 1910. This Table summarises, for all trades, the amount of change in weekly wages (so far as this change came within the cognisance of the Board of Trade) which took place annually between the years 1899 and 1908. The net results for each year are given in a final column, which column is reproduced here:

Year		£
1899	Net increase in weekly wages over preceding year . .	90,314
1900	" " " " " " " . .	208,590
1901	Net decrease in weekly wages compared with preceding year	76,587
1902	" " " " " " " "	72,595
1903	" " " " " " " "	38,527
1904	" " " " " " " "	39,230
1905	" " " " " " " "	2,169
1906	Net increase in weekly wages over preceding year . .	57,897
1907	" " " " " " " . .	206,912
1908	Net decrease in weekly wages compared with preceding year	59,171

The figures here given relate only to a limited number of cases, which comprise but a bare fourteenth of the wage-earning classes as a whole. For the wage-earning classes as a whole no such exact statements are possible. At all events, here are the data on which Mr. Snowden works; and there is not much to quarrel with in the isolated conclusions which he draws from them. The decreases in weekly wages for the years 1901-05 are added together and multiplied by fifty-two so as to get an annual total. The decrease for 1908 is treated in the same way. By this means Mr. Snowden computes that the sum of wages for the year 1905 was

[1] The percentages of unemployment are here accepted as given in the Board of Trade Returns. They are, however, very incomplete, and are, moreover, computed in a very unsatisfactory way.

12,000,000*l.* less than it was in the year 1900, and that the sum of wages for the year 1908 was about 3,200,000*l.* less than it was for the year 1907. In each case it is true that the amount is slightly overstated, the correct figures being more nearly 12,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* respectively; but the error is not sufficient to affect the general argument. The serious error of which Mr. Snowden is guilty relates not to the facts which he asserts. It relates to the facts which he suppresses. With the Board of Trade figures for ten years before him, he deals with the decreases only, and suppresses the increases altogether, like a bank-clerk who, in adding up a customer's pass-book, should render an account of the sums that had been paid out only, and make no entry of those that had been paid to the customer's credit. Altogether, during the ten years covered by the Table, there was, as Mr. Snowden says with only slight exaggeration, a decrease in wages of about 16,000,000*l.*; but there was also—what Mr. Snowden does not say—an increase during the same period amounting to considerably more than 27,000,000*l.*, the net result being not a decrease at all, but being, on the contrary, an increase of 11,000,000*l.* or 12,000,000*l.* It is true that if, as Mr. Snowden does, we take the year 1900 for our starting-point, and consider only what has happened since then, the result is strikingly different from this: but it is even more different from that put forward by Mr. Snowden. As compared with the year 1900, there was for the year 1908 a decline in wages, and not an increase; but instead of amounting, as Mr. Snowden suggests, to more than 16,000,000*l.*, this net decline in reality was less than 1,500,000*l.* The true way, in short, of stating the case is this: that, whereas from the year 1850 onwards—to say nothing of the previous half century—the rates of wages, if taken by decades, had advanced continuously, they have since the year 1900 remained more or less stationary,[a] whilst there has been an increase in the number of persons unable to find an opportunity of earning any wages at all. The state of things which is thus roughly indicated is rendered no less serious and remarkable by being reduced to its true proportions, and being rescued from the exaggerations of Mr. Snowden: but before we proceed to this more general discussion of the matter let us briefly deal with the remainder of Mr. Snowden's contentions in detail.

From 1900 to 1905 we may admit that wages, according to the Board of Trade figures, declined very much as he says they did. He is right also as to the further decline which occurred in 1908. He is also right in saying that, during the first of these two periods, *i.e.*, for five consecutive years—whilst wages showed a

[a] That is to say, if we take the partial data cited by Mr. Snowden to be conclusive.

decline the annual value of imports and exports rose. Hence, he argues, the expansion of trade benefits only the non wage-earning classes, who get richer and richer whilst the wage-earners get poorer and poorer. There is, in fact, no parallelism, he says, between good foreign trade and good wages, and he declares that this proposition is once for all demonstrated by the Board of Trade figures which he quoted, and which have been reproduced here.

If, however, we turn from the summary for 'all trades' (p. 59, *Abstract of Labour Statistics*) to the analytical tables which follow it on the same page, we shall find that the decreases in wages during the five years in question (which culminate, as Mr. Snowden says, in an annual decrease of some 13,000,000*l.*) are accounted for almost entirely by the single industry of coal-mining. The two sets of net weekly decreases shall be given side by side.

Net Decreases in Weekly Wages.

Year	For all Trades	For Coal-mining
	£	£
1901	76,587	57,087
1902	72,595	73,892
1903	38,327	32,488
1904	39,230	31,294
1905	2,169	13,471
—	£228,908	£208,232

And now let us turn to the figures for our foreign trade in coal. We shall find that this particular trade, which is all that here concerns us, was so far from increasing, as Mr. Snowden would have us believe, that its total value and the total of colliers' wages year by year punctually declined together. In the year 1901 there was a fall in the year's wages of just under 3,000,000*l.* In the value of exported coal there was a fall of more than 8,000,000*l.* In 1902 there was a fall in the year's wages of about 3,700,000*l.* and a further fall during the following year of about 1,600,000*l.* —total 5,000,000*l.* During these same years there was a fall in the value of exported coal of about 7,000,000*l.* During the years 1904-05 there was a fall in annual wages of about 2,000,000*l.*, whilst the fall in the value of exported coal was about 1,000,000*l.* The traders during these two years lost 1,000,000*l.* less than the wage-earners: but during the three years preceding they had lost nearly 7,000,000*l.* more. Mr. Snowden declares that when trade expands profits increase, but wages always remain stationary. In the years 1906-07 there was a notable increase in the value of exported coal. And what happened to wages? Instead of remaining stationary they in-

creased to the extent of more than 10,000,000*l*. It is true that the increase in the value of exports was something like 6,000,000*l*. more, but, if we take the results of the whole seven years together, the courses of trade and wages will be found to have run absolutely parallel. During the first five years the wage-earners lost about 10,400,000*l*., whilst the exporters lost 16,000,000*l*. During the last two years each party almost exactly recouped its losses, the gain of the wage-earners having been about 10,400,000*l*., and that of the exporters about 16,000,000*l*. Thus the more closely we examine the evidence to which Mr. Snowden appeals the more completely is the proposition which he seeks to establish refuted by it.

IV

Wages and Cost of Living.

Let us now follow Mr. Snowden a step farther. Not only does he assert that the expansion of trade does nothing to increase wages estimated in terms of money, but it virtually lowers them; because 'during a period of good trade there is always a considerable increase in the cost of living'; and all experience shows us, said Mr. Snowden in conclusion, that, apart from certain exceptional cases, 'the wages of working people' never rise with the prices of the goods which they are used to purchase. *Both of these propositions are direct inversions of the truth.*

Let us begin with the relation of prices, or the cost of living, to trade. Blue-book Cd. 1954 of 1909 (pp. 58-9) gives us the average annual totals for periods of five years of our export and import trade from the middle of the last century onwards. Blue-book Cd. 4671 of the same year gives us (see p. 36) a Chart exhibiting the changes in price of the main articles of general consumption during the same period. These are expressed as percentages on the prices of 1850, which are represented by the index number 100. If we take a period of fifty years, subdivided into ten periods of five years, and set prices side by side with the value of our foreign trade, we shall find Mr. Snowden's statement verified in two cases only. The average annual value of our trade for 1895-9 was 591,000,000*l*., and for 1900-04 it was 690,000,000*l*. Prices rose in the proportion of 82 to 91. The average annual value of our trade for 1865-9 was 418,000,000*l*., and for 1870-4 it was 500,000,000*l*. Prices rose in the proportion of 129 to 135. Even so, whilst trade increased in the former case by 17 per cent., prices rose by only 11 per cent.; and in the latter, whilst trade increased by 19 per cent., prices rose by only 4 per cent. In *every other instance* each quinquennial expansion

of trade was accompanied, not by a rise of prices, but by a fall. For 1870-4 the annual average of trade was 500,000,000*l*., for 1875-9 it was almost exactly the same. Prices fell in the proportion of 135 to 119. For 1880-4 the annual average of trade was 549,000,000*l*. Prices fell in the proportion of 119 to 112. Between 1885 and 1889 there was a fall in the value of trade, and a fall in prices also; but, whereas trade fell only by 7 per cent., prices fell by 13 per cent. For the years 1890-4 the average annual value of trade rose from 514,000,000*l*. to 556,000,000*l*. Prices, instead of rising, fell in the proportion of 97 to 89. For the years 1895-9 the average annual value of trade rose from 556,000,000*l*. to 591,000,000*l*. Prices, instead of rising, fell in the proportion of 89 to 82.

So much for Mr. Snowden's assertions with regard to trade and prices. Let us now consider his assertion with regard to wages and prices—namely, that, when the cost of living rises, wages have, as a whole, no tendency to rise also, the result being that, in purchasing power, if not in nominal amount, they fall. If Mr. Snowden's statement inverted the truth in what he said about the relation of prices to trade, it inverts it in a manner still more absurd and monstrous in what he said about the relation of wages to prices. In the Chart which has just been mentioned as exhibiting the course of prices, the course of wages is exhibited also for a period of nearly sixty years. This, too, is expressed in fractions of 100, which figure represents the rates for the year 1850. During that period the most remarkable rise in prices took place between the years 1870 and 1873. The rise was in the proportion of 125 to 145. Wages rose in the proportion of 135 to 170. This rise in both was followed during the next six years by an unbroken decline; but whereas wages fell only in the proportion of 170 to 150, prices fell in the proportion of 145 to 108. That is to say, whereas prices fell by 24 per cent., wages fell only by 12 per cent. From 1880 to 1896 prices fell in the proportion of 113 to 79—*i.e.* by about 30 per cent.; but wages, instead of exhibiting any corresponding diminution, rose in the proportion of 149 to 160. In the year 1897, for the first time during a period of seventeen years, prices began to exhibit a rise which was more than momentary. By the year 1900 they had risen in the proportion of 79 to 96. During these same four years wages, instead of remaining stationary, had risen in the proportion of 160 to 179. It is, however, needless to labour this point further. Anybody who cares to do so can easily verify it for himself.

Thus far, then, of the positive statistical assertions with which Mr. Snowden regaled the House of Commons we have examined four, namely, the following:

(1) This related to the course of wages and employment since

the year 1900; and, though a distortion of the truth, this has, as we have seen, and as will again be noted presently, certain facts at the back of it.

(2) Unemployment bears no relation to the prosperity or depression of trade.

(3) Whenever trade improves after a period of depression, the prices of all articles of general consumption rise, so that every 1*l.* received by the workman is diminished in purchasing power.

(4) When prices rise, there is no tendency in wages to rise also.

These last three assertions, which are three of the main pillars on which Mr. Snowden supports his general argument, have been here shown in detail by the very authorities to which he himself appeals to be not mere distortions or partial representations of the truth, but absolute and direct inversions of it.

A further assertion remains, which has been reserved for separate treatment—namely, the assertion that, whereas wages during the past nine or ten years have been declining, the income assessed to income-tax has been, as Mr. Snowden expresses it, 'swelling bigger and bigger'—a fact, he said, which proves that every advance in wealth goes to 'a small class who are enormously rich already,' whilst 'the working people' become practically, if not nominally, poorer, and the number of those who can find no work increase.

His previous assertions were accepted by the House of Commons in silence. This last contention, however, in so far as it was founded on the facts alleged by him as to the growth of the assessed income, evoked a passing protest. It was made by no less a person than Mr. Hobhouse, Financial Secretary to the Treasury; but not only was this protest enfeebled by the extreme vagueness of its terms, it did not contain so much as the remotest allusion to what is really the cardinal factor in the general question raised. In order to show the reader what this missing factor is it will be necessary to review briefly both Mr. Snowden's statements with regard to the assessed income and Mr. Hobhouse's comments on them.

V

Confusion of the Actual Assessed Income with the Gross Income 'Reviewed for Income-tax Purposes.'

> Ten years ago [said Mr. Hobhouse] the amount of income which was assessed to income-tax was 760,000,000*l.*; but since then, as the hon. member for Blackburn pointed out, the amount of income assessable—the gross income assessable to income-tax—had gone up to over 1,000,000,000*l.* These figures are produced on the spur of the moment, but if I can trust my memory I think in regard to each of these cases about two-thirds is net assessable income. . . .

Mr. Hobhouse thus administered a mild rebuke to him for not recognising the difference between the gross assessed income and the net; but, to judge from Mr. Hobhouse's language, the result of this procedure was merely to overstate the true amount by a constant fraction of approximately one-third. Were this view of the matter correct, then, if the object in view was merely to estimate the *rate* at which, from one period to another, this income increased or decreased, it would be a matter of indifference whether we took the gross sum or the net, or whether we divided or multiplied the actual sums by 1000. The *proportionate* increases and the proportionate decreases would be the same. As a matter of fact, however, the ratio of the one income to the other has by no means the constancy which Mr. Hobhouse imputes to it. Between the year 1898—the date at which the gross income was 760,000,000*l.*—and 1907, the gross income had increased by 24 per cent., and the net income by only 19 per cent. Between the years 1893 and 1907 the net income had increased by 24 per cent. and the gross income by 40 per cent. Thus, even if our sole object is to compare the amount of such income to-day with its magnitude ten years ago, we shall, if we substitute the gross income for the net, be not only overstating the actual amount of the former, we shall be gravely in error with regard to its proportional increase also. If, however, like Mr. Snowden, we have for our main object a comparison of another kind—namely, a comparison of the sum of incomes exceeding 160*l.* with the sum of incomes which are below that figure, then the confusion of the gross income with the net results in errors which are very much more serious.

What Mr. Snowden calls the 'gross income assessed to income-tax' is not really the assessed income at all. What is commonly understood by the assessed income, and what Mr. Snowden means to convey by the phrase, is the aggregate of all such incomes in excess of 160*l.* as are available for the personal enjoyment of private persons receiving them. The gross income, on the other hand, as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue are careful to state plainly, is 'the gross amount of income brought under the review of the department for income-tax purposes.' How different the income thus reviewed is from the actual sum of private incomes exceeding 160*l.* may be seen from the fact that it includes, among other elements, business outgoings (as distinct from business incomes), which amounted in 1907 to nearly 60,000,000*l.* It also includes, in addition to other important items, over-estimates amounting to 50,000,000*l.* or 60,000,000*l.*—an error subsequently rectified by deductions called 'adjustments.' It also includes the aggregate of some 360,000 incomes, every one of which is below the assessment level, and having been 'reviewed'

for purposes of income-tax are dismissed as not being liable to tax. All these Mr. Snowden treats as parts of the assessed income of the rich when he compares and contrasts this with the non-assessed income of 'labour.'

Now, inadequate as Mr. Hobhouse's criticism of Mr. Snowden's method was, there is nothing in the foregoing observations to which he would not assent or which his own few words may not fairly be taken as implying. But before we can understand the relation of the assessed income to the income of 'labour' or to the increase or decrease of unemployment, a *further deduction from the net total must be made;* and not only can no allusion to this be read into Mr. Hobhouse's language, but its very nature and the necessity for making it appears to be entirely overlooked by all Liberal statesmen systematically, whilst their Conservative opponents do but partially appreciate its significance.

VI

Much of the Assessed Income Unconnected with Home Labour.

Whenever a comparison is instituted, whether by Mr. Snowden or anybody else, between the profits of an employing class and the wages paid to labour, it is always implied that the labour, the earnings of which are compared with the profits, is such labour, and such labour only, as is employed in the production of that total product or value of which the wages and profits in question form the two constituent parts. If the profits of the Lancashire mill-owners, for example, were to be compared as a whole with the sum of the wages corresponding to them, it would be inadmissible to inflate our estimate of the earnings of the workers in the mills of Lancashire by adding to them the earnings of the textile operatives of India. Nobody would insist on this fact more strongly than a Socialist. Conversely no sane Socialist would for a moment deny that it would be equally inadmissible, in computing the earnings in question, to reduce the total by deducting from it (we will say) one-third on the ground that one-third of the operatives, though all their wages were earned in Lancashire mills, happened to have their homes half a mile off, in Cheshire. If one-third of the total earnings of the operatives were deducted in this way, without a corresponding deduction from the profits of the Lancashire employers, one-third of these profits would be treated as though they arose without the labour of any operatives at all. Socialists would be foremost in declaring that such a result was impossible. There can be no industrial profits—so they are constantly asserting—without the activity of so much correspond-

ing labour; and wherever there is labour there must of necessity be wages of some sort, for otherwise the labourers could not labour or even exist. In making an intelligible comparison between the profits of home and foreign origin assessed in this country, and the wages of the labour that corresponds to them, we should have to do one or other of two things. We should have to add the wages of the operatives abroad to the wages of the operatives at home; or if we were concerning ourselves with the total of home wages only, we should have to concern ourselves only with that portion of the total profits which was earned at home through the employment of home labour. Now in certain countries at certain stages of their development, the profits of foreign origin pertaining to the citizens being small, these considerations would be of little practical significance; but for ourselves to-day their importance is profound and crucial, and is every year increasing in proportion as the profits of foreign origin form a larger and ever larger fraction of the national income as a whole, and in particular of that part of it which is assessed to income-tax. Every year comparisons between profits and the earnings of labour, such as the comparison instituted by Mr. Snowden, which identify the profits in question with the whole of the assessed income, whilst wages are taken as the earnings of British labour only, become more and more fallacious; for every year—to quote his own phrase—the profits '*swell bigger* and bigger' with the production of which British labour has nothing at all to do.

If, then, our argument relates, as it does relate, to wages earned in the United Kingdom only, our argument as to profits must, by parity of reasoning, be confined to profits earned in the United Kingdom likewise. That is to say, if we are to take the amount assessed to income-tax as any guide to the amount of *profits* with which *home-earned wages* are to be compared, we must deduct from the net total on which tax is actually paid the entire sum which is derived from every British enterprise or from every British investment which depends on the employment of labour in countries other than our own. Two years ago the total of this foreign income was computed to be not less than 160,000,000*l*. To judge from the rate at which foreign investments have been increasing, this income by now cannot be less than 180,000,000*l*.

In order to realise the significance of this vast foreign element in the assessed income of the country we shall have to consider the Income-tax Returns in detail and see under what headings this foreign revenue is included in them.

At least 75 per cent. of it is assessed under Schedule D, and an examination of that schedule will be sufficient for our present purposes. Schedule D comprises all the commercial and industrial

profits, other than those of agriculture and Government stock, earned or received by persons whose homes are in the United Kingdom; but it also comprises other earnings as well. It comprises the earnings of all professional men, and of some 80,000 or 90,000 employees of business houses whose annual stipends are upwards of 160*l*. If it were possible here to deal with our present subject exhaustively, we should have to exclude from our purview the earnings of both these classes. For simplicity's sake, however, we will here make a concession to Mr. Snowden and others who reason like him and allow the earnings of both these groups to swell the sum total of profits. For simplicity's sake we will make another concession also. We will, as Mr. Snowden does, take the gross amount of profits 'reviewed' and treat this as though it were the total actually enjoyed and assessed; and the sole deduction which we will presently set ourselves to make from it shall be in respect of profits of foreign origin which have no British labour corresponding to them and have no place in a comparison of profits with British wages.

But before we deal either with the profits as a whole or the deductions from them, let us briefly review Mr. Snowden's assertions as to wages, and, eliminating what we have seen to be his errors, summarise once again such broad truths as may underlie them. Since the beginning of the present century, the rates of wages which previously exhibited a steady advance began, if not appreciably to decline, to become at all events stationary; whilst, during the same period, and especially during the latter portion of it, unemployment has been assuming proportions of exceptional magnitude.

Let us now turn to profits as assessed under Schedule D and compare this decade—its latter years especially—with the years immediately preceding it:

GROSS PROFITS REVIEWED (FOREIGN PROFITS INCLUDED).[3]

—	1895–6	1898–9	1901–2	1905–6	1906–7	1907–8
Total . .	£ 356,000,000	£ 416,000,000	£ 487,000,000	£ 508,000,000	£ 518,000,000	£ 518,000,000
Increase .	—	60,000,000	71,000,000	21,000,000	10,000,000	Nil

It will be seen at a glance that, even if the foreign profits are included, a remarkable event takes place after the year 1901. The

[3] For 1907 'Statistics incomplete, owing to a necessary change in practice following legislation.'—*Statistical Abstract*, footnote to p. 39.

profits for that year showed an increase of 71,000,000*l.* over the profits for 1898. The profits for 1898 showed an increase of 60,000,000*l.* over those for 1895—60,000,000*l.* for one triennial period, 71,000,000*l.* for another; but during the four years following the year 1901 the increase amounted to no more than 21,000,000*l.* The following year showed an increase of 10,000,000*l.*, and the year following that showed no increase at all.

But until the foreign income for each of these years is deducted the significance of the above figures does but incompletely reveal itself. If we take the seven years succeeding the year 1900 and compare them with the seven years preceding it, we shall find, by reference to Table 207 in the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for 1909, that whereas during the first septennium the foreign income, officially ear-marked as such, had increased by 14 per cent. only, it had increased by as much as 51 per cent. during the second. If we deduct the ear-marked foreign income included in Schedule D, as given by the Commissioners for the years that have just been dealt with, from the gross income, the results which emerge are as follows:

Gross Profits Reviewed (Minus Profits of Foreign Origin Ear-marked as such in the Income-tax Returns).

—	1895–6	1898–9	1901–2	1905–6	1906–7	1907–8
Total . .	£ 324,000,000	£ 383,000,000	£ 453,000,000	£ 468,000,000	£ 470,000,000	£ 468,000,000
Increase .	—	59,000,000	70,000,000	15,000,000	2,000,000	−£2,000,000

Here we see that the arrest in the annual increase of domestic profits which began to manifest itself in the year 1901 is much more rapid than our first set of figures suggests, the reason being, as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue point out, that the expansion of the foreign profits has been much more rapid than that of the domestic, and also more rapid than that which the foreign income itself had ever manifested at any previous period.

But even now only a part of the tale is told, and that part is the smaller part. The foreign profits which have here been deducted from the totals are merely those which, owing to certain official regulations, are specified as such in the Income-tax Returns. The 'unidentified' foreign income (as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue point out, Cd. 4868, p. 164) comprises the profits arising from all 'mines, gasworks, waterworks, tramways, breweries, tea and coffee plantations, nitrate grounds, oil-fields, land and financial companies, branches of British banks, factories, electric telegraph cables, &c., belonging to British

owners, but situated out of the United Kingdom.'[4] When these facts are considered we shall, as the Commissioners observe, get some idea of what the magnitude of the unidentified foreign income is. If, therefore, from the total profits assessed under Schedule D during the last five years the *whole* of the foreign profits were deducted, and not merely that portion of them which alone is officially ear-marked, the arrest in the increase of domestic profits, and the absolute diminution by which that arrest has been followed, would be far greater than they appear to be from the figures which have just been given.

Since, however, our information with regard to the unidentified portion of our foreign income is not sufficiently definite to enable us to trace its growth since the beginning of the present century with exactitude, it will be enough here to direct the attention of the reader merely to the result of the deduction of the foreign profits which can be identified.

We have seen already—and this is all that need here be emphasised—that the profits of such of our national businesses and industries as are prosecuted in our own country, and depend on the employment of the labour of our own countrymen, have, since the beginning of the present century, been entering on a downward course. A recovery may be in store for us. It may have begun already. I am not dealing here with what will be. I am dealing only with the years that have been here specified; and what I wish to point out is that, if since the year 1900 wages have, when their rises and falls are balanced, ceased, for the time at all events, to increase as they had increased previously, whilst unemployment at the same time has assumed abnormal proportions, this condition of things has not, as Mr. Snowden suggests, been accompanied by an increase of the profits of the only businesses to which these wages bear any direct relation. Whatever has happened with regard to British wages and employment has its counterpart or its explanation in what has happened with regard to British profits. Both results are attributable to the same cause —namely, to the fact that the aggregate output of the industries of the United Kingdom has, since the beginning of the present century, been increasing year by year at a steadily diminishing rate, like a train which slackens its speed before it comes to a standstill. Such being the case, a corresponding tendency in wages, not indeed to decline (for on the whole there has been no decline), but to remain in a condition which is stationary as compared with their previous progress, is precisely the result which

[4] The actual amounts of 'identified' foreign profits (Schedule D) were: 1895, 30,000,000*l.*; 1898, 33,000,000*l.*; 1901, 34,000,000*l.*; 1905, 43,000,000*l.*; 1906, 18,000,000*l.*; 1907, 51,000,000*l.*

might naturally be expected to arise; and a concurrent increase of unemployment is a phenomenon equally intelligible. The demand for home products, and consequently the demand for home labour, if it has not grown absolutely less than it was at the beginning of the century, is less in comparison with the population. The population since the beginning of the century has increased in the proportion of 415 to 445—*i.e.*, by 7½ per cent. The total profits (Schedule D), home and foreign combined, have increased in the proportion of 487 to 518—*i.e.*, by 6⅓ per cent. The profits of our home industries—if we deduct those profits only which are officially ear-marked as foreign—have increased in the proportion of 453 to 468—*i.e.*, by 3⅓ per cent. In other words, the increase in the number of the population has been about 4 per cent. greater than the increase in the volume of that home business on which primarily the employment of workers in this country depends.

VII

Home Wages and Employment Dependent, not on Profits as a Whole, but on the Profits of Home Industries.

It remains for us, however, before concluding, to go back to certain statements of Mr. Snowden's which are by no means peculiar to himself, and which in themselves are true. Though the fortunes of our home industries have (to put the matter mildly) been for some years virtually at a standstill, it is true, as he says, that the volume of our foreign trade (imports and exports included) has been increasing. But to estimate the wealth of any country by reference to the value of its imports and exports combined is like estimating the wealth of a cake-seller by adding the value of the cake to the amount of money he has received for it, and describing his circumstances on the supposition that he has sold his cake and has it.

It is true that *if* for every article of foreign manufacture imported an article of home manufacture equal in value were exported, the total of imports and exports, which would simply be the value of the latter constantly multiplied by two, would afford us an accurate index of the *proportional* increase or decrease of wealth which the country derived from trade, though the absolute amounts would be overstated by 100 per cent. Mr. Asquith, accordingly, has asserted that it is 'as plain as any proposition of Euclid that for every article imported into this country some other article of equal value, and of home manufacture, must be exported by way of payment,' so that the volume of our imports is an index of the demand for home labour. And this would, no doubt, be as plain as Mr. Asquith

says it is if one condition were present which, as a fact, is conspicuous by its absence. This condition is that none of the trade profits of persons whose domicile is in the United Kingdom shall be derived from businesses pertaining to and prosecuted by any such persons elsewhere. For example, if all the food imported into this country from America were produced by American citizens, and before it changed hands was owned by them, then for every bushel of American wheat imported into this country some equivalent commodity involving the employment of British labour would have to be sent to the American wheat producer in exchange for it. But if all the wheat-producing businesses in America were owned by persons resident in these islands the same amount of wheat might be imported into this country as before, but no British product whatever need leave these shores in exchange for it. Why should such men send anything out to America as payment for wheat which was already their own property? Wheat produced in America by British owners, and brought by them into this country as their own property, thus contradistinguished from wheat produced in America by Americans for which this country has naturally to export a British equivalent, is a type of that income which comes into this country from abroad. In other words, such income is essentially composed of imports which involve no demand for exports, and for which no products of home labour are sent out in exchange; and this foreign income is not only increasing in absolute amount, but is increasing far more rapidly than profits from other sources. Under such conditions our foreign trade may increase without any corresponding increase in the employment of home labour.

It may still, however, be said that one obstinate fact persists—and this is among the facts on which Mr. Snowden dwelt—namely, that the assessed income of this country has continued to increase as a whole; which fact, it may be urged, is alone sufficient to justify his main contention that—to take years which he particularises—the profits of the richer or the employing classes had increased by about 100,000,000*l.*, whilst the wages of the poorer or the employed classes showed, to say the least of it, no similar movement.

If examined in the light of the considerations that have been here put forward, the figures which Mr. Snowden gives with regard to the assessed income will be found to bear a meaning very different from that which they at first suggest. It has already been pointed out that in identifying the 'gross amount of income reviewed' with the true total income of persons with more than 160*l.* a year, he is guilty of errors which, as to the *amounts* of income, are monstrous, and, as regards the *proportional* increase, are grave. Let us take once more the figures which he himself

quotes, and submit them to a brief analysis. The gross total reviewed for income-tax purposes was, as he says, 833,000,000*l.* in the year 1900. In the year 1906 it had risen to 943,000,000*l.*[a]—*i.e.* by about 13 per cent. Meanwhile, as has been shown in the preceding pages, the gross profits of our home industries had increased from 453,000,000*l.* to 468,000,000*l.*—*i.e.* an increase of only some 3½ per cent. Out of an increase of 110,000,000*l.* they will account for no more than 15,000,000*l.* We have, therefore, to inquire how the remaining 95,000,000*l.* is made up. We shall find that the principal items, in round numbers, are as follows :

Increase in incomes reviewed for assessment purposes, *but exempted, as going to persons with less than* 160*l.*	6,000,000
Increase in incomes of the salaried employees of the Government and business houses (Schedules D and E).	24,000,000
Increase in gross rent of about 800,000 new dwellings, factories, public offices, &c.	32,000,000
Increase in foreign incomes *identified as such*.	20,000,000
" " " *unidentified*.	13,000,000 (incomplete)
Total	£95,000,000

These figures are enough to show broadly that out of an increase of 110,000,000*l.* in the gross income reviewed, 6,000,000*l.* was reviewed altogether by mistake, and did not form a part of the assessable income at all; that 24,000,000*l.* was an increase, not in the profits of employers, but in the wages of persons employed by them; that a minimum of 33,000,000*l.* was income derived from abroad.

We are thus left with an increase of about 5 per cent. between the years 1900 and 1906 in profits directly related to the employment of home labour. The increase in population had been meanwhile more than 6 per cent. In other words, those businesses dependent on such labour, and constituting a demand for it, increased more slowly than the population demanding employment, if, indeed, they did not actually decline. Hence a survey of assessed profits as a whole brings us back to the same conclusion that was yielded by an examination of a part of them—namely, that the wages and employment of labour in the United Kingdom, instead of remaining stationary or declining when the profits of the employers of such labour rise, only decline when the volume of our home business contracts, and tend, when that business expands again, to rise not only in equal, but in appreciably greater, proportion.

[a] The figures quoted by Mr. Snowden are incorrect; but the error does not affect the general argument.

Postscript. — Reference has been made already to the insurance scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as having been made public since the writing of the present article. Since then another event has taken place also — namely, the publication with regard to Scotland of certain general results of the late Census. It appears from these that during the last ten years the population of Scotland has increased by only 6.4 per cent. Out of the ten preceding decenniums, there are only two instances in which the decennial increase was lower than 9 per cent., the average for the ten periods being just short of 11 per cent. This sensational decline in the growth of an entire population suggests (at all events on the face of it) a striking confirmation of what has been indicated here with regard to the United Kingdom. Just as no population can continue to increase for any long period unless there is a concomitant increase in the wealth-producing businesses of the country, so, when a population which for ten decades has been increasing at a rapid rate is found during the eleventh to have increased at a rate little more than half of that which had obtained previously (like a train which, having been travelling at a speed of forty miles an hour, declines to a speed of very little more than twenty), this on the face of it is a sign that the wealth-producing businesses of the country have so entered on a period of arrested growth that new opportunities of employment have relatively become more rare. Such is the condition of things which Tariff Reformers, rightly or wrongly, believe to be casting its shadow over the United Kingdom to-day; and the gravest cause of unemployment, whether now or in the near future, is in their eyes one which no domestic insurance can even so much as touch, however effective it may prove against evils of domestic origin.

W. H. MALLOCK.

SEÑORA SANTA ANNA'S MISADVENTURE

FROM THE DIARY OF THE LATE BARON DE MALORTIE

My personal acquaintance with General Sta. Anna was of the slightest, but when this Mexican Duke of Alva was living in exile at Cuba, having met him at a ball given by the Captain-General at Government House in Havana, I called upon him the next day.

As I had been in the service of the Emperor Maximilian, Sta. Anna of course looked upon me as an Austrian[1] mercenary in the pay of the Imperial intruder and as an enemy of the Republic. He was therefore very cool and reticent, indeed almost haughty and contemptuous in the way he spoke of Maximilian's Court and surroundings, being particularly hard upon his old friend Marshal Almonte, and such of the Mexican Generals as had rallied round the Emperor, whom he called traitors and rebels. It depends of course on the point of view. He lamented that age, its infirmities, and a wooden leg did not allow him to take the field and teach Juarez how to sweep the country of foreigners. The French especially were in his bad books, and he blamed them for not having accepted the offer of his help to establish a Republican Government and a military Dictatorship instead of the Negro farces, as he styled the rule of Juarez.

The ex-President was certainly a remarkable man, as I saw at once by his sharp and vivid discrimination of men and things and the restless activity of his mind. He had the eyes and bearing of a born ruler, and when the subject of discussion was Mexico—his chief interest indeed—he was young, alert, and full of the fiery energy of early manhood. Like most 'Pretenders,' he was more *au courant* with Mexican affairs than those whose business it ought to have been to know the ins and outs. Had it been possible to make it worth his while to be trusted, no better commander of the Imperial Army could have been found. His age would have been no obstacle. Yet I fear that once master of the Army, he would have re-embarked his Imperial superior by force,

[1] The 'Baron' was not Austrian but Hanoverian, and his mother Countess *Bismarck-Bohlen*,

and seated himself on the vacant throne, for I think his republican vagaries were mere talk. He was a man of action, his only aim was power, which indeed appeared to be the breath of life in whatever garb or guise it could be secured. It was perhaps fortunate that the Emperor found him in exile, one thorn the less on that rugged path through which Destiny was to lead him, for many of his Majesty's so-called supporters merely used the Emperor for their own purposes in the hope of weakening their antagonists and for the pleasure of fishing in troubled waters. There was certainly not one Mexican among the Emperor's surroundings who would have listened to Sta. Anna's recall. It might have been from envy, or possibly actual fear, but all warned his Majesty against the wily father of *pronunciamientos*, whose hand had been in almost every revolutionary movement or rising since the days of Iturbide, and whose spirit of intrigue in and out of power was only equalled by his cruelty and rapacity. From the highest to the lowest all trembled at the mere idea of his return. It was not worth while risking such a dreaded experiment as the ex-President's reinstatement. What much amused me was Sta. Anna's 'republican' indignation at what he called 'Maximiliano's' aping of the Tuileries and Napoleonic splendour with great Court dignitaries, gorgeous body guards, etiquette, and the rest; 'such ridiculous and costly mummeries, paid for by the sweat of the people, so useless and out of date before enlightened republican simplicity.'

I could not help smiling as I remembered the simple, homely life of the Imperial couple at Cuernavacca and Chapultepec, compared with Sta. Anna's bombastic vanity and love of show. While occupying the Palace at Mexico six colonels had to stand behind his chair at dinner and hand the dishes brought by the footmen. In fact, it was Sta. Anna himself who first appointed Generals of Division, genuine Excellencies if you please, to the somewhat menial office of hall porters at the Presidential residences. The Emperor was very indignant at this slur on the Army, and told us how upon his arrival in Mexico he had found an old general covered with medals and stars performing the duty of porter at the big door; but that Marshal Almonte had assured him that such was the custom; nay, that the porters' lodge at the Palace of Mexico was in great demand as a retiring post, and never granted to anyone under the rank of Lieutenant-General.

'Well,' said the poor Emperor with an amused smile, 'I could not allow a Field-Marshal to be a porter. It seemed too much swagger even for an Emperor's palace, but it was quite an affair of state to abolish an office affecting so many vested interests, and such an array of veteran generals. The least I could do after much trouble was to get the Minister of War to draw the line at

field officers. My proposal that it was a suitable post for non-commissioned officers being scouted at once, it was reserved for captains, and one of Miramon's former aides-de-camp was duly installed in the porter's lodge in Mexico and another at Chapultepec, but I made the condition that a special uniform should be worn by them.' It was a fact his Majesty always related with a mischievous twinkle, these customs being so contrary to German ideas of military dignity and honour. But then in Mexico it was quite possible to see retired officers of all grades behind the counter. I remember one major kept a tobacco stall, and at Orinzava we had a general officer as bar-keeper, who served his customers all the week in shirt sleeves, but on Sundays sported a splendidly embroidered uniform with half a dozen decorations and a gorgeous cocked hat rich in plumes—in fact, the *panache* of General Bohm in *The Grand Duchess of Gerolstein*; and he felt deeply aggrieved when the Governor-General of the province ordered him to make his choice between his uniform, general's title, and the drinking bar. But he did not hesitate an hour in choosing the latter as the more lucrative post. How could one blame these worthies? Their surroundings and training were unique. Many bearing the rank of officer had never occupied the position, and it is a positive fact that Presidents, ministers, and general officers had been in the habit of increasing their income by getting all their servants named officers of different ranks, that they might draw their pay as such, giving butlers, cooks, grooms, &c., the usual wages of their different occupations as servants. It was therefore not unusual to see smart uniforms waiting at table and performing various menial services.

The ex-President Miramon (who later shared the same sad fate as the Emperor) explained to me one evening this extraordinary system of 'commissioned' servants, and added, it is a perfectly recognised thing for men in place to treble their income in this manner without (as he thought) doing much harm, the pay being provided for in the Budget and drawn by one man instead of a dozen. I ventured to tell him how very much astonished I had been when one of the insurgent colonels, who was a prisoner with Porfirio Diaz and some other generals at Puebla, wrote to me for the loan of an iron, as, being a tailor by profession, he had made a pair of trousers for his general and they needed pressing! Colonel Dupuis told us one night at dinner that he had had to examine a captured lieutenant-colonel, and on asking him, 'Où avez-vous servi?' received the laconic reply, 'à table.'

But returning to Sta. Anna, I could not help thinking that he was much more the man for the situation than the noble and high-minded Habsburg, whom I had left struggling against impossible odds in the honest belief that he would be able to pacify Mexico

by liberal ideas and kindness. He did not realise that his humanitarian intentions would be ascribed to weakness and fear by a people unfit, and unable, to profit by liberal institutions and the blessings of civilisation which the Imperial couple were endeavouring to bestow.

Without the faintest notions of liberty, constitutional rights, equality before the law, or respect for the institutions of their country, the people of Mexico, from ex-Presidents down to the poorest tiller of the soil, understood but one thing—brute force, an iron fist; they could not even appreciate justice. What they loved was to be dazzled by show and pomp, glittering processions, and military splendour. Owing to this the clergy kept them under their thumb, and were able to draw out of them their last pesets. It had also been the secret of Sta. Anna's rule. How then should they understand the Emperor's simple and unassuming ways, mixing with them in the attire of the Mexican ranchero, treating them with urbanity and the most amiable condescension? No; these were grave mistakes, unsuited to the nature and requirements of half-civilised victims of arbitrary, tyrannical rule, and a priest-ridden population imbued with the most monstrous superstitions, added to ignorance bordering on barbarism.

One is at a loss to understand what could have induced the Emperor to adopt a system so opposite to all traditions of the country. Moreover, all those who had had the honour of approaching the Archduke Maximilian and his august consort during his Viceroyalty at Milan and Monza remarked that both were rather fond of display and regal splendour. And it would have been difficult to find on any European throne those better fitted than this illustrious couple to give people a true idea of royalty or to dazzle the masses by majestic pageants. That which perhaps was not so necessary in Italy might in Mexico have won the hearts of the people through their admiration of glare and glitter.

Three things were necessary: an iron rule, indomitable severity, and gorgeous display. It was by such means Sta. Anna had made high and low bow to his relentless sway. Whilst the Emperor Maximilian lost his chance, by disdaining the mantle of an Alva to show himself in the garb of a ranchero, he was too noble and good for the degenerate race he came to reclaim. Since the old Spanish days no one had ruled but Sta. Anna, and he allowed none to rob but himself, and put down brigandage and *pronunciamientos* by fire and sword. Never had Mexico been so safe, but it required a heartless and cruel tyrant. To give some idea of his arbitrary and terrible rule I will relate Señora Sta. Anna's little mishap which gives its name to this sketch, and which indeed caused such frightful reprisals that the death-blow was given to brigandage, at least as long as Sta. Anna held the reins.

The numerous and desperate crowd of bandits that infested the country and highways became exasperated by the President's stern and successful system of putting down guerillas, for their ranks had been considerably thinned, and the death-roll so lengthened that they began to think some step necessary for self-preservation; so about thirty of the boldest old *ladrones* combined for a dastardly outrage on the President's wife, well aware that nothing would more deeply affect his pride and prestige.

Señora Sta. Anna was in the habit of taking a daily drive outside the town towards Tacubaya, or else skirting the lakes of San Geronimo on the road to Puebla, of course without much of an escort, the outskirts of the capital being in those days perfectly safe, or, as the sequel will prove, only supposed to be so. Watching their opportunity and informed by spies the direction her coach had taken, they concealed themselves behind the ruins of a deserted *hacienda* half-way between Mexico and San Geronimo.

The ponderous old state coach, drawn by four horses and preceded by two mounted men of the *Guardia Civil*, was slowly approaching, when at a bend of the road six masked men armed to the teeth rushed out and threw themselves at the head of the horses, grasping with one hand the bridle and with the other pointing a loaded revolver at the guards and coachman; the rest of the band surrounded the carriage, the two flunkeys at the back being successfully lassoed ere they knew where they were. The coachman and guards were then ordered to dismount, and being safely secured, the leader of the band, who wore no mask or disguise, for he was none other than the much dreaded guerilla chief, Fernando Gomez, approached one of the doors, and opening it, hat in hand, saluted the President's wife with deference.

'Madame,' said he to the old lady, 'I must trouble you and your amiable companion to bestow upon us thirty your garments, which we shall ever keep as precious relics and remembrances of this day. We are, as you see, many in number and therefore not an article must be withheld, but you may remain dressed in such jewels as you happen to have on. Gomez takes not such baubles from ladies of your exalted rank.'

At this Señora Sta. Anna and her companion sent forth the most piteous screams, offering their jewels and money, and went so far as to suggest a ransom.

'Madame,' said Gomez, 'no ransom will be as valuable as your clothing, including of course your mantillas and fans. We would have complete toilettes.'

As Señora Sta. Anna and her lady showed no inclination of submitting willingly to this indignity, Gomez with a shrug of his shoulders beckoned to two of his men, who, jumping inside, gagged both women and proceeded to carry out the orders of their chief.

In less time than it takes to tell, the wife of the terrible President and her youthful companion found themselves, to their unspeakable terror, in the innocent costume of man's first birthday in Eden. Still they were not dead yet; that might have saved them further shame. But it was a drama of revenge, not murder or theft, and meanwhile the coachman, guards, and footmen had all been submitted to the like ordeal; their sombreros were left on their heads lest they should be exposed to sunstroke. They were not then to be shot.

'Shot!' answered Gomez with a fiendish laugh, 'you are to return safely home by exactly the same way as you came.'

The doors, windows, and blinds were then removed from the Presidential coach, the cushions taken out and torn to pieces. All this had been done in ten minutes by men who at their work knew the value of time.

'Now,' said the chief, 'all of you take your usual places and do your customary duties; we will add to the escort up to the town gates.'

Six men in masks then jumped into the saddle, while a richly caparisoned horse of great beauty, contrasting strangely with the wiry mustangs of the rest, was brought for Gomez, who was clothed in all the barbarous magnificence of the Mexican personage —chamois leather jacket and pants with dozens of silver buttons, the finest cambric shirt showing through the sides of the sleeves, left open several inches from the wrist upwards for that purpose; a silver-braided sombrero, and a pair of jewelled revolvers in a thickly folded waistband of Mexican colours; whilst his sword, the choicest Toledo blade, stuck out from under the left saddle flap, and a double-barrelled carbine of English make, inlaid with gold and silver, hung on the other side. Bridle, saddle, and, above all, the monumental stirrups, without which no Mexican horseman was complete, were of the most elaborate and costly workmanship.

Upon vaulting into the saddle the chief saluted the Señora with a mock courtesy, assuring her he was her devoted slave, and that all he had was at her *disposicion*. He then ordered the death-like coachman to turn round and drive slowly home to the *palacio*, as such was her Excellency's pleasure, and with a look which boded no good to any disobedience of his commands he added, 'My men will see you carry out this programme to the letter.' Then addressing the wretched women, he said to the President's wife, 'I beg to draw your Excellency's and the senorita's attention to the fact that if you stop or scream, or make any sign until within call of your own palace, you will one and all be shot. The riflemen of Gomez could not miss such visible targets, and such are their orders,' and bowing low from his seat until his hat nearly swept the ground he whispered through his shut

teeth, 'I should be sorry; it would be an eternal remorse to me if I were to end lives so precious to our illustrious President, and so your Excellency will spare me this pain. As to those *birbantes* on the coach and your gallant *guardia municipales*, they will not dare to wink an eyelid. Avaunti.'

The huge coach moved. Surely no human farce had ever presented such a spectacle. It crawled slowly along the highway. On at last nearing the *guerita*, the guard rushed out to present arms, when they stood petrified. They knew the men and whose work this tragedy was. Gomez himself appeared from no one knows where, and saluting the Lieutenant with true Spanish *grandezza*, the famous guerilla chief said, 'The coach passes, gentlemen, but my men will take care of you until it has reached the town. It will be watched all the way.'

And such was the superstitious awe in which this dreaded man was held that no one moved or came to the rescue of the President's wife, and the long drive almost half through the town was accomplished without the slightest hitch, though people were moving about and rushing hither and thither not knowing the cause of such an unearthly display. It was only on nearing the Piazza that Gomez rode up to the dismantled mockery of a carriage and said, 'In a few minutes your Excellency will be at home, and it only remains for me to express my humble thanks for the great favour vouchsafed by the señoras in allowing their unworthy *servidor* to see them safe back to their *palacia*, and to beg them to present the compliments of Fernando Gomez to General Sta. Anna.' He disappeared at a rapid pace down a narrow street past the cathedral.

Only those who have known Sta. Anna can form an idea of the fury and wrath of that terrible man when he was told, and rushed to see with his own eyes the monstrous indignity thrust upon his consort and the honour of his house. Never had his surroundings seen such an outburst of rage. The vast halls and corridors seemed to echo with the sound of his voice, not unlike the roaring of a wounded lion, while aides-de-camp and orderly officers were flying in all directions to execute the orders of the irate President with the utmost haste.

A regiment of Lancers quartered in a wing of the building was order to scour the country leading to Puebla, other troops to search the well-known haunts of Gomez's people with instructions to arrest all armed horsemen within ten leguas of the capital. The sharpest agents of secret police were at once set in motion, and all suspected individuals were to be brought in dead or alive. A reward of 20,000 pesetas was offered for the head of Gomez. Indeed the impatience and vindictive anxiety of Sta. Anna was such that he set out in person at the head of a picked body of

guides, and, surrounded by a score of generals and aides-de-camp, rushed through the city. Many of the peaceful inhabitants of the capital, who had not heard of the outrage, barricaded their windows and doors, believing it was the outbreak of some new *pronunciamiento*, as they saw the various cavalry detachments rattling over the pavement; but the news soon spread like wildfire through town and country, and though no one dared to show it, there was a subdued feeling of amused satisfaction at the idolised guerilla chief's bold venture, and very few, it is said, felt any pity for the haughty consort of their dreaded master, while of course the lower classes entirely approved, *sub rosa*, of Gomez's spirited way of avenging some of the cruelties practised upon his followers by the unrelenting orders of Sta. Anna. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that no trace could be found of the robber chief or his men. Some had been seen near the Rio Fino, others had been heard of in the Tierra Caliente. Not one of the famous band could be captured, but the outrage had to be avenged, culprits had to be produced, somebody must suffer, for Sta. Anna's pride revolted at the idea of having been fooled by a handful of guerillas and mocked by such an arch-fiend as Gomez, an ex-muleteer, an *hombre de nada!*

It was in the gall of bitterness, and deeply humiliated, that the President had to return to his palace without at least a few heads to lay at his wife's feet. Neither could he comfort her with the news of Gomez's capture, and his exasperation knew no bounds when he found the poor lady in bed with high fever and delirium. He issued orders to the commanding officers that all prisoners, guilty or not, should be brought to the capital by dawn, and that a dozen gallows should be erected, not in the ordinary place of execution, but on the Alameida, the public promenade, so that all Mexico should witness the prompt and crushing spectacle of his retribution. Very early in the morning the palace was in an uproar, for the report gained credence that Gomez had rallied his whole band, 150 horse, and by forced marches had reached the south of Cuernavacca, where impenetrable forests skirted the mountains of Juan Francisco, the great Indian Chief of the Cuatecomaches, whose stronghold would certainly afford him a safe asylum. The President's rage and despair knew no bounds, and all who had to approach him trembled for their lives. After paying a visit to his wife's bedside, he mounted his horse and, giving some order to the Chief of his Staff, started off to the Fort San Juan, where the prisoners, *i.e.* all people caught on the road or in its vicinity, were confined. When the Alameida was crowded to the uttermost, not only with carriages that could hardly move but with the whole population, many not knowing what they had come to see, the President with his brilliant staff advanced at a walking

pace. The packed throngs were unable to move one way or another to make room for the ruler of Mexico with his stern, relentless, cruel face. But why was he so patient? Why this slow pace? As a rule he galloped on, and people fell over one another. He was satisfied for the moment as he turned to look at the long string of prisoners he had brought from the fort. Most of the doomed men did not look like bandits or desperados, but peaceable rancheros, muleteers, country folks whom ill-luck had brought in the way of the search parties, who of course arrested every armed horseman whoever he might be. It was a fearful sight to anyone imbued with a sense of justice or humanity. As they approached the gallows, some cried for mercy, others asked what they had done, while the more sturdy cursed God and man. All knew there was no mercy with the President. Many in that crowd were burning with indignation at its sheep-like cowardice, incapable of striking a blow to avenge such injustice. Better to have died with them like men than form a multitude of degraded and base spectators. Alas! the doomed met their fate uncheered even by looks of sympathy or words of religion. Every ten minutes a dark shadow flitted over the sunlit folks near the gallows as their less fortunate, but equally innocent, countrymen were swung into eternity—there to find the consolation of unerring judgment.

Not a muscle of Sta. Anna's face moved while his 144 men were put to death to avenge the insult to his consort.

The news of this wholesale murder having reached the representatives of the Powers, they met and went in a body to the palace, where they insisted upon seeing the President, protesting in the name of humanity against such revolting reprisals. Sta. Anna shrugged his shoulders, coolly replying that such an insult to the person of the President's consort could not go unpunished. It was in vain that the foreign ministers pointed out that the guilty escaped, that the doomed men were peaceable country folks, and they drew his attention to the fact that there had only been thirty assailants, whereas 144 innocent people had paid the forfeit, and that they had heard his Excellency intended to hang three or four hundred more—in fact, all prisoners that had been taken to Fort San Juan.

'No doubt,' was the President's answer, 'I mean to make an example and the country tremble.' 'Besides, illustrious señores, who tells you that the culprits have all escaped? We only know that Gomez has joined his band, but nothing of his thirty-one followers. There is a fair chance that some of the villains are among the lot I have hanged this morning, and a better chance still that there are a number among those I shall hang to-morrow.' And looking at the bewildered diplomatists, he

added, 'But I cannot allow you to leave my roof without taking grace for some of your humble *protégés.* It was my order to hang every armed horseman brought in by my soldiers, and were there a thousand it would not be too many to teach Gomez and his rabble a bloody lesson, unless the guilty came forward with Gomez at their head. This I admit is unlikely. However, I will not disappoint your Excellencies; you shall reap the fruits of mercy. I will give orders to stop the retribution at three hundred, and will take it that justice has been done to Señora Sta. Anna, and the indignity wiped from my memory; hoping that this clemency will offer to your Excellencies my desire to be always at your service.'

VIOLET DE MALORTIE.

Oxford.

THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC: A REPLY TO MR. LATHBURY

In the May number of this Review Mr. D. C. Lathbury has criticised with characteristic suavity of manner and strength of conviction some views which I had expressed on Prayer Book revision in February. His criticisms are largely those of the irreconcilables of his party, and it is unfortunate that his article was written, as he explains, before the appearance of Dr. Frere's *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*, which from one of the very citadels of that party makes very short work of most of them. Upon the particular point however of the Ornaments Rubric which Mr. Lathbury, by the title of his paper,[1] singles out as that upon which he specially disagrees with me, I have asked leave to make a short reply. I do not know how far Mr. Lathbury is here speaking for himself, how far for the counter-Reformation party, or how far for the wider body which (with apology) he speaks of as 'Ritualists'; but the fact that he once held the position of editor of the *Guardian* gives to his opinions on Church politics an importance greater than attaches to those of the ordinary ecclesiastical layman; and I must say that the policy laid down in his article as that which the Ritualists will probably adopt, if Convocation proceeds with its present proposals for revising the Prayer Book, looks like that sort of prophecy which draws after it its own fulfilment. It is therefore worth attention.

(1) Mr. Lathbury begins by charging Convocation with ignoring the task laid upon it, in regard to the Ornaments Rubric, by the Royal Letter of Business, and omitting 'to debate the desirability, and the form and contents, of a new rubric.'

> Although [he says] Letters of Business were issued by the Crown in 1906, and again in 1909, no attention has yet been paid to the first and most important of the directions contained in them. We are no nearer a conclusion upon either the desirability, or the form and contents, of a new Ornaments Rubric than we were four years ago. . . . From the task thus committed to it Convocation has very naturally shrunk.

A statement of this sort, quite categorical and quite contrary to the facts, makes one wonder whether any word employed in it

[1] *Canon Beeching and the Ornaments Rubric*.

can be used in an esoteric sense. If the reader will turn to the *Chronicle of the Canterbury Convocation* for 1909, p. 190, he will find that after a long debate, the following Resolution, proposed by the Archdeacon of Dorset, and seconded by the Bishop of St. Germans, was carried in the Lower House with only seven dissentients:

> That this House, *holding that it is not desirable that any alteration should be made in the Ornaments Rubric*, declares its opinion that in the present circumstances of the Church of England, neither of the two existing usages as regards the vesture of the minister at the Holy Communion ought to be prohibited,

and a rider was then added declaring 'that by this Resolution no sanction is intended to be given to any doctrine other than what is set forth in the Prayer Book and Articles of the Church of England.' It is obvious from its opening words that the Resolution was framed with a view to the direction, given in the Letter of Business, to debate 'the *desirability* of a new rubric.' The House resolved that a new rubric was not 'desirable,' and consequently did not proceed to frame one. What, then, does Mr. Lathbury mean by the sentence quoted above? He can scarcely mean that Convocation was directed to frame a new Ornaments Rubric whether it was considered desirable or not; but if he does not mean that, I am at a loss to know what he means.

(2) Nevertheless Mr. Lathbury shows that he is aware that Convocation has adopted this policy in regard to the Ornaments Rubric by proceeding to criticise it as a blunder, both theoretically and practically. On the one hand it empties the rubric of all meaning and value to High Churchmen by allowing an alternative use, and on the other it provides a solution of the present difficulty which the Ritualist clergy will not accept. Mr. Lathbury takes the view of the Ornaments Rubric that it is a 'plain law' ordering the vestments. 'If the words mean anything,' he says, to wear the vestments is 'a matter of obligation'; and consequently the Ritualists could not consent to have their secure legal position undermined by a 'governing addition' to the effect that a different use was not prohibited. Not one of the least debts that Convocation owes to the liturgical knowledge of Dr. Frere is the endorsement of their policy which he has provided by his careful exposition of the meaning and intention of a ceremonial rubric. By a sketch of the history of such rubrics he makes it clear that 'a ceremonial rubric might be either of the maximum sort or of the minimum sort; in the former case it did not bind every user of the book to the maximum, nor in the latter case did it restrict him to the minimum'; and he adds that the Ornaments Rubric is 'an excellent instance of the fact that a ceremonial rubric is not to be regarded as universally binding to

its full extent. It might represent the requirement to which the great Church was expected to conform, while much less was demanded of the smaller Churches; they were only expected to do what they conveniently could to copy that model.'[2] Consequently, the 'governing addition' to the Ornaments Rubric which Convocation has proposed, explaining that the rubric allows a maximum and a minimum use, expresses, in the opinion of the greatest liturgical scholar of the day, what that rubric originally intended. On Mr. Lathbury's further objection, that the Ritualists will never consent to accept the substitution of an optional for a compulsory use of vestments, something more must be said. He points out quite truly that liberty to wear the Eucharistic vestments has been won by wearing them, in the teeth of decisions of the Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes that they are illegal in the Church of England; and then he asks whether it is likely that the Ritualists, having won the victory in a soldiers' battle without leadership, will now be content to surrender the 'fruits of victory'? But what are the fruits of victory in the case? If by the 'fruits of victory' we are to understand the practice of wearing Eucharistic vestments without challenge, in what way does the express declaration that the practice is not prohibited affect it as a substantial fact? We cannot seriously suppose that it was not the wearing of the vestments, but the wearing of them in the teeth of authority, that was desired, so that the sanction of authority empties them of all delight. That position is familiar enough in comedy; we remember that Miss Languish insisted upon having an elopement or nothing; it is also not unfamiliar in the nursery; but it is unusual in ecclesiastical affairs. And yet Mr. Lathbury tells us that the Ritualists will not accept permission to wear the vestments, because 'they would be throwing away every advantage that they have gained.' One is puzzled to know what these advantages can be, and still more in what way the permission will be repudiated. A clergyman must either wear the vestments or not wear them; and if the Bishop allows either course 'after such consultation as he shall think best, both with the Minister and with the people,' it will be difficult for a clergyman to achieve the position of a law-breaker unless he adopts the policy of the fractious child, a policy which Mr. Lathbury well describes as 'pure cussedness,' and breaks a few other laws by way of protest. Perhaps this is what Mr. Lathbury means.

(3) It is in fact the veiled threat of general insubordination unless or until a certain goal is reached that makes Mr. Lathbury's paper such melancholy reading. He quotes a sentence

[2] *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*, pp. 107, 123.

in which I say that 'the controlling fact of the situation is that some means had to be found for bringing to an end an intolerable condition of lawlessness'; and, admitting the lawlessness, he asks why I call it 'intolerable.' The question coming from an Englishman and a Churchman supplies its own sufficient answer. When anarchy in any society is justified by the leaders of opinion, and attempts at a revision of the law so as to remove any recognised hardships are ridiculed, ordinary citizens understand that it is not the interests of society that are being consulted by such a policy, and, if they have the power, they refuse to tolerate its continuance. I do not think the Church of England has yet lost the power to save itself from the wreckers; and I hope that Mr. Lathbury's plain-speaking may open the eyes of many to the true meaning of the policy which he advocates. At the time of the Lincoln trial one of the wisest Churchmen of the day, Dean Church, found the most deplorable fact of the situation to lie in the loss of respect on all sides for the majesty of law:

> Men talk defiantly because law has been so strained against the eastward position, and vestments, and the mixed chalice, that it has broken down under the strain. Law, strange to say, in England has actually broken down under the overstrain. No one cares to observe it, because, though half a dozen men, perhaps, are made to suffer, no one feels that it has the authority which law ought to have, as the real voice of either Church or nation, and it is notoriously disregarded far and wide by both sides. *The thing that everybody ought to try for is the restoration of the position of law*; law to be used for legitimate purposes, to put down real mischiefs, not to worry and disturb things which, in a Church like ours, ought to be left free. The immense majority, not only of English clergymen but of High Churchmen, would be glad to have a rule of law, would be glad to accept the discretion of the Bishops, if they could be only sure that they would meet with sincere and real justice, such as they expect to meet in the civil administration of the law.[3]

The words which I have put into italics in this passage might stand as an expression of the policy underlying the present proposals for Prayer Book revision. All parties and individuals are asked to bring their objections against the present rule of worship before the Church's Synod that they may be thoroughly discussed and weighed, and the rule amended or relaxed where it seems desirable, with the view of getting back again to a healthy state of obedience. It is reassuring to find that the disregard for law which is expressed by Mr. Lathbury receives no countenance from Dr. Frere, who, in the book referred to above, advocates a revision of the Prayer Book at the present time on this very ground, that the present state of things is 'demoralising.'

> Every obsolete direction weakens the force of every efficient one; and the habit of doing the appropriate thing in defiance of obsolete rules or

[3] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 335.

under cover of inappropriate ones, weakens the public and private sense of obedience and loyalty in a very subtle and especially dangerous way. There is no more distressing form of opposition to the movement for Prayer Book revision at the present time than the cry: 'We want no change, because, as it is, we can take it as we wish, and do as we like, omit anything that we please, and alter what we disapprove, and no one can complain, for obedience, as it is, is impracticable.[4]

(4) There is another point raised by Mr. Lathbury upon which I must comment. In pleading for revision, I had ventured to say that 'a revised law, which should take account of new needs and modern conditions, would be a law the enforcement of which, however disagreeable, would not be a sheer impossibility.' Mr. Lathbury 'submits, on the contrary, that in this respect the existing law and the suggested law stand exactly on the same footing.' He does not believe that the clergy, for whom he speaks, will obey the one any more than the other. But surely that cannot be the case. Something may be expected from the inbred good sense and loyalty of Englishmen, who are not wont to be anarchical from mere love of the thing. Again, it has always been alleged that the justification for disobedience lay in the 'unspiritual' character of the Court which, in the last resort, imposed the order; it ought, then, to make a good deal of difference that the Royal Commission, which recommended a revision of rubrics, has also recommended a revision of this Court as part of the same scheme of settlement.[5] Further, it may reasonably be hoped that the principle of elasticity, characteristic of the present project of revision, will be so applied as to satisfy all the legitimate demands of the party for which Mr. Lathbury speaks. The permission to wear the historical vestments at Holy Communion, to reserve, under safeguards against abuse, the Sacrament for the sick, and to use in the Burial Service a commendation of the faithful departed to the mercy of God, are examples of changes in the present law desired by that party, which Convocation has proposed to sanction under a sense that they imply no disloyalty to the principles of the Church of England. But, as everybody knows, there is an extreme section of that party which announces its determination to be satisfied with nothing short of a counter-Reformation, and I hope I am not doing Mr. Lathbury an injustice in identifying him with it.[6]

[4] *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*, p. 4.

[5] *Report on the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, p. 77.

[6] I rely on such passages as the following in his *Life of Gladstone*, where, speaking in disparagement of the Scottish Episcopal Church, he says: 'With her freedom, her traditions, and her separate liturgy, she might have furnished a model on which the Tractarians might have sought to build the Anglican counter-Reformation. But the desire to be friends with the dominant party in the Church of England has been too much for her' (p. 109).

This party will never be satisfied with any changes to which Convocation, even a 'reformed' Convocation, can be brought to assent; and consequently Mr. Lathbury is interested to know how breaches of the revised law will be dealt with. He explains with great candour that the English people will never tolerate the spectacle of clergymen being sent to prison for ceremonial offences, and I agree with him. But he seems to forget that clergymen are still proceeded against for such offences under the Church Discipline Act of 1840, which inflicts the penalty of deprivation without disturbing public opinion. There was an instance quite lately in the diocese of Oxford, in which the action of the Bishop was justified by the perversion to Rome of the deprived minister. I should expect however that the result of a revised system of rubrics would be to unite the central body of both High and Low Churchmen more firmly together, and so to exert moral pressure upon the extremities. As Dean Church points out in the letter from which I have already quoted: 'The strength of the tails arises from the fear and distrust of each party towards the other, which makes them unwilling to lose the support of the tails, even when the main body dislikes the violence of the tails.' So when Mr. Lathbury lays down as a condition of any permanent settlement that it presumes 'a clear appreciation of what minorities consider indispensable,' we must make the proviso that only such minorities, on whichever side they are found, must be consulted as are loyal to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. Mr. Lathbury will perhaps deny the existence of any such standard of doctrine, for he asks how 'an authoritative revision can be carried out except by giving the victory to one or other' of what he calls the different 'Churches' within the Church. I do not think that the historic 'High' and 'Low' Church parties would acknowledge that they are distinct Churches.[7] Even Mr. Lathbury admits that there has been real progress of late among these parties in the Church towards 'unity of feeling,' and I venture to assert there has been progress also towards 'unity of conviction.' When scholarly members of apparently antagonistic parties meet for discussion round a table, their agreement is wonderful; and there can be no doubt that the remarkable unanimity which has manifested itself in the Convocation Houses upon the more important proposals for revision has resulted from the fact, so much deplored by Mr. Lathbury, that 'they contain

[7] It comes as a painful surprise to find such a statement made by Mr. Lathbury. His words are: 'The High Church party, the Evangelical party—not to mention that large body of church people which belong to neither, and have no clear notion of what the distinction between the other two really amounts to—are *in essentials different Churches connected by an historical accident*, but possessed by different ideals and working towards different ends.' It must be admitted that this new Catholicism, which finds the 'essentials' of a Church neither in creed nor sacrament, is uncommonly like ancient heresy.

an immense preponderance of the official element'—that is to say, of dignitaries and scholars—who are not at the mercy of the wire-pullers of the party societies. It is also most certainly the case that the discussion of such points both in Convocation and throughout the country has, by clearing the issues, greatly helped to promote a larger measure of agreement. I will add in conclusion that the schism with which Mr. Lathbury threatens the Church of England, if his own minority does not get its own way, would be in my humble judgment a real strength to it; but I have no expectation that it will ever come about. I hope however that that particular bugbear has now lost its terrors for our ecclesiastical rulers. It might reassure them to read what Mr. Lathbury says upon the subject in another place. Speaking of the Ritualistic party in 1874 he says in his *Life of Gladstone*:

> On the one hand they did not mean to give up practices which were undoubtedly lawful before the Reformation, and had not, so far as they could see, been made unlawful by any decisive act of the Church herself since the Reformation. On the other hand they had no intention of leaving the English Church.

Mr. Lathbury's practical policy, so far as I can gather it, is so to irritate the somewhat nervous 'man in the street' that he shall clamour for disestablishment; under which *régime* he seems to think that the Church will tend to become more homogeneous on the lines of his extreme section, a conclusion which to me appears to run counter to all the probabilities.

H. C. BEECHING.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF NATIONAL INSURANCE

It has been truly said that this is the greatest scheme of social reform which has ever been put forward in this or any other country. It would also be true to describe it as the greatest financial proposal which has ever been formulated, for it promises to reach a total distribution of seventy to eighty millions a year. [This includes the old-age pensions but omits the unemployment insurance.]

To its objects and its motives nothing but praise can be given, and none can fail to recognise the great thought which has been devoted to its preparation. But it is admitted that the subject deserves yet further thought and work, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has said that he would welcome suggestions from any source. The greatness of the matter and the time which has been devoted to it in other countries, where far smaller proposals have been on foot, though no excuse for avoidable delay, are reason enough for the fullest consideration of every aspect of the subject. It is proposed in this article to deal with a few of them, and to propound certain variations which appear to a student of the subject to remove objections of great weight, to simplify the scheme and to provide more benefit for the insured. If any failure to appreciate the wisdom or advantages of the design as it stands should be disclosed, it is hoped that it will be amply apparent that the suggestions are only prompted by a desire for the attainment of the greatest possible success which legislation can achieve in this important sphere.

I

In the transitory provisions applicable to the existing population, is not an actuarial graduation in fair relation to the age of entry preferable to the sharp division into participants and non-participants which is proposed?

As the designers of the scheme have recognised, it is impossible to give to all the present working population the full insurance which can hereafter be provided. As the Scheme stands those who are over sixty-five are left out; those who are already incapable of regular work are also left out. For those who are in fact within two years of incapacity only the first thirteen weeks of need are covered. For those who are not able to obtain admission to an

approved Friendly Society the provision extends only to a very small fraction of the probable period of need. For the women who are now married, and for those who hereafter marry, there is apparently this very temporary insurance, and that only in a limited number of cases. For those workers who do not come within the definition of 'the employed,' if they are too poor to pay the whole premium themselves, nothing is done. There will be millions of active workers who get no benefit, and there will be other millions who get such transient benefit as to leave them practically uninsured. Less than half the population between fifteen and seventy come into the estimates of the early membership.

The question here raised is, Which is the more humane and just—(1) to apply a graduation, which none can call unfair because it gives to each the full insurance which his premium period warrants, and aids the premium payment of all in like proportion, and thus to bring some further help, great or small, to every worker who is left outside the dividing line, or (2) to raise the benefits of the short contributors to equality with those of the long, by transferring some of the fund of the latter to the account of the former, and thus to give the full insurance to some millions, while other millions are left to look on and envy the more fortunate who are just able to get within the pale?

The proposed dividing line between participants and non-participants is apparently sudden and arbitrary in its application. (i.) Those who fail to gain admission to an approved society, because health record, employment record, physical condition or other reason makes them unable to satisfy the tests imposed, will get the Post Office deposit insurance, which is confined to a return of contributions increased by the subsidy of 22 or 25 per cent. A man starting upon this insurance at forty-eight, and becoming incapacitated at sixty would draw allowances for about a year, if he turned out to be more than usually healthy and regular at work; but, as the fact of his falling upon this form of insurance proves him to be exposed to some special risk of sickness, it is more probable that his account would be exhausted long before reaching sixty. From the date when his account is exhausted until seventy he would have to fall back on the poor rate. (ii.) Apparently the women who are now married or may hereafter marry would only obtain this transient insurance, for no society could afford to admit or to retain them on the terms proposed unless a special subsidy were granted, and none is named in the Bill. (iii.) The worker of sixty-four may get his pension at sixty-six; the worker of sixty-five must wait till seventy. (iv.) The insurer of any age who is attacked by a lasting disease or damaged by an accident (unconnected with his employment) will get 5*s*. per week

for life; but if the certified date of the misfortune is within two years of the commencement of the insurance, he gets no pension—the exclusion depends on the date, no voluntary completion of the 104 payments is admitted.

This line of division also appears to have the great disadvantage of being governed by hidden chances of the future, so that many will be unable to foresee whether they will be within or without the pale. There will be those who are doubtful of admission to an approved society or of their ability to retain their membership, viz. those of uncertain health or physical condition, those of irregular employment, those who may be unable to keep up the contribution of sevenpence or fourpence per week for an average of thirty-nine weeks per year, and the women who may marry. There will be many of those past middle life for whom the fear of breakdown or accident occurring within the first two years makes the benefit uncertain.

It is not only to those workers who are or may be outside this dividing line that graduation would be a blessing. To the young it would give much greater benefits than the Scheme now offers. To the unborn it would make no difference, but to all the children of to-day, and to all now under early middle-age, it would give a better scale of benefit, and the advantage would last till the end of their lives. The great 'initial deficit' would be swept away, and it is the chief reason for the reduction of the scale of benefit in the Bill from that which ninepence per week from the age of sixteen should compass to that which fourpence or fivepence per week can now procure in the best Friendly Societies.

The persons who would obtain more under the Scheme as it stands are those over middle age who are already provided for, those who have refused to join a Friendly Society, and those who have been unable to do so. To the first of these groups graduation (applied as in II. below) would give all the State and employers' aid which the Scheme proposes. The extra benefit which the Scheme offers to the two latter groups would not extend to those who are over sixty-five, to those who are already infirm or within two years of infirmity, or to those who fail to obtain admission to an approved society.

By far the most important advantage which this graduation brings lies in the fact that it removes the great initial deficiency and the need for a sinking fund, and thus would *enable the Scheme to include at the outset the full scale of benefit which it will be able to give in the future*. The full contributors, viz. the young, the new entrants, and those already insured, would obtain these increased benefits, and to the others they would be graded in true proportion to the age at which contribution starts.

If the initial deficiency were removed, as is herein suggested,

the full scale offered by the Scheme should compare favourably with that of any Friendly Society; for it has the two great advantages of starting its premiums from a much earlier average age, and of having no concern with the needs which come after seventy. A careful consideration of the offer which is now included discloses the important fact, that the ninepence of the Scheme only offers benefits which a premium of a little over fourpence would give under like conditions as to premium in a good society, and that the results which the voluntary insurance gives for an equal premium are about twice as great.

The largest of the centralised societies charges 9*d*. to those who enter under twenty-five, and 9½*d*. to those who enter under thirty. This difference in the age from which premium has to be paid makes a great difference in its insurance value; if the society's premiums were all required to begin from the date of starting work, and in any case from sixteen, the two items in which its insurance falls short of that included in the Scheme would be more than covered, viz. absence of medical relief and a rate of disablement allowance lower by 1*s*. per week. Its insurance exceeds that of the Scheme in the following ways, viz. (i.) In temporary sickness it gives 17*s*. 3*d*.[1] for twenty-six weeks, as compared with 10*s*. for thirteen weeks; (ii.) in the first year of invalidity it pays 33*l*. 3*s*., as compared with 16*l*. 5*s*.; (iii.) its permanent allowance continues after seventy in addition to the old-age pension, whereas the allowance of the Scheme does not; (iv.) it includes life insurance of 30*l*. (20*l*. funeral money on the member's death and 10*l*. on that of his wife); (v.) the society's rules are much more liberal in regard to the 'waiting period' required; (vi.) the sick pay dates from the notice of sickness, instead of from four days later; (vii.) some additional benefits of a minor kind are included in the society's insurance. Other equally striking comparisons might be made, and it is apparently not too much to say that the voluntary insurers can now acquire for ninepence about twice as good an insurance as the Scheme offers, and that approximately equal benefits may be obtained by contributions of a little over fourpence, starting from an equal age.

It is true that the Friendly Societies only insure 'selected risks,' but this is also true of the Scheme. Those whose conditions would bar their entry to a society at the age of sixteen will be left to the Post Office deposit system, which takes no risks; and, in regard to special risks which may develop later, the statutory fund will have a great advantage, as it is proposed to give to it a power to cast upon the employers or upon the Local Authority the burden of any excessive sickness which may arise among its

[1] *It pays 18s., but, as it does not remit the premium, 9d. has to be deducted to make the comparison fair.*

members, *i.e.* of sickness which exceeds by 10 per cent. the 'average expectation' as defined by tables to be prepared by the Insurance Commissioners (Clause 46).

It is thus difficult to see how the Scheme, with the list of benefits which it offers to the first generation, can commend itself to those who have just entered, or are about to enter, a good Friendly Society, for, even if we ignore the employer's share of the contribution and the State subsidy, the direct charge upon the worker will apparently be as much as it now is, and if he desires to provide higher sick pay, funeral money, or a better provision for old age than the flat rate of 5*s.* per week, he will have to pay two premiums instead of one, and the total cost of the insurance he desires will probably be as great as at present. And it is not possible for him to neglect the employer's share in this comparison, for it is in fact a tax upon his total earnable wage. If he is an independent worker, or not in regular employment, this fact will be brought home to him very clearly, for he will himself have to pay sevenpence for the insurance which he can now obtain for about fourpence. It is still more difficult to see how it can commend itself to those who are still eligible for the Friendly Society insurance, but regard it as unnecessary or too costly. To them it must mean compulsory enrolment in a less profitable insurance than that which they have already refused.

Is it not easier to remove than to meet these weighty objections, and does not the heart of the matter lie in the amendment which is herein submitted, viz. actuarial graduation in place of a hard line of distinction between the millions who are to have the full benefits and the millions who are to have little or nothing, and fair distribution upon the basis of the premium periods instead of fining the young to benefit some of the old?

The true wisdom of providing a sinking fund for the initial deficiency is fully recognised : so also is the material reduction of this deficiency effected by excluding those large groups of the old to which reference has been made, by the proposal to relieve the fund of any extra charge in the case of those who only obtain the deposit insurance, and by the reduction of the sick benefit at ages over fifty. But why should an initial deficiency be created at all? It is chiefly to those who have neglected the voluntary insurance which they could have made that it will give useful help. Few of those who were too weak or too poor to have any part in this insurance will be benefited by the later chance of entry which is given. To those who will be the chief charge upon the sinking fund provided at the cost of the early entrants a much larger share in the State subsidy has already been granted, and they are placed in a far better position than their predecessors. *The old-age pension to a man of sixty-two is a gift of actual and intrinsic value eight*

times as great as to a youth of sixteen—it costs just eight times as much to give it. Why, when the old already receive a much greater share of the Exchequer vote, should *all* the further subsidy granted to the whole insurance be diverted to them for years to come? To do this starves the Scheme at its inception, and makes its offers poor in comparison with those which now exist. The hopes of increased benefit which the Scheme holds out are not overlooked; but it is upon the benefits which it definitely and primarily includes that it will be judged in this comparison.

Graduation would certainly simplify the introduction and administration of the Scheme to an enormous extent. It sweeps away the whole complication of financial adjustment between the societies: it calls for no deduction from one and payment to others: it credits to each the full income of its own members. No question can arise as to the sufficiency of the adjustment (i.e. of the 'reserve value' which is placed on any age by the tables to be issued); no sinking fund is wanted; no up-and-down movements of the sick pay at late ages.[2] Persons over sixty-five need not be excluded. There will be no call to explain to any why the benefit of the State subsidy is denied to them, for all will get it. There will be no gradual increase in the benefits until one after another the societies can give the full value of the premiums.

The principle suggested is already proposed for one branch of the insurance. Graduation has been considered fair for more than two millions of the possible contributors — for the jobbing worker, for the small farmer or shopkeeper, and for all classes of independent workers. Is it not also worthy of consideration for the employed? A single schedule graduating the insurance according to age of entry would then apply alike to the employed and voluntary members, to voluntary members of the future, to those persons who hereafter come within the compulsory provisions at ages later than sixteen, and to British subjects returning from absence abroad.

The special age benefit is not extended to the older members of the voluntary class, and yet its younger members have to yield a part of their insurance to help the old who are 'employed.' Is this not a great injustice? This voluntary class, which numbers in its ranks the seamstress, the laundress, the charwoman, the chimneysweep, the huckster, the out-porter, and many of the

[2] Under Clause 9 a person entering at forty-five would have full sick benefit for five years, then 70 per cent. for a period of six or seven years, i.e. until he has made his five-hundredth weekly contribution, and then the full allowance once again. Similarly if he enters at fifty-two he gets 70 per cent. up to sixty, then 50 per cent. up to the time of making his five-hundredth payment, then 100 per cent. This illustrates how hard it is to make any partial reduction, which does not adopt the just and simple rule of graduation, apply without producing anomalous and inequitable results.

poorest groups, clearly deserves as full consideration as any of the 'employed' class. Does it not, in fact, deserve more? Even its poorest have to pay the full premium of sevenpence or sixpence per week, whereas the waged classes have only one, two, three, or four pence to provide, according to their means, the rest being charged upon the employer. *The proposal to make the independent worker contribute the only aid he gets in order to benefit the older 'employed' workers* may perhaps be an oversight, but it is one which cannot be rectified without re-casting the calculations.

It is a noteworthy fact that neither commercial insurance nor voluntary national insurance has ever adopted the 'average premium' method, or neglected the age graduation which is herein suggested. Can a system of transfer from the account of one member to that of another, which could not be thought of in connexion with a voluntary national scheme, subsidised or not, be justified when it appears in a scheme of insurance which is being applied compulsorily? The German State insurance is the only known instance in which it has been put into operation. The policy which guided its designers twenty-one years ago to draw upon the premium fund of the insurers to pay the extra grants voted to the old has, up to the present date, produced apparent success, for so far nearly all the claimants have received more than their premium payments warranted; but the clouds are gathering fast, and soon the administrators of the invalidity and age insurance will have to explain to all its members how reasonable and just it was to deprive them and their children of half their proper insurance in order to benefit a past generation of part contributors.

The reduction of benefit under our Scheme, though quite as great, is only to apply for a limited period. This certainly gives to the Bill a considerably different character from the German invalidity insurance, but it must not by any means be supposed that the reduction is limited to sixteen years. Those who are now unborn will escape it, but all the entrants of the next sixteen years (*i.e.* the children of to-day) and many of those who are older will suffer from it till the end of their lives.

Such is undoubtedly the result of the finance principle of the Bill. When the Sinking Fund has done its work, the income released *will not raise the insurances of those who are then contributors to their full premium value*, nor will it cover a half of the difference; to those now over twenty it will bring very little help, for during the interval a new deficiency will have been mounting up—the insurers will have been compiling reserves on the low basis of the Scheme and not on the basis of the full insurance which the premiums warrant, and the most important years for reserve compilation will be spent.

The system of the Bill tends to link the weak, the poor and

all the less profitable members in bonds of mutual insurance: it will be a case of hopes long deferred for them, and for many decreases and not increases will be the outcome.

II

Would it not be preferable to retain the benefit of all the existing contracts of mutual insurance?

It is no easy matter to define clearly the position of the older members of the permanent Friendly Societies under the Scheme, but it apparently involves one important inequity. It is proposed to provide for each of these members, at the cost of the insurance fund generally, the full reserve which his age requires for the purposes of the statutory insurance. No part of this charge is to be borne by the fund already standing to their credit in the accounts of the society to which they belong, for it is stated in the explanatory memorandum issued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the societies will not be asked to apply any of their existing funds for the purposes of the new Scheme, even though they have been contributed in respect of benefits now included in that Scheme.

Thus the younger members of the new fund and the children of to-day are not only to forgo part of their insurance to the end of their days, in order to bring certain older persons who have not insured up to a standard of benefit practically equal to their own, but are also to yield up a further part, in order to raise the benefits of the old who are insured to a level greatly above that which they obtain themselves. Were it not for the clear statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer it would be impossible to assume that such is the intention, and, even with it, it is hardly conceivable that the great injustice which this arrangement must involve has been fully appreciated. Let us consider what it means.

A large proportion of the old who are not insured will occasion no loss to the young, for only those who succeed in insuring through a society will bring in a deficit. But unless we are to suppose that the approved societies will turn away such of their present members as have developed an excessive sickness risk since the date of their admission, and refuse to enter into the new contract with them, we must regard all the old who are insured as charges upon the young members of the new fund. Thus it is highly probable that the loss they will have to bear, in raising the insured to a better level of benefit than that which they themselves enjoy, will be a heavier matter than the help they are called upon to give to the old who are not insured.

In many of the cases the reserve standing to the names of these older insured persons, in the accounts of the societies or funds to

which they belong, will be greater than the reserves required by the statutory insurance. Where the larger invalidity or pension insurances exist, these individual reserves will sometimes exceed 200*l.*, and in the cases of pension funds such as those of the railway companies, they will rise to much higher amounts, for these funds include many who, though under the 160*l.* limit, will be able to claim retiring pensions of 100*l.* or more.

Is the poor young seamstress or charwoman who in order to obtain any insurance has to pay sixpence a week without any employer to help her, is the young agricultural labourer or the sweated worker, to give up his earliest contributions and all share in the State aid in order to add, say, another 50*l.* to the account of those persons over the age of fifty-five who are already well insured? Those who are between fifty-five and sixty-five, and well able to pay an extra fourpence per week for a few remaining years, will have all the advantages of the State insurance provided for them (at the cost of other persons to the extent of at least 80 per cent.), and in addition to this they will have improved and rearranged contracts with their societies giving them a list of benefits in themselves greater than those they at present enjoy.

These fortunate ones will often have the choice of continuing their existing insurance entirely free of premium, or of taking further benefits. In employments where the full wage continues during temporary sickness and a pension of 50*l.* or 100*l.* a year is already secured, a full share of this bonus from the young will be added. To the man of sixty earning 3*l.* a week and provided with all the insurance he needs, it may mean relief from contribution in any form for the last ten years of his employment. To the man with an insurance fund of 200*l.* to his credit, an extra 50*l.* may be added. To provide this, those who are starting life with a prospect of earning 10*s.* or 15*s.* a week are to give up their early premiums and their hope of State aid, and to them that aid is of five-fold value when its different insuring power for the young and for the old is taken into account, and of fifty-fold value when the different meaning of 1*s.* per week to the poor and to the well-paid is also brought into the reckoning.

It is wholly unnecessary to assure the designers of this great Scheme that no suspicion of any desire to allow it so to affect any groups of the insured attaches to their intention in any mind. Yet there can be no doubt that the treatment of the existing insurances which is proposed, and the inclusion of those already provided with insurance reserves by Friendly Societies and superannuation funds in the list for whom the young are to provide new reserves, produces these results: though the cases cited may be extreme instances, the principle applies throughout.

It is submitted that the entire groundwork for objections

such as these can be cut away, and the Scheme at the same time relieved of a huge piece of complicated work which would otherwise attach to its introduction. The amendment suggested is the following: Let all existing contracts stand, but give to those who are paying premiums under them the aid from the State and from the employer which Parliament votes; where the existing contract, taken together with any other provision made by the employer, falls short in any necessary way of the insurance which the Scheme proposes, let the establishment of that further insurance be a first charge upon the help given, before applying it in reduction of contribution; where the society or fund cannot satisfy the Insurance Commissioners that they have the power to carry out the whole contract, let a sufficient part of the new help be held in reserve by the State as security; where an employer already contributes to the extent of threepence per week, let him be relieved of further charge, and where to a smaller extent, let him be relieved *pro tanto*.

Thus the provisions relating to preventive and curative treatment, supply of drugs, and health generally will be established universally at the outset. The employed man who now pays ninepence to a good Friendly Society will be relieved to the extent of nearly fivepence per week. The railway employee, and those who, like him, are well provided for, largely at the cost of the employer, will have their own contribution reduced by twopence per week.

The Bill proposes, in order to give effect to this aid transferred from the young, to undo or revise every contract which exists between a society and any of the fifteen million persons to whom the Scheme will apply—perhaps twenty million contracts or more will thus have to be reviewed, as the total number of existing contracts is over thirty millions. This revision will apparently apply, not only to the societies which are approved, but to every registered society and every branch. Schemes to the probable number of twenty or thirty thousand will have to be drawn up and approved. Almost every contract contains some insurance outside or in excess of the statutory scale, and it will be necessary to agree upon an apportionment of the reserve held by each society and each branch, not only as between the members, but also as between the different heads of insurance and the different parts thereof; the permanent allowance reserves will have to be apportioned into parts belonging to before seventy and after seventy; the question of how much of a pension reserve will be covered by the disablement insurance will be very difficult to decide, as it may entirely depend upon which happens to come into operation first; the partial and temporary reductions of the 10*s*. sickness benefit applicable to persons who join the statutory insurance after

the age of forty will cause much complication, and a peculiarly in-and-out insurance will be necessary to restore to an even level of, say, 18s. a sickness allowance which starts at 7s., falls to 5s. at sixty for an undefinable period, and then rises to 10s. After all this is done, it will be necessary to arrive at the amount of the original premium which will have to stand in order to preserve the old insurance, and this will vary for each branch and each age. Finally, it will be necessary to allocate the released reserves either to reducing the premiums payable to the society, to discharging contributions due under the statutory insurance, or to adding agreed benefits to the list.

Does this not open up unnecessary chances for disagreement and discontent? The amendment which has been suggested avoids any untying or recasting of existing contracts, guarantees to each member of a Friendly Society the full statutory insurance, preserves for each the full insurance he has elected to take up, gives to each the aid from the State and employer which the Scheme proposes, and provides power in each case to obtain additional benefits by continuing the present rate of payment.

But this apparently simpler way to a similar end is only a minor advantage; the great point is that it avoids the creation of *an unnecessary deficit*, an unnecessary reduction in the benefits to the young, and an unnecessarily striking contrast with those which the voluntary insurance now provides.

This plea for fair consideration of the claims of the young would not be complete if it did not include a full comparison of the treatment which is proposed for those who happen to be in early and in late life at the time when a subsidy from the taxpayers in aid of pension and health insurance is first voted.

As the Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out in introducing the Bill, this subsidy includes a payment which 'is equivalent to something like fivepence a week for employer and worker under our Scheme.' It is true that the grant of pension after seventy is equivalent to about fivepence per week on an average, but the distribution of this gift as between those now young and those now old is by no means equal; it is of eight times the value, and it costs eight times as much to give it, to a man of sixty as to a boy commencing work. To the young entrant or full contributor it is equivalent to a premium of about one penny per week, to persons over sixty it is equivalent to a premium of several shillings per week. But this is not all—a further twopence per week is being voted; to those now unborn this grant is to be equally distributed, but this is by no means to be the case with the present population: to those now young little or no share is to be given, for the years when its help would be most effective are to be blank;

to those past middle life who come within the pale of the Scheme, further premium help averaging perhaps a shilling a week is to be granted. Thus the sequence is—for those who passed away before 1909 insurance entirely at their own cost, to those now old premium help to the extent of several shillings per week, to those now young one penny per week, and to the workers of the future threepence. If, instead of premium aid actual cost is taken into consideration, the contrast is quite as striking.

Has this concentration of the taxpayers' subsidy upon the particular group of persons who at present happen to have reached years of maturity been fully recognised, and if so can it be justified? There are two special incidents of the distribution as it stands which must not be overlooked. (1) The young who would be too poor to insure without help are to give up their share in the taxpayers' aid, and this aid is to be concentrated upon the old—not only upon those who were too poor when at the age for voluntary insurance, but upon those who refused it, though they could have afforded it, and also upon those who are reaping, or about to reap its blessings; *the latter are to have their benefits raised to a higher level than that of the young who help them, perhaps to several times as high a level*; persons between fifty-five and sixty-five, who are earning 150*l*. to 160*l*. a year, and well provided with insurance, will get large additions to their pensions, or may be relieved of any premium payment during the last ten years of their work. (2) *The young of the voluntary class are to give up the only aid they get, but the old of this class are to have no share in the distribution of the proceeds.* This is the class which has no employer's help, and which includes some millions of the neediest members of the community.

The plea which is herein urged is that the application of the taxpayers' subsidies to pension and health insurance may be fair to all. The extra shilling which Charity adds to the permanent allowance of one of the old takes five from that which will be paid to some present entrant upon active life, and robs two such entrants of this five-fold hope. If her hand be not stayed she can ruin the best insurance scheme ever planned; even to the present population she may bring deprivations which far exceed her blessings.

Let us hope that the moral sense of those who are first to benefit will guide them to regard the future as well as the present, and not to demand from their statesmen a distribution which has regard only for their immediate wants. Far be it from us to believe that the workers think so little of their children as to grasp nearly all for themselves, when it means three-fold or five-fold deprivation for them.

III

Would it not be advisable, in introducing this new principle of compulsory insurance, to limit the obligatory part of the Bill to persons now under a selected age (say, twenty-five or thirty)?

This change would undoubtedly make the Scheme much more attractive to those to whom it is offered, for all who wish for it could take it, and it is a part of human nature to set a higher value upon that which comes of free will than upon that which comes of compulsion. No one could then complain that he is forced to pay more than he can afford, to purchase that for which he has no need, or to pay more than its true value for the benefits which the insurance confers upon him. There are millions who do not need this form of insurance or only need it in part, *e.g.* those whose full wage or salary continues during temporary sickness, and those whose years of retirement from work are already provided for. There are millions to whom it will offer but doubtful advantage and doubtful return for the payments exacted, *e.g.* those who cannot rely upon making 104 payments before invalidity intervenes, and those who know or fear that the deposit insurance will be their lot. There are others for whom the insurance does not take the form most needed, *e.g.* the sailor or sea-fisherman with his eminently healthy but risky calling, to whom the insurance of adequate support for widow and orphans would be of far greater value than sick pay.

Obligatory insurance is an entirely new feature in our social scheme, and it is proposed to apply it at once to a whole series of needs: pension dating from incapacity for work, pay during temporary sickness, medical treatment, nursing in child-birth, drugs, reception and curative treatment in cases of consumption. These insurances are to be taken up by all employed persons earning less than 160*l.* a year who cannot show private capital of about 800*l.*, whatever their age may be, from sixteen to sixty-five, and whether the list is such as they need or not. Is it not wise counsel to suggest that this new compulsion should be confined to those who are still young enough to value each item on the list, and that the nation should be allowed to grow up to a proper appreciation of it? For administrative reasons alone, is not a more gradual development desirable? Universal compulsion means a special census accompanied by strict inquiries into age, earnings and means, and, for the purposes of the societies who are to accept the risks, into character, health and employment record, physical and mental condition, and various other matters. The amendment suggested would keep all this within narrower limits, applying it for the most part only

to those who wished for it and voluntarily entered their names. Applied as each reaches the age of sixteen it is robbed of all that is objectionable, and the work of enrolment is made far simpler.

To more than two millions of the working classes the Scheme is already optional, to several millions more it does not apply at all, and these two groups include many of the neediest of all. If its compulsion did not operate above the age of thirty, it would still include all those to whom the most substantial help could be given, and naturally all those who have already insured.

This is a form of attraction which can be offered to the present generation without adding to the cost of the Scheme, whereas that of transferring to a section of the old the help which would otherwise be given to the young and to those who are now children, is costly in the extreme. Let us consider the effect on the fund and on the benefits which the insurance could include if this attraction be substituted for the other.

We should be starting a scheme of real insurance not mixed up with charity, but heavily subsidised and aided for all in like proportion. To those employed persons who have not benefited by the offers of mutual insurance in the past this offer of aid would be extended (viz. 55½ per cent. to men, 62½ per cent. to women, and for the poorest 89 per cent.), but its value would vary with the period of contribution which remained. Those who decline would be by no means in the position which their fathers occupied: there would remain to them a new boon, the value of which to the old grades up with age at date of choice to an extent which more than compensates the downward graduation of the new benefits. Large numbers would prefer to remain as they are now placed with this new boon at seventy, rather than to contribute fourpence per week to better it. If we allow free choice to those who prefer their present state, the Scheme would be relieved of many of its costliest members. Why strain and starve the fund of those who want insurance in order to force in those who are content without? The reliance upon the poor rate which has been implanted during centuries cannot be stamped out in a day, though it can be vastly reduced in a generation by the influence of a good insurance scheme.

The employers would, of course, have to contribute on the uninsured and insured workers alike, but the free fund thus created at the start would avail to make a material reduction in the rate of tax which is otherwise imposed upon production. The State contribution which is similarly freed would be amply sufficient to cover the cost of including in the insurance of the young, and probably of all the compulsory members, the pension after seventy; for it must not be forgotten that this only adds about a penny to the weekly premium payable from the age of sixteen. Thus this right

would be added to the benefit list of the Scheme without any extra cost to the insured.

The enormous importance of allowing the pensions after seventy to be gradually merged in the insurance has already been elaborated in this Review.* It has been shown (i.) that *it does not increase, but in fact reduces, the charge upon the contributors*, for it enables the State to bear a larger share of the insurance charge; (ii.) that it limits the proportion of the taxes which is absorbed to considerably less than half of the property and income tax, in place of incurring a charge which, starting at thirteen millions, reaches twenty millions in eight or nine years, and continues its rapid advance up to thirty-five or forty millions.

As the Scheme stands, the statutory pension and sick-pay provisions will stop short at seventy in the case of all those thrifty members of the community who have contributed all their lives to the insurance fund, and have also endeavoured to provide more than eight or twelve shillings a week for their old age, or to leave something to their dependents when they die. This is their lot unless they take steps to satisfy the poverty qualification by nominally divesting themselves of their business, income, or property before reaching seventy. Such persons, if they have been healthy and industrious, and if they have preferred to employ their own medical adviser to resorting to the club doctor paid at the rate of 4s. a year, may find that the only effect of the insurance has been to reduce the amount which they would otherwise have been able to save by anything from one hundred to three hundred pounds.

This severance of the pension scheme at the age of seventy produces other hardships and anomalies. The family, of which the father is incapacitated at fifty or at sixty, may have to live on 5*s*. a week; but when the children have all grown up and the mother has reached seventy, this may be raised to 10*s*. The places of those worthy members of the insurance whose allowances are cut short at seventy will be filled by those who have refused to insure, or have fallen out of the insurance by their own fault. It lifts out of pauperism at the age of seventy many thousands who could but have not worked, who could but have not taken the benefit of the insurance scheme. There is no force in the plea that it brings tardy help to many deserving persons whom the insurance scheme cannot reach. The wives and mothers and the other workers who are not earners can all be helped by the insurance both before and after seventy: if the Scheme does not do this now, comparatively small amendment would effect it. Is any good purpose served by reducing the amount available to help the insurance in order to alter at the age of seventy the condition of those who have accepted pauperism as their lot in earlier years?

* *Nineteenth Century and After*, December 1910 and April 1911.

The defective, who before they reach sixteen are condemned to idleness, but live to seventy without being admitted to any institution, are a small group, and the old-age pension is hardly the help they need: apart from them, can any deserving persons be found who would suffer if the old-age grant were confined to the members of the insurance fund, in so far as the young are concerned?

Surely this proposal, to limit the compulsion and gradually to give to the pension after seventy the character of a true insurance, coming like the rest without any taint of charity or test of indigence, is worthy of consideration. It can ease the burden upon employers and employed, and at the same time limit the eventual extent to which the products of taxation will be absorbed. If any doubt exists as to the large extent of the relief it brings, should not the best expert reports be obtained and the contributors and taxpayers alike be *informed* of the results?

Other suggestions which appear to deserve the fullest consideration might be added, but some of them would require full articles to bring out all their important bearings.

A. CARSON ROBERTS.

'CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED'

The case against Mr. Lloyd George is not that he has done a bad thing well, but that he has done a good thing badly. The country was ripe and the moment was opportune for the introduction of a measure national, catholic, and comprehensive. In its place there has come to us a Bill vulnerable, vexatious, and vague. While fully appreciating that benefits would accrue to the industrial classes by the adoption of the Bill in its existing form, I purpose to point out certain insidious principles embodied in the measure which can only be effected at the ultimate cost of economic failure and moral confusion, and it is on these counts—the most salient of which I enumerate below—that Mr. Lloyd George's scheme must stand condemned.

(1) That there is no continuity of principle between existing legislation upon kindred subjects and the Bill now before the House.

(2) That in its mode of application the Bill is not national.

(3) That the principle of level contribution can only permit the elder lives to enjoy the benefits afforded at the expense of the younger.

(4) That in its administration the necessary result must be that while the contributions remain constant and common to the whole country, the benefits will vary according to the invalidity experienced in the different occupation areas.

(5) That by its universal rate of contribution and its fixed rate of minimum benefits it penalises a vast section of the community who, although compelled to contribute, cannot without loss of self-respect participate in a scheme where the taint of pauperism is present.

(6) That the Bill has aroused the antagonism of the medical profession, on whose hearty support and assistance any system having for its object the improvement of national health must inevitably depend.

(7) That the Bill, in its blind effort to ameliorate through the vehicle of semi-political bodies will mobilise a vast army of the non-possessing classes—at once the most numerous and the least instructed of our population—who will, organised by State

subsidy, control legislation irrespective of the best interests of national life.

To proceed with these counts in detail:

(1) Now the introduction of a measure to deal with national invalidity insurance offered the most unique opportunity to consolidate within its terms some very anomalous pieces of legislation at present existing. Let us compare the incapacity arising from illness with that from old age, and then ask Mr. George to explain why the insurance finance of the one should be based upon principles diametrically opposed to those of the other. Again, what explanation has he rendered why workmen's compensation and employers' liability should not have been included in one comprehensive scheme instead of treating them as disconnected segments? After the passing of Mr. George's measure the employer will have to pay:

(*a*) By means of stamps his own and his employees' weekly contributions to the Friendly Society;

(*b*) His annual premiums to the Insurance Company for employers' liability risks;

(*c*) That indefinite portion of income tax which goes to cover the cost involved by the institution of old-age pensions;

(*d*) The further application of stamps as a contribution towards insurance against unemployment;

(*e*) His contributions to the local rates for administering the Poor Law.

From the workman's point of view the case stands thus:

(*a*) His sickness assurance is provided by a Friendly Society under a contributory scheme to which he has to subscribe;

(*b*) For incapacity arising from injury during employment he looks to the Insurance Company through his employer;

(*c*) His old-age pension is a State provision directly payable at a post-office;

(*d*) His unemployment pay is received in accordance with the regulations of the Board of Trade under a contributory scheme;

(*e*) For complete destitution relief by the local guardians.

Here is an agglomeration and confusion of both methods and principles, which is as regrettable as it is unnecessary, the inevitable result of which must be the production of a vast and wasteful overlapping.

So, in place of a continuity of principle between existing legislation upon kindred subjects and the Bill now introduced, we have before us a disconnected fragment, harmonising neither with the existing Act which offers assistance to the aged nor the Acts dealing with the master and his liability towards his man.

(2) Any system of national insurance, to be just, must be universal in its application. In the Bill under discussion we discover a most invidious distinction made between those lives

which have proved acceptable to the Friendly Societies and the remainder who have to make what shift they can with the inadequate assistance afforded them at higher rates by the Post Office deposit system.

I venture to suggest that this residue, the unfortunate by-product of Mr. George's scheme of amelioration, robbed of the assistance they have hitherto received through the charitable instinct of their fellows, will constitute a permanent body numbering among its ranks the mentally deficient, the physically unfit, the casual worker at the extremity of the social scale. Here we have, in this band of Post Office contributors, possibly the most mournful and in many respects the most awful society of degraded and ignoble outcasts, hopelessly stigmatised by law as social lepers, for whom life has no further use and death will not receive.

(3) The only adjustment provided in the scheme to deal with the increased rate of sickness at advanced ages is that of a small diminution in the benefits between the ages of fifty and sixty. It is obvious, therefore, that a constant contribution for all ages at entry will involve the assumption of a liability by the Friendly Societies out of all proportion to that covered by the contributions of members whose ages exceed, say, forty. Mr. George deals with this difficulty in an ingenious manner. He proposes to accumulate a fund from the deduction of approximately 1½*d.* from the weekly contribution of every member coming under the scheme. From this fund he will credit the societies with the extra-actuarial liability they undertake in respect of old members.

Young and old alike are to contribute towards the liability of the aged, the latter benefiting only at the expense of the younger. When we remember that the individual whom it is most essential to protect is the young workman with a wife and family dependent upon him, we see the injustice of the system in its most obvious bearings. The only true principle in any scheme of national insurance is that the funds providing benefits to be received should accumulate by the generation who will participate in them. This principle of justice Mr. George has violated.

(4) Now the operation of the clauses in the Bill, 30 and 31 respectively, dealing with the application of any surplus or deficit, must finally occasion the following anomalous and impossible situation. For purposes of illustration let us take two hypothetical societies: (*a*) the agricultural, recruiting its members, say, from a rural district in Buckinghamshire; and (*b*) the society whose members consist of miners working both beneath the ground and at the pit-brow. The sickness which would be experienced by the mining society would be exactly double that obtaining in the rural society. A surplus would result from the working of the scheme in the agricultural district, and a glaring

deficit would be shown after the first actuarial valuation of the mining society. With the lapse of time the divergence between the positions of the two societies would become more and more acute. Now Mr. George's system provides that in the event of a surplus a scheme of increased benefits shall be inaugurated by the former society, which is able to show such surplus. On the other hand, where the society, upon valuation, discovers a deficiency, this will be met by a curtailment of the benefits they give. After fifteen years or so the position will be that the rural society is paying benefits very much in excess of the scale mentioned in the Bill, while members of the miners' society will receive very much less than that originally scheduled. Amendment of the Bill in this respect is inevitable.

(5) The social stratum of the majority of a Friendly Society's members, from whose ranks the executive is elected, is that of the artisan and small shopkeeper. These are the men who will, under Mr. George's scheme, dominate all classes of members. I can conceive, without diving into the realms of fantasy, the delightful sensation experienced by a dignified young bank clerk as he pleads before a 'council of cobblers' for the payment of the pittance for which he has been compelled to contribute. There is something radically wrong with a Bill which permits such vexatious application, and, though enforcing contributions, administers its benefits only to those who are thus prepared to barter their dignity for the dole.

(6) It is well known that the usual medical man of any standing in his profession does not consider his nomination to be the official attendant to a Friendly Society a very desirable honour. He is too much at the beck and call of its members, and it is probable that he looks upon the medical club as a more or less necessary evil, to be tolerated only so long as he is a struggling medical practitioner. He acts for them in the hope that they will be the means of making his name known throughout the district, especially among the more remunerative class of patients who can pay their own fees direct to him. The medical profession is the one which is the most costly to qualify for, and it is many years before the doctor's income will cover the initial outlay involved in his training. Now with the immense growth of the Friendly Societies there will be in the poorer districts no paying patients outside such societies, and the local doctors must depend for their whole income on these institutions. Their work will be increased while their income will be less, since it is obvious that, when an inclusive yearly fee is paid to cover all medical attendance, there will be a large increase in the resort to medical advice for smaller ailments. I have been interested in, but not astonished at, the letters appearing in the daily papers written in a tone of intense

dissatisfaction with the clauses relating to the medical aspect of the question. Considering that it is the health of the nation's workers that is at stake this is a very serious position. We want to improve health rather than provide compensation during sickness, and so much of existing illness as is preventible is pure waste of national resources. To achieve any improvement in public health we have to look to the assistance of the best medical men available, and yet it appears that under the present Bill we run very considerable risk of driving away these more capable men. By making the doctors feel that they are simply the servants of a Friendly Society's committee—the latter drawn from the ranks of minor tradesmen—there will be induced a sense of distaste among the profession calculated to hamper the system very seriously indeed. Even if the annual inclusive medical fee be increased it is very doubtful whether any of the best medical men will accept appointment so long as the Friendly Societies are the authorities with whom they have to deal. In the matter of national health the doctors' work is of national importance, but in the administration of Mr. George's scheme anything but that sentiment will attach to their service, and it is probable that the whole profession will suffer in so far that the best of the rising generation will be deterred from entering a career so hampered by legislation.

(7) I have left to the last count what is without doubt the most serious danger emanating from Mr. George's scheme; one, in fact, upon which the whole fabric of the system rests. We must not accept Mr. George's statement that his object for consulting the Friendly Societies is attributable to the fact that he did not wish to injure vested interests. The fact is that he saw in these partially organised societies bodies to be feared, and, fearing them, he consulted their wishes. Does it not strike one that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer recognised and feared the political weight of these segments of the community, whose competitive principles form the one stumbling-block in the way of collective action, how much more are they to be feared when their ranks have been augmented by every male and female worker in the country, when they stand numerically superior to any league the nation has ever known? The provisions made by Mr. George in his Bill, that membership of any society shall not be less than 10,000, will tend to eliminate numerous small societies in the favour of some twenty or thirty mighty organisations.

Now it is reasonable to assume that before the Act has been in operation for many months friction will arise between the Chancellor and at least one of these societies. What is the position then? Other societies, recognising that to-morrow they may be similarly situated, will, for mutual protection, amalgamate and

defy interference. That they will be successful in their endeavour we have every reason to fear. The Government ... will find itself faced with the alternative of giving in or ... It will give in. What is the position then? The Friendly Societies, like the horse which discovered its strength, will never be ... again. They will drive, and I predict that concentrated, organised, and systematised by State subsidy, with one common financial goal, these bands of non-possessing classes, at once the most numerous and least instructed, will send their men to Westminster; and the ship of State will broach to while a wave of Socialism sweeps it from stem to stern.

It is because I believe this; it is because I believe a system of national insurance unattended by the evils enumerated above is as desirable as it is feasible, that I have refrained from attacking the branches of this Bill, and have limited my criticisms to its roots. Destructive criticism of a scheme, however futile, without offering a constructive alternative, is a form of mental prostitution which is as regrettable as it is fashionable; therefore, with the permission of the Editor of this Review I purpose to deal in a subsequent issue with an alternative policy. Now the crass apathy of that multitude of middle-class men who are content to remain the football while the game of 'Snatch' goes on between the goals of Capital and Labour must cease. We want interest, not apathy; the possession of one comprehensive programme of constructive social reform is of more value as a weapon to fight Socialism than all the empty and profitless disputations of unenlightened place-seekers and political partisans.

NOEL PEMBERTON BILLING.
